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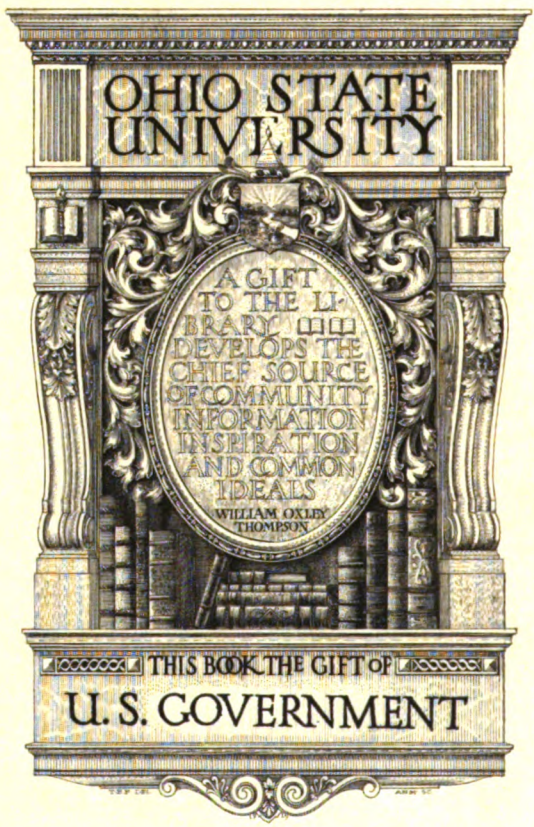
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

1917

SUPPLEMENT 1

THE WORLD WAR

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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PREFACE

The papers included in this supplementary volume relate in general to the period during which the United States was still neutral and are arranged as in preceding supplements. Under certain topics they run beyond the date April 6, 1917, because of the continuation of discussion of subjects arising in the earlier period, as in the case of the importation of goods of German origin detained in the Netherlands and that of the removal of German reservists from American ships; or because of the analogous character of subjects, such as the return of diplomatic officers from and to countries with which relations were severed after the declaration of a state of war with Germany. Papers relating to the development of the policy of Latin-American countries are printed for the entire year, to maintain the unity of the subject and because the countries which, one after another, severed relations with Germany or declared war based their action on the same grounds of the violation of neutral rights as those taken by the United States. For similar reasons papers relating to China and Siam are included for the period ending with China's declaration of war, on August 14; and a few relating to the action of Liberia are of later date than that country's declaration of war, August 4.

Brackets, [ ], occurring in the text enclose editorial insertions. These are of two main types: (1) words or phrases, in ordinary type, supplied to fill in omissions or replace obviously garbled passages in telegrams; and (2) suggested corrections, in italics, following words or phrases which appear to be incorrect. When there is not sufficient evidence to indicate what has been omitted or garbled, or when the words which might be suggested would so seriously affect the sense of the document that supplying them would involve more than an editorial responsibility, notice is taken of defects in the text by the insertion, within brackets, of "omission," "garbled groups," or "*sic.*" Insignificant words are corrected or inserted without distinguishing marks.

Parentheses, ( ), occurring in the text are in the documents themselves. Besides their ordinary use for punctuation, these marks were also employed, in the deciphering and decoding of telegrams, to enclose words or phrases suggested by the decoders as possibly the intended readings of garbled groups which yielded unintelligible or no results. When so employed they have been allowed to stand,

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unless comparison with other documents showed the suggested reading to have been obviously either correct or incorrect. In the latter case the text within parentheses has sometimes been replaced by an editorial insertion within brackets.

Translations as found in the files have been revised and corrected if found faulty by comparison with texts in the original language or other versions available, but care has been taken to avoid altering in any significant respect important texts that were acted upon or used as sources of information in their existing form.

The general principles governing the compilation and editing of these papers are stated in the preface to *Foreign Relations*, 1914, Supplement, pp. iii–iv.

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CONTENTS

Page

Official positions of principal persons mentioned in the correspondence.. XI
List of papers by topics XVII
List of papers by countries XCI

PART I

THE CONTINUATION AND FURTHER SPREAD OF THE WAR—EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE:

The war prior to the entrance of the United States 3
Reply of the Allied Governments, January 10, 1917, to the President's suggestion of December 18, 1916, that the belligerents communicate their terms of peace—Counter-replies of the Central powers to the rejection by the Allied powers of their invitation of December 12, 1916, to discuss peace 3
The President's address to the Senate, January 22, on the bases of a durable peace—Confidential communication by the German Government of its terms of peace 24
The President's proposal to the Allied powers of assurances to Austria-Hungary against radical dismemberment, February 8—Proposals of the *de facto* Mexican Government for termination of the war, February 12—Intercession of the United States in behalf of Greece 40
The offer to Austria-Hungary, February 22, of limited assurances against dismemberment in the event of a request for early peace—Refusal of the Austro-Hungarian Government to consider a separate peace—Reply of the United States to the proposals of the *de facto* Mexican Government—Reports of the constitutional struggle in Germany—Request of the Greek Provisional Government at Saloniki for recognition 57

PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS:

Neutral rights as affected by the submarine operations of Germany and her allies—Relations of the United States and European neutrals with Germany and her allies—Entrance of the United States into the war 81
German memorandum, submitted January 10, on the treatment of armed merchant ships as warships—Notes in explanation of submarine incidents of 1916—Further submarine cases—German and Austro-Hungarian notes of January 31 announcing the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare 81
The severance of relations with Germany, February 3—Effort at resumption of negotiations through the Swiss Minister, February 11—Maintenance of relations with Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and

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NEUTRAL RIGHTS—Continued.
Neutral rights as affected by the submarine, etc.—Continued. Page
Bulgaria—Refusal of the European neutral governments to follow the example of the United States in severing relations with Germany; their protests to the Central powers—Submarine attacks on American ships and ships with Americans aboard—Receipt, February 24, of the Zimmermann telegram conveying Germany's overtures to Mexico ... 106
The armament of American merchant ships—The sinking of the *Laconia*, February 26, of other ships with Americans aboard, and of American ships—Austro-Hungarian *aide-mémoire* on submarine policy, March 2—Refusal of the American Government to receive the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate—Declaration of a state of war with Germany, April 6 ... 149
The status of neutral seamen on armed merchant ships of belligerent nationality—Treatment of captured American seamen brought to Germany by the *Yarrowdale* and the *Moewe* ... 208
Relations of Latin-American countries with the United States and with European belligerent countries as affected by the war in general and by the German submarine warfare ... 219
Expressions of approval of the President's suggestions of December 18, 1916, to belligerent governments—Responses to the notification of the severance by the United States of relations with Germany—Replies to the German notification of resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare ... 219
Suggestions by Paraguay, Ecuador, and Argentina for a conference of American states—Attitude of the *de facto* Mexican Government regarding the German proposal for an alliance—Offer of Mexico's good offices to restore relations between the United States and Germany ... 232
Responses to the notification of a state of war between the United States and Germany—Severance of relations with Germany, in terms amounting to a declaration of war, by Panama, April 7—Declaration of war with Germany by Cuba, April 7—Severance of relations with Germany by Brazil, April 11, in consequence of the sinking of the *Paraná*—Severance of relations with Germany by Bolivia, April 13—The sinking of the Argentine ship *Monte Protegido* ... 244
Argentina's initiative toward calling a conference of American states; attitude of the United States—Offer of support in the war by Guatemala in exchange for assurances against possible consequences; acceptance by the United States—Similar assurances to Haiti ... 256
Severance of relations with Germany by Guatemala, April 27—Settlement of the *Monte Protegido* case between Argentina and Germany—Argentine invitation, May 9, to the Latin-American states for a conference; attitude of the United States—Severance of relations with Germany by Honduras May 17; by Nicaragua, May 19 ... 271
Revocation by Brazil, June 2, of the decree of neutrality as between the United States and Germany; seizure of German ships in Brazilian ports—Severance of relations with Germany by Haiti, June 17—Opening of the ports and waters of Uruguay to American naval forces ... 293

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NEUTRAL RIGHTS—Continued. Page
Relations of Latin-American countries with the United States, etc.—Con.
The sinking of the Argentine ship *Toro;* adjustment of the case—Visit of the American Fleet to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires—Arrangements for cooperation with Brazil in patrolling the South Atlantic—Revocation of Brazil's neutrality with respect to the Allied powers, June 28; discussion as to the export of Brazilian coffee and the disposition of German ships taken over by Brazil—Transfer to the United States of the German ships seized by Cuba—Negotiations between Peru and Germany concerning the sinking of the *Lorton* 303
Publication, September 8, of the recommendation by Luxburg, German Chargé in Argentina, that ships be *spurlos versenkt;* handing of passports to Luxburg—Severance of relations with Germany by the Tinoco government in Costa Rica, September 22—Negotiations relating to the revocation of Uruguay's neutrality, the conclusion of arbitration treaties between Uruguay and the Allied powers, and the disposition of German ships in Uruguayan ports 322
Severance of relations with Germany by Peru, October 6; by Uruguay, October 7—Revocation by Uruguay of decrees of neutrality; second visit of the American squadron to Montevideo—Assurances of Salvador as to the use of its ports and waters by the United States 340
Declaration of a state of war between Brazil and Germany, October 26—Renewed initiative of Argentina for a Latin-American congress, October 29—Peruvian plan, approved by the United States, to have the congress consider severance of relations with Germany—Assurances given by the United States to the Guatemalan Special Mission, November 6—Charter to France of German ships seized by Brazil 351
Severance of relations with Germany by Ecuador, December 7—Declaration of war on Austria-Hungary by Panama, December 10; by Cuba, December 16—Further correspondence regarding the disposition of German ships seized by Brazil, Cuba, and Uruguay—Further correspondence regarding the proposed congress of American states—Convention for the purchase of Argentine wheat by Great Britain and France, signed January 14, 1918 383
Relations of Asiatic countries with the United States and with European belligerent countries as affected by the German submarine warfare 400
China's approval of the President's suggestions of December 18, 1916, to belligerent governments—Requests for assurances by China in the event of severance of relations with Germany; attitude of the United States 400
Severance of relations with Germany by China, March 14—Desires expressed by the Chinese Government; attitude of the United States—Declaration of war against Germany by Siam, July 22; discussion as to the disposition of German ships in Siamese ports—Declaration of war by China, August 14 420
Relations of Liberia with the United States and with European belligerents as affected by the German submarine warfare and by British and French commercial restrictions 458

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NEUTRAL RIGHTS—Continued.
Relations of Liberia with the United States, etc.—Continued. Page
Liberian request for protection against the dangers resulting from a breach with Germany—Visit of a British warship to Monrovia—Severance of relations with Germany, May 8—British and French demand for the expulsion of Germans; American demand for the removal of Allied trade restrictions—Receipt of satisfactory assurances from the British and French Governments—Project of a convention with Liberia 458
Liberia's declaration of war against Germany, August 4—Deportation of Germans 477
British proclamations and orders in council affecting neutral trade—The detention of neutral ships 492
British control of neutral shipping through bunkering agreements and black list of neutral ships 505
Arrangements with Great Britain for the importation of goods of German origin detained in the Netherlands 509
British declaration of a "dangerous area" in the North Sea—Protest by the United States, February 19 518
Interference with the mails by belligerent governments 520
The removal by British naval authorities of enemy reservists from American ships on the high seas 526

PART III

NEUTRAL DUTIES:
The prevention of recruiting within the United States: the case of Addis and Blair 535
Treatment of armed merchant ships in neutral ports—Attitude of European neutral countries toward American armed merchant ships 541
Treatment of German merchant ships in American ports prior to the declaration of a state of war 558
Precautions against the supplying to belligerent warships of information regarding the sailing of merchant ships 566

PART IV

OTHER PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES:
Regulations regarding passports and the expatriation of naturalized citizens 573
Conviction of the German Consuls Bopp and Schack for violations of American laws; revocation of their exequaturs; their internment as enemy aliens 579
The return of diplomatic officers from their posts upon the severance of relations between their countries 585
Return of the American Ambassador from Germany 585
Return of the German Ambassador from the United States 591
Return of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate from the United States 594
Return of the American Ambassador from Turkey 598
Return of German diplomatic and consular officers from Brazil, Bolivia, and Siam 606

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OTHER PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES—Continued. Page

Representation of governments in countries with which they have severed relations; protection of their interests and nationals 610

Representation of the United States in Germany by Spain 610

Representation of Germany in the United States and the Philippines by Switzerland; in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Panama Canal Zone by Spanish consuls 612

Representation of the United States in Austria-Hungary by Spain 618

Representation of Austria-Hungary in the United States by Sweden, in the Philippines by Switzerland 619

Representation of Turkey in the United States by Spain 621

Transfer to other neutral governments of the representation of belligerent governments in enemy countries by the United States upon the severence of relations with the countries concerned 621

Withdrawal of the American Minister and relief workers from Belgium—Transfer of the relief work to Netherland subjects 628

Reports on the deportation of civilians from Belgium 664

The establishment of a Serbian legation in the United States 674

The jurisdiction of American courts over ships requisitioned by foreign governments; the case of the *Attualità* 675

INDEX 691

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OFFICIAL POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE

Aguilar, General Candido	Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations to March 27
Ahmed Nessimi Bey	Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs from February 5
Aldunate, Don Santiago	Chilean Ambassador at Washington
Arnold, Frank D	United States Secretary of Legation in Siam; Chargé d'Affaires to August 8
Bailly-Blanchard, Arthur	United States Minister in Haiti
Baker, Newton D	Secretary of War of the United States
Balfour, Arthur J	British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Baquerizo Moreno, Alfredo	President of Ecuador
Belden, Perry	United States Secretary of Legation in Colombia; Chargé d'Affaires to August 8
Bernstorff, Johann Heinrich, Count von.	German Ambassador at Washington
Bethmann-Hollweg, Theobold Theodore Friedrich Alfred von.	German Imperial Chancellor to July
Beyens, Baron	Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs to July
Bissing, Moritz Ferdinand, Baron von.	German Governor General in Belgium (died April 18, 1917)
Braz Pereira Gomes, Dr. Wenceslao.	President of Brazil
Briand, Aristide	Premier of France to March 20
Brum, Baltasar	Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs
Cadorna, General Luigi	Chief of the General Staff of the Italian Army to November
Calderon, Don Ignacio	Bolivian Minister at Washington
Caperton, Rear Admiral William Banks.	Commander in Chief of Pacific Fleet, U. S. Navy
Carranza, General Venustiano	First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in Charge of Executive Power; President of Mexico from May
Cecil, Lord Robert	British Minister of Blockade and Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Céspedes, Carlos Manuel de	Cuban Minister at Washington
Chamorro, Emiliano	President of Nicaragua
Charles I	Emperor of Austria; as Charles IV, King of Hungary
Ch'en Chin-tao	Chinese Minister of Finance
Churchill, Winston Leonard Spencer.	Member of British Parliament; Minister of Munitions to July
Colby, Bainbridge	Commissioner of United States Shipping Board; delegate to Inter-Allied Conference at Paris, November
Cole, General Eli K	Commanding United States Marines in Haiti
Crosby, Oscar T	Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States; in Europe as President of Inter-Allied Council on War Purchases and Finance from November
Cuadra Zavala, Don Joaquin	Nicaraguan Chargé d'Affaires at Washington to October 1
Curtis, James L	United States Minister in Liberia (died October 24, 1917)
Curzon, George Nathaniel, Earl Curzon of Kedleston.	British Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords

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Czernin, Count Ottokar	Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs and President of the Council of Ministers
Da Gama, Domicio	Brazilian Ambassador at Washington
Danglis, General P	Member of Greek Provisional Government; Minister of War from June
Daniels, Josephus	Secretary of the Navy of the United States
De Negri, Ramón P	Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in charge of Mexican interests in the United States
Desvernine, Pablo	Cuban Secretary of State
Djavid Bey	Turkish Minister of Finance from February 4
Domínici, Don Santos A	Venezuelan Minister at Washington
Droppers, Garrett	United States Minister in Greece and Montenegro
Egan, Maurice Francis	United States Minister in Denmark
Ekengren, W. A. F	Swedish Minister at Washington
Elizalde, Don Rafael H	Ecuadoran Minister at Washington
Elkus, Abram I	United States Ambassador in Turkey
Enver Pasha	Turkish Minister of War from February 4
Estrada Cabrera, Manuel	President of Guatemala
Ewing, John	United States Minister in Honduras
Falkenhausen, Baron Friedrich von.	German Governor General in Belgium from April 25
Feng Kuo-chang	Vice President of China; Acting President from July 1
Fletcher, Henry P	United States Ambassador in Mexico
Francis, David R	United States Ambassador in Russia
Freyre y Santander, Manuel de	Peruvian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington; Minister from December 3
Frost, Wesley	United States Consul at Cork (Queenstown) to August
Fuad Bey	Turkish Minister of the Interior
Garay, Don Narcisco	Panaman Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
George	Prince of Greece, brother of King Constantine
Gerard, James Watson	United States Ambassador in Germany
Gonzales, William E	United States Minister in Cuba
Gregory, Thomas Watt	Attorney General of the United States
Grew, Joseph C	United States Counselor of Embassy at Berlin to February 14; Counselor of Embassy at Vienna to May
Grey, Sir Edward	Member of British Parliament; former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Guthrie, George Wilkins	United States Ambassador in Japan (died March 8, 1917)
Hale, Edward J	United States Minister in Costa Rica
Halil Bey	Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs; Minister of Justice from February 4
Handley, William W	United States Consul General at Lima
Hartman, Charles S	United States Minister in Ecuador
Henderson, Arthur	British Minister without portfolio
Hindenburg, Paul von Beneckendorf und von.	Field Marshal, Chief of the General Staff of the German Army
Honnold, William L	Director in America of Commission for Relief in Belgium
Hoover, Herbert	Chairman of Commission for Relief in Belgium
House, Edward Mandell	Personal Representative of President Wilson to European Governments
Houston, David Franklin	Secretary of Agriculture of the United States
Howard, Daniel Edward	President of Liberia
Hübscher, Carl Paul	Swiss Secretary of Legation at Washington; Chargé d'Affaires, July 23 to August 27
Huidobro, Alamiro	Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs to July
Irigoyen, Hipolito	President of Argentina
Jefferson, Benjamin L	United States Minister in Nicaragua
Jeffery, Robert Emmett	United States Minister in Uruguay

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Jellicoe, Sir John Rushworth	British Admiral in command of the Grand Fleet
Jusserand, J. J	French Ambassador at Washington
King, C. D. B	Liberian Secretary of State
Kondouriotis, Admiral P	Member of Triumvirate of Greek Provisional Government; Minister of Marine from June 27
Koo, Vi Kyuin Wellington	Chinese Minister at Washington
Kühlmann, Richard von	German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from August 5
Lacaze, Admiral G. C	French Minister of Marine, March 20 to November 16
Lancken, Baron von der	Chief of the Political Department of the German Government General in Belgium
Lane, Franklin K	Secretary of the Interior of the United States
Langhorne, Marshall	United States Secretary of Legation in the Netherlands; Chargé d'Affaires, January 15 to October 3
Lansing, Robert	Secretary of State of the United States
Law, Andrew Bonar	British Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons
Leavell, William H	United States Minister in Guatemala
Li Yuan-hung	President of China to July 1
Lloyd George, David	British Prime Minister
Long, Boaz W	United States Minister in Salvador
Long, Breckinridge	Third Assistant Secretary of State of the United States
Loudon, Jonkheer J	Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands
Ludendorff, Erich F. W. von	First Quartermaster General of the German Army and Assistant to Chief of the General Staff
Lyon, Ernest	Liberian Consul General at Baltimore
Macchi di Cellere, Count V	Italian Ambassador at Washington
Marques Bustillos, V	Provisional President of Venezuela
McAdoo, William Gibbs	Secretary of the Treasury of the United States
McMillin, Benton	United States Minister in Peru
Mehdi Kahn	Persian Minister at Washington
Méndez, Don Joaquín	Guatemalan Minister at Washington
Menocal, Mario G	President of Cuba
Ménos, Solon	Haitian Minister at Washington
Merry del Val, Cardinal Raphael	Archpriest of Basilica of St. Peter's, Rome; former Pontifical Secretary of State
Michaelis, Dr. Georg	German State Commissioner for National Food Supply, February to July; Imperial Chancellor, July 14 to November 2
Michaïlovitch, Lioubomir	Serbian Minister at Washington
Milner, Sir Alfred	British Minister without portfolio
Molinari, Diego Luis	Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Argentina
Mooney, Daniel F	United States Minister in Paraguay
Morgan, Edwin Vernon	United States Ambassador in Brazil
Morris, Ira Nelson	United States Minister in Sweden
Mosquera, Bernandino	Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Relations from September 7
Motono, Viscount Ichiro	Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs
Murphy, Dominic I	United States Consul General at Sofia
Naón, Rómulo S	Argentine Ambassador at Washington
O'Rear, John D	United States Minister in Bolivia
Page, Thomas Nelson	United States Ambassador in Italy
Page, Walter Hines	United States Ambassador in Great Britain
Panaretoff, Stephan	Bulgarian Minister at Washington
Pardo, Dr. José	President of Peru
Peçanha, Nilo	Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs from May 7
Pena, Dr. Carlos Maria de	Uruguayan Minister at Washington
Penfield, Frederic C	United States Ambassador in Austria-Hungary

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Peters, Andrew J	Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in Charge of Customs to March 15
Phillips, William	Assistant Secretary of State of the United States
Poincaré, Raymond	President of France
Poland, W. B	Director for Europe of Commission for Relief in Belgium
Politis, N	Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs from June 27
Polk, Frank Lyon	Counselor for the Department of State of the United States
Porras, Don Belisario	Panaman Minister at Washington
Price, William J	United States Minister in Panama
Pueyrredon, Honorio	Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Agriculture
Radoslavoff, Vassil	Bulgarian Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior
Rappard, Chevalier W. L. F. C. van.	Netherland Minister at Washington
Reinsch, Paul Samuel	United States Minister in China
Riaño y Gayangos, Don Juan	Spanish Ambassador at Washington
Ritter, Dr. Paul	Swiss Minister at Washington to July
Riva Aguero, Enrique de la	Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs to July 28
Robertson, Gen. Sir William Robert.	Chief of the Imperial General Staff of the British Army
Sato, Aimaro	Japanese Ambassador at Washington
Schmedeman, Albert George	United States Minister in Norway
Sharp, William Graves	United States Ambassador in France
Shea, Joseph H	United States Ambassador in Chile
Sims, William Sowden	Vice Admiral, commanding United States Naval Forces in European Waters
Skinner, Robert P	United States Consul General at London
Sonnino, Baron Sidney	Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs
Spring Rice, Sir Cecil Arthur	British Ambassador at Washington
Stabler, Jordan Herbert	Chief of Division of Latin-American Affairs, Department of State of the United States
Stimson, Frederic Jesup	United States Ambassador in Argentina
Stovall, Pleasant Alexander	United States Minister in Switzerland
Stumm, Wilhelm von	German Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Suarez Mujica, Eduardo	Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs from October 7
Sulzer, Hans	Swiss Minister at Washington from August 27
Sun Yat-sen	Leader of Nationalist Party in China
Talaat Pasha	Turkish Grand Vizier and Minister of the Interior from February 5
Tarler, G. Cornell	Secretary of United States Embassy in Turkey; Chargé d'Affaires from April 11
Tarnowski, Count Adam	Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate at Washington
Tisza, Count Stephen	President of the Council of Ministers of Hungary to June 15
Tobar y Borgoño, Carlos	Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs
Toledo Herrarte, Luis	Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ts'ao Ju-lin	Chinese Minister of Communications from July
Tuan Chi-jui	Premier of China
Tudela, Dr. Francisco	Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs from July 28
Urtecho, J. Andres	Nicaraguan Minister for Foreign Affairs
Urueta, Carlos Adolfo	Colombian Minister at Washington
Valdes, Dr. Ramón M	President of Panama
Van Dyke, Henry	United States Minister in the Netherlands to January 15
Vasquez, Mariano	Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs

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Venizelos, Eleutherios K	Member of Triumvirate at head of Provisional Government of Greece; Premier of Greece from June 27
Viera, Dr. Feliciano	President of Uruguay
Vouros, A	Greek Chargé d'Affaires at Washington to September 21
Washington, Horace Lee	United States Consul at Liverpool
Wheeler, Post	United States Secretary of Legation in Japan; Chargé d'Affaires, March 8 to October 30
Whitlock, Brand	United States Ambassador in Belgium
Willard, Joseph Edward	United States Ambassador in Spain
Wilson, Woodrow	President of the United States
Woolsey, Lester H	Solicitor for the Department of State of the United States from June 27
Wu Ting-fang	Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs
Zaldivar, Don Rafael	Salvadoran Minister at Washington
Zimmerman, Dr. Artur	German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to August 5
Zwiedinek, Baron Erich	Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington

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LIST OF PAPERS BY TOPICS

[Incoming papers are listed chronologically under date of receipt. Unless otherwise specified, the correspondence is *from* or *to* the Secretary of State or the Department.]

PART I: THE CONTINUATION AND FURTHER SPREAD OF THE WAR—EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE

The War Prior to the Entrance of the United States

REPLY OF THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS, JANUARY 10, 1917, TO THE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTION OF DECEMBER 18, 1916, THAT THE BELLIGERENTS COMMUNICATE THEIR TERMS OF PEACE—COUNTER-REPLIES OF THE CENTRAL POWERS TO THE REJECTION BY THE ALLIED POWERS OF THEIR INVITATION OF DECEMBER 12, 1916, TO DISCUSS PEACE

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 5, 1917	To the diplomatic representatives in Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan (tel.); the same, with slight change, to Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3
771	Jan. 4 [Rec'd Jan. 5]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Certain Allied ministers and generals will arrive in Rome tomorrow.	3
781	Jan. 7	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Reported probable result of conference will be withdrawal of Allied troops from Saloniki.	4
784	Jan. 9	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Form of Allies' joint reply to the President's peace note was decided in conference at Rome. Russia's approval awaited.	4
219	Jan. 9 [Rec'd Jan. 10]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Greek reply to Entente demands insists upon assurances against encroachments and a commission to settle reparations question.	4
221	Jan. 9 [Rec'd Jan. 10]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Blockade of Greece not to be raised until conditions of ultimatum fulfilled.	5
1805	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Jan. 11]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Allies' reply to the President's peace note received; also separate note from Belgium.	5
1806	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Jan. 11]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Quotes Allies' reply to the President's peace note and a separate Belgian note.	6
222	Jan. 11	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Ultimatum accepted in principle by Greece.	10

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PART I

THE WAR PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1635	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 14]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austria-Hungary's counter-reply to Allies' rejection of Central powers' invitation to discuss peace.	10
4868	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 15]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German counter-reply to Allies' rejection of Central powers' invitation to discuss peace.	12
	Jan. 15	From the Persian Minister	Persia endorses the President's peace move and hopes the United States will assist in maintaining Persia's rights in the peace conference.	14
2400	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 16]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Interview with German Ambassador on intended deportation of Greeks, German lack of influence in Turkey, confidential communication of German peace terms, and Great Britain's attitude.	15
64	Jan. 15 [Rec'd Jan. 16]	From the Greek Chargé	Presents Greek note of appreciation of the President's peace proposal.	16
	Jan. 16	From the British Ambassador	Copy of British note of Jan. 13 outlining conditions necessary for durable peace.	17
228	Jan. 16 [Rec'd Jan. 17]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Conditions of ultimatum accepted without reservation.	21
	Jan. 17	To the Persian Minister	Acknowledges receipt of Persian note endorsing the President's peace proposals to belligerents.	21
794	Jan. 17	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Conversation with Foreign Minister on fixing of coal prices, etc. Switzerland reported mobilizing for defense.	22
800	Jan. 21	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	British note to the President criticized at the Vatican, and proposed partition of Europe condemned.	22
230	Jan. 21	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	British Minister considers settlement of Greece's difficulties proceeding satisfactorily; hopes blockade can be raised.	23
610	Jan. 8 [Rec'd Jan. 22]	From the Minister in the Netherlands	Transmits press statement of attitude of the Netherlands regarding the President's peace note.	23

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 22, ON THE BASES OF A DURABLE PEACE—CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATION BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT OF ITS TERMS OF PEACE

	Jan. 22	Address of the President of the United States to the Senate	Bases of a durable peace	24

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PART I

THE WAR PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 15	To Ambassadors in belligerent countries (tel.)	Text of President Wilson's address to the Senate on bases of a durable peace, for communication, when notified, to Foreign Offices and press.	24
802	Jan. 22	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	The President's Senate address favorably received by Foreign Minister.	29
803	Jan. 23 [Rec'd Jan. 24]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Foreign Minister inquires regarding the President's plan for peace preservation.	30
318	Jan. 26 [Rec'd Jan. 27]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Coöperation of Spain in peace move can be secured by according to that country special consideration.	30
1662	Jan. 25 [Rec'd Jan. 27]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Favorable reception given the President's peace address by Minister President of Hungary.	31
239	Jan. 27	From the German Ambassador to the German Foreign Office (tel.)	Quotes President Wilson's offer of peace mediation on basis of Senate address of Jan. 22. Urges delay in resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare.	31
1838	Jan. 27 [Rec'd Jan. 28]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	The President's Senate address endorsed by French Socialist Party and press. Latter holds that peace should come only after victory of Allies.	33
1666	Jan. 27 [Rec'd Jan. 29]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes note of Hungarian Minister President conveying attitude toward President Wilson's peace address.	34
	Jan. 31	From the German Ambassador	Germany's confidential communication of its terms of peace, and at same time notice of resumption of submarine warfare.	34
4972	Jan. 31 [Rec'd Feb. 2]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Germany is determined, by submarine warfare, to compel Great Britain to ask for terms.	37
237	Feb. 1 [Rec'd Feb. 2]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	The Entente permits necessary foodstuffs for Greece, pending the raising of the blockade.	37
1683	Feb. 5 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Minister's appeal to the President to induce the Entente to conform to American viewpoint and conclude peace honorable to both sides.	38
1688	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Report on the Monarchy's desperate situation and desire for peace.	39
246	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	British Minister sees no prospect of raising blockade.	39

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PART I

THE WAR PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO THE ALLIED POWERS OF ASSURANCES TO AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AGAINST RADICAL DISMEMBERMENT, FEBRUARY 8—PROPOSALS OF THE DE FACTO MEXICAN GOVERNMENT FOR TERMINATION OF THE WAR, FEBRUARY 12—INTERCESSION OF THE UNITED STATES IN BEHALF OF GREECE

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4421	Feb. 8	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The President's proposal that the Allied powers give assurances to Austria-Hungary against radical dismemberment.	40
1700	Feb. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 11]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	The Kaiser expected in Vienna for conference with the Emperor.	41
5665	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British can not assure Austria against dismemberment. Entrance of the United States into war urged for moral effect.	41
	Feb. 12	From the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in charge of Mexican interests	Carranza's note to neutral nations tendering cooperation in endeavor to terminate war.	44
154	Jan. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the Minister in Greece	Official version of disturbances at Athens on Dec. 1, 1916.	47
309	Jan. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the Consul at Saloniki	Formation of Provisional Government in Greece. Enclosure: Note from Foreign Minister requesting recognition.	52
254	Feb. 15 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Entente consider Greece not acting in good faith regarding execution of terms of ultimatum. Less prospect of raising blockade.	54
	Feb. 17	To the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in charge of Mexican interests	Acknowledges receipt of Carranza's note to neutral nations tendering cooperation in endeavor to end the war.	54
130	Feb. 19	To the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Inquiry regarding conference of neutrals to be held in Stockholm for discussion of matters arising after the war.	54
4467	Feb. 20	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instruction to ascertain Allied intention in respect to food importations into Greece.	55
5714	Feb. 20	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Great Britain will now consider a formal peace commission proposal on behalf of Austria-Hungary.	55
5725	Feb. 21	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Great Britain now anxious to detach Austria-Hungary from the Central powers.	56

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PART I

THE WAR PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
192	Feb. 21	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Conference of European neutral countries to be held at Stockholm. Informed the United States has declined to attend.	56
5736	Feb. 22	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Balfour states enemy submarines make it difficult to send supplies to Greece.	57

THE OFFER TO AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, FEBRUARY 22, OF LIMITED ASSURANCES AGAINST DISMEMBERMENT IN THE EVENT OF A REQUEST FOR EARLY PEACE—REFUSAL OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER A SEPARATE PEACE—REPLY OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE DE FACTO MEXICAN GOVERNMENT—REPORTS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE IN GERMANY—REQUEST OF THE GREEK PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT SALONIKI FOR RECOGNITION

1566	Feb. 22	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Offer to Austria-Hungary of Allies' limited assurances against dismemberment in the event of a request for early peace.	57
420	Jan. 22 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Ambassador in Turkey	Transmits Foreign Minister's recapitulation of Turkey's attitude following Entente response to Central powers' invitation to discuss peace.	58
196	Jan. 23 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Consul General at Sofia	Transmits Bulgarian note on situation created by Entente refusal to accept Central powers' invitation to discuss peace.	61
1730	Feb. 27 [Rec'd Feb. 28]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister's memorandum refusing to consider separate peace.	62
1580	Mar. 3	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Instructions to request reconsideration of separate peace; delay may make it ineffective.	63
607	Mar. 4	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Autonomy of Flanders considered by Germany.	64
635	Mar. 10 [Rec'd Mar. 11]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Press reports speech in German Reichstag deploring scarcity of food and demanding equal distribution.	64
1757	Mar. 13 [Rec'd Mar. 15]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary continues to refuse consideration of separate peace.	65
772	Mar. 15	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	German Chancellor has protested against criticism of Reichstag heard in House of Lords and suggested reform of internal policy after the war.	66

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PART I

THE WAR PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 16	To the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in charge of Mexican interests	The United States is in a position which precludes it from participating in Carranza's offer of mediation to belligerents. Declines to suspend commercial relations with them.	67
779	Mar. 16 [Rec'd Mar.17]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	German Chancellor definitely committed to more democratic government.	69
872	Mar. 16 [Rec'd Mar.17]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Quotation from Foreign Minister's speech commenting on President Wilson's Senate address.	69
158	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Mar.19]	From the Minister in Greece	Report on political situation, especially on question of Greek neutrality.	70
790	Mar. 20	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Socialist press appeals for free suffrage in Prussia.	73
241	Mar. 19 [Rec'd Mar.21]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Swedish press reports stormy budget debate in German Parliament, Socialists protesting against war policies.	74
513	Mar. 21 [Rec'd Mar.22]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	German Socialist leader reported as urging that bill be introduced before Reichstag granting equal suffrage in electing its members.	75
250	Mar. 23 [Rec'd Mar.24]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	German press states that provisions are scarce; severer rationing is needed; holds that America, by arming merchant vessels, resorts to armed force.	75
285	Mar. 30 [Rec'd Mar.31]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Greek Provisional Government at Saloniki requests recognition.	76
537	Apr. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 2]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Austria-Hungary advocates peace conference and opposes an armistice.	76
538	Apr. 2 [Rec'd Apr. 3]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Substance of message reported sent to Duma by German Socialists congratulating Russian proletariat on political progress.	77
247	Apr. 4	To the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Instructions to report status of Provisional Government and other data on Grecian situation.	77

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PART II: NEUTRAL RIGHTS

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY THE SUBMARINE OPERATIONS OF GERMANY AND HER ALLIES—RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPEAN NEUTRALS WITH GERMANY AND HER ALLIES—ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO THE WAR

GERMAN MEMORANDUM, SUBMITTED JANUARY 10, ON THE TREATMENT OF ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS AS WARSHIPS—NOTES IN EXPLANATION OF SUBMARINE INCIDENTS OF 1916—FURTHER SUBMARINE CASES—GERMAN AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN NOTES OF JANUARY 31 ANNOUNCING THE RESUMPTION OF UNRESTRICTED SUBMARINE WARFARE

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 9	From the Consul at Cardiff (tel.)	American S.S. *Sacramento* fired on by submarine off French coast.	81
2393	Jan. 8 [Rec'd Jan. 10]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Germany reported preparing for submarine blockade of British coast, resolved to sink all ships without warning.	81
1800	Jan. 9 [Rec'd Jan. 10]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Attack on Norwegian S.S. *Helgoy*	82
	Jan. 10	From the German Ambassador	Treatment of armed merchant ships as warships. Enclosure: Cipher message on subject for transmission to Berlin.	82
	Jan. 10	To the German Ambassador	Declines to transmit to Germany Ambassador's cipher message on offensive armament of merchant ships.	87
4860	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Jan. 11]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	German policy of submarine attack on all armed ships without warning.	88
4865	Jan. 11 [Rec'd Jan. 12]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note on sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Trippel.*	88
4871	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 13]	From the Ambasador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note relative to sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Lökken.*	89
4882	Jan. 15 [Rec'd Jan. 16]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note relative to sinking of British S.S. *Barbara.*	89
4895	Jan. 17 [Rec'd Jan. 19]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Press summary on armament of merchantmen and German determination to use submarines to fullest extent.	90
4901	Jan. 18 [Rec'd Jan. 19]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Press summary of debate in the Prussian Lower House on unrestrained submarine warfare.	90
4900	Jan. 18 [Rec'd Jan. 19]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Neutral correspondents urged to create sentiment in favor of German reckless submarine warfare.	91

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4912	Jan. 21 [Rec'd Jan. 23]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Germany warns neutral shipping against arming, and announces that crews taken on armed merchant vessels of enemies will be treated as prisoners of war.	91
	Jan. 23	From the Consul General at Marseilles (tel.)	Sinking of the British S.S. *Mohacsfield.*	93
1654	Jan. 23 [Rec'd Jan. 24]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Destruction of the S.S. *Chemung*..	93
4925	Jan. 25 [Rec'd Jan. 26]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Inquiry regarding status of negotiations relative to submarine attacks on merchant vessels without warning.	94
3834	Jan. 27	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	No change of policy regarding armed merchantmen.	95
4939	Jan. 29 [Rec'd Jan. 30]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Discusses various reports regarding submarine warfare. Requests summaries of German communications for his information.	95
4948	Jan. 29 [Rec'd Jan. 30]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note on sinking of British S.S. *Trevarrack.*	96
4951	Jan. 30 [Rec'd Jan. 31]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Discussion of German memorandum on armed merchant vessels.	96
4957	Jan. 30 [Rec'd Jan. 31]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Employment of reckless submarine warfare and blockade of English coast.	97
	Jan. 31	From the German Ambassador	Germany announces resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare and limits of the war zone. Warning to American shipping.	97
322	Jan. 31 [Rec'd Feb. 1]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain inquires U.S. attitude regarding blockade by Germany and destruction of neutral vessels without warning.	102
3851	Feb. 1	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	No reply made to German note declaring armed merchantmen to be warships; notice of submarine blockade of England received.	103
4961	Jan. 31 [Rec'd Feb. 1]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Conversation with Foreign Minister regarding reasons for unrestricted use of submarine, and possibility of war with the United States.	103
1674	Feb. 1 [Rec'd Feb. 3]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austro-Hungarian note announcing resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare.	104

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

THE SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, FEBRUARY 3—EFFORT AT RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH THE SWISS MINISTER, FEBRUARY 11—MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, TURKEY, AND BULGARIA—REFUSAL OF THE EUROPEAN NEUTRAL GOVERNMENTS TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN SEVERING RELATIONS WITH GERMANY; THEIR PROTESTS TO THE CENTRAL POWERS—SUBMARINE ATTACKS ON AMERICAN SHIPS AND SHIPS WITH AMERICANS ABOARD—RECEIPT, FEBRUARY 24, OF THE ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM CONVEYING GERMANY'S OVERTURES TO MEXICO

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
2307	Feb. 3	To the German Ambassador	U.S. severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. Correspondence leading to announcement quoted.	106
	Feb. 3	To the diplomatic representatives in neutral countries (tel.)	Instructions to notify Government to which accredited of U.S. severance of relations with Germany, suggesting similar action by neutral powers.	108
1518	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Text of the President's address of Feb. 3 to Congress, for the Foreign Minister and for publication.	108
	Feb. 3	Address of the President of the United States to Congress	*Résumé* of events leading to severance of relations with Germany.	109
	Feb. 4	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	American S.S. *Housatonic* torpedoed.	112
1526	Feb. 4	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Efforts of Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate to continue diplomatic relations with the United States.	112
1680	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Foreign Minister desires that good relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary be maintained.	113
3328	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Desire to maintain friendly relations with Turkey.	113
4994	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Reports interview with Chancellor and Foreign Minister on attitude of America. Terms upon which Germany would make peace.	114
5607	Feb. 5	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Reported British ship *Eavestone* shelled by German submarine. American citizen killed.	114
5610	Feb. 6	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Sinking of the *Housatonic* and rescue of crew.	115
5615	Feb. 6	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	German submarine *U-45* demanded and obtained lubricating oil of the American S.S. *Westwego*.	115

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
107	Feb. 6	To the Consul General at Sofia (tel.)	Instructions to suggest continuance of friendly relations between the United States and Bulgaria.	116
1532	Feb. 6	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Message for transmission from the Bulgarian Minister at Washington to his Government, stating the United States desires to maintain friendly relations with Bulgaria.	116
439	Feb. 6	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Quotes Denmark's note declining to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	116
331	Feb. 6	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Transmits copy of Spain's protest to Germany against unrestricted submarine warfare.	117
551	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Mar. 9]	From the Ambassador in Spain	Encloses Spanish note maintaining neutrality.	117*n*
115	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Norway will limit its action against Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare to a joint protest with other Scandinavian countries.	118
5616	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British satisfaction at U.S. break in relations with Germany.	119
330	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	The King declares Spain will remain neutral in order to represent belligerents at various capitals in interest of humanity.	120
5625	Feb. 7	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Indications of success in dealing with submarines.	121
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of the *California* by submarine without warning.	122
	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	British S.S. *Turino* torpedoed without warning.	122
	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Details regarding sinking of the *California;* death roll.	123
712	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Quotes in part Netherland note refusing to follow example of the United States in severing relations with Germany.	123
171	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Quotes Sweden's note declining to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	124
	Feb. 10	From the Counselor for the Department of State	Swiss Minister offers good offices to prevent war between the United States and Germany.	125

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5658	Feb. 10	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Affidavits of ship's officers confirm reports of sinking of the *California*.	125
	Feb. 10	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of British India liner *Mantola*.	126
	Feb. 11	From the Swiss Minister	Germany willing to negotiate with the United States provided English blockade is maintained.	126
251	Feb. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 11]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Greece declines to take united action with the United States in severing relations with Germany.	126
501	Feb. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 11]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Quotes Swiss note declining to unite with the United States in severing relations with Germany, and declaring intention of preserving neutrality.	127
505	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Quotes Swiss protest to Germany and Austria-Hungary against blockade; reservation of rights.	128
	Feb. 12	To the Swiss Minister	No negotiations possible with Germany until proclamation of unrestricted submarine warfare is withdrawn.	129
	Feb. 12 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of British tanker *Saxonian*.	129
119	Feb. 13	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Quotes Norwegian note declining to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	130
5676	Feb. 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Sinking of British S.S. *Vedamore*.	130
	Feb. 13	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	*Saxonian's* boats picked up. after being shelled.	131
	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the Consul General at Rome (tel.)	Reported destruction of schooner *Lyman M. Law* and landing of crew at Sardinia.	131
1551	Feb. 14	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Uncertainty of interpretation of Austria-Hungary's declarations on submarine warfare. Instructions to ascertain attitude.	131
5690	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb. 15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The *Japanese Prince* torpedoed without warning.	133
5689	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb. 15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Sinking of British sailing ship *Ainsdale*.	134
2479	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 15]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Relations between the United States and Turkey remain normal.	134
	Feb. 15	From the Consul at Swansea (tel.)	British tank steamer *Pinna* attacked by submarine.	135

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5694	Feb. 15	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Affidavits indicate submarine torpedoed the *Saxonian* without knowing its nationality.	135
1705	Feb. 15 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary taking precautions against break with America. No submarine activity outside the Adriatic.	135
545	Feb. 19 [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Swiss criticism of Minister at Washington for activities in German overtures to the United States. Germany's published statement.	136
1713	Feb. 19 [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Drastic measures to prevent press articles hostile to America.	137
121	Feb. 18 [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Consul General at Sofia (tel.)	Bulgaria intends to preserve friendly relations with the United States.	137
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Dalbeattie.*	138
	Feb. 20	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Attack upon and escape of British ship *Wallace.*	138
848	Feb. 20	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Sinking of schooner *Lyman M. Law.*	139
	Feb. 21	Memorandum of the Secretary of State	Swiss Minister explains that German overtures originated in Washington with approval of German Ambassador.	139
	Feb. 21	From the Consul General at Barcelona (tel.)	Sinking of Swedish S.S. *Skogland.*	141
5732	Feb. 21	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Destruction of French sailing ship *Bayonne.*	141
284	Feb. 21 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Greek Chargé	Greek representations to Germany reserving rights in matter of submarine warfare.	142
	Feb. 23	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Skrim.*	142
1567	Feb. 23	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary must change its submarine policy, otherwise its representative can not be received by the United States.	143
	Feb. 23	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Alice.*	143
311	Feb. 24	From the Greek Legation	Greece declines to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	143
279	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 24]	From the Consul at Cork	Discussion of the *Eavestone* sinking and of the submarine campaign off Irish coast.	144

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 24	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	Sinking of British sailing ship *Centurion*.	146
5747	Feb. 24	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes intercepted telegram of German Foreign Minister conveying overtures to Mexico and Japan.	147
2475	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 25]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany as affecting Turkey's policy.	148
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 26]	From the Vice Consul at Dundee (tel.)	British S.S. *Roanoke* torpedoed without warning; vessel with crew towed to Dundee.	149
	Feb. 26	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Cunarder *Laconia*.	149

THE ARMAMENT OF AMERICAN MERCHANT SHIPS—THE SINKING OF THE "LACONIA," FEBRUARY 26, OF OTHER SHIPS WITH AMERICANS ABOARD, AND OF AMERICAN SHIPS—AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AIDE-MÉMOIRE ON SUBMARINE POLICY, MARCH 2—REFUSAL OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO RECEIVE THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE—DECLARATION OF A STATE OF WAR WITH GERMANY, APRIL 6

	Feb. 26	To the diplomatic representatives in all countries except Liberia and Morocco (tel.)	Quotes extract from the President's address of Feb. 26 to Congress requesting authority to protect American life and property at sea.	149
1728	Feb. 26 [Rec'd Feb. 27]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Foreign Minister gives assurance of satisfactory reply to communication regarding the *Ancona* and *Persia* pledges.	151
	Feb. 27	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Reports loss of life in sinking of the *Laconia*.	151
4483	Feb. 27	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Appreciation of information regarding Germany's overtures to Mexico. Matter to be taken up with Carranza.	151
1729	Feb. 27	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Official denial that the *Lyman M. Law* was sunk by Austro-Hungarians.	152
1731	Feb. 27 [Rec'd Feb. 28]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Official assurance of satisfactory reply to U.S. inquiry regarding submarine warfare.	152
4493	Feb. 28	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to request copy of German code and to decode certain German messages to South American countries.	152
737	Feb. 28	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Press summary of German Chancellor's address to Reichstag on U.S. break in relations.	153

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4494	Mar. 1	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to obtain permission to decode original of German overture to Mexico as secured in Washington.	155
	Mar. 1	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Sjöstad.*	155
589	Mar. 1	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Press reports of statements of various party leaders in German Reichstag on war conditions.	156
	Mar. 1	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Submarine attack on British bark *Galgorm Castle.*	156
	Mar. 1	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Submarine attack on Donaldson freight liner *Tritonian.*	157
	Mar. 1 [Rec'd Mar. 2]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Suggestion that all German code messages be sent to England to be deciphered, as code experts can not be spared.	157
5789	Mar. 2	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Returns deciphered text of original German overture to Mexico.	158
1901	Mar. 2	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Nyland.*	159
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 3]	From the Consul at Southampton (tel.)	British S.S. *Belgier* torpedoed by German submarine.	159
	Mar. 3	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian bark *Storenes.*	159
603	Mar. 3 [Rec'd Mar. 4]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	German comments on publication in the United States of German overtures to Mexico and Japan.	160
	Mar. 3 [Rec'd Mar. 4]	From the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)	Japan denies receipt from Mexico of German proposals of alliance.	160
1739	Mar. 2 [Rec'd Mar. 4]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austria-Hungary's justification of submarine policy.	161
	Mar. 5	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Attack on British schooner *Mayola.*	169
	Mar. 5	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Submarine attack on British S.S. *Drina.*	169
1746	Mar. 6 [Rec'd Mar. 7]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Foreign Minister requests that full reception be given the Ambassador designate in the United States.	169
5816	Mar. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	General feeling that U.S. delay in sending out ships means submission to German blockade.	170
	Mar. 10	From the Consul at Swansea (tel.)	Sinking of British bark *Inverlogie.*	170

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 12	To the Argentine Embassy; *mutatis mutandis*, to all foreign embassies and legations at Washington	Announces the arming of U.S. merchant ships.	171
	Mar. 12	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Storstad* bound for Rotterdam for Belgian relief.	171
	Mar. 12	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Cunard nonpassenger liner *Folia*.	172
120	Feb. 16 [Rec'd Mar. 13]	From the Consul General at Sofia (tel.)	Bulgaria reciprocates friendly feelings of the United States.	172
	Mar. 13	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Further report on sinking of Cunarder *Folia*.	173
	Mar. 13	From the Vice Consul at Rotterdam (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian freight steamship *Thode Fagesund*.	173
765	Mar. 13	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Summary of political situation in Germany.	173
	Mar. 14	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	Sinking of S.S. *Algonquin* of New York.	174
	Mar. 14	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	British ship *East Point* torpedoed.	175
303	Feb. 24 [Rec'd Mar. 15]	From the Consul at Cork	Report of destruction of Norwegian bark *Blenheim* and of submarine activity off Irish coast.	175
1760	Mar. 14 [Rec'd Mar. 16]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Prospect of difficulties if Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate not received in Washington.	177
	Mar. 15 [Rec'd Mar. 16]	From the Consul at Hull (tel.)	Sinking of British S.S. *Lucy Andersen*.	177
	Mar. 15 [Rec'd Mar. 17]	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	Additional details on sinking of American S.S. *Algonquin*.	177
	Mar. 17	From the Consul General at Marseilles (tel.)	Attack on British merchant steamer *Corso*.	178
1606	Mar. 18	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	U.S. position regarding official reception of Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate.	178
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 18]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of the S.S. *City of Memphis*.	180
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 19]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	British tanker *Lucilline* torpedoed.	181

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 20	From the Vice Consul at Rotterdam (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian freight-steamship *Davanger*.	181
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 20]	From the Consul at Glasgow (tel.)	Sinking of the *City of Memphis*	181
	Mar. 21 [Rec'd Mar. 22]	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	Sinking of the *Vigilancia*	182
1948	Mar. 22	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Girda*	182
	Mar. 22	From the Vice Consul at Rotterdam (tel.)	Sinking of Dutch tank-steamship *La Campine* owned by American company.	183
	Mar. 22	From the Consul at Amsterdam (tel.)	Standard Oil ship *Healdton* torpedoed.	183
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 23]	From the Swiss Minister	German notice of extension of submarine blockade of Arctic Ocean.	183
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 23]	From the Consul at Southampton (tel.)	Sinking of American ship *Illinois*	184
	Mar. 23	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian tanker *Malmanger*.	184
	Mar. 23	From the Consul at Amsterdam (tel.)	Additional details on sinking of the *Healdton*.	185
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 23]	From the Consul at La Rochelle (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Avra*	185
1781	Mar. 22 [Rec'd Mar. 24]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	U.S. delay in receiving the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate.	186
1955	Mar. 23 [Rec'd Mar. 24]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Ronald*	186
1959	Mar. 24	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Wilfred*	187
IV.4	Mar. 24 [Rec'd Mar. 26]	From the Swiss Minister	German notice of further extension of submarine blockade of Arctic Ocean.	187
	Mar. 26	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Attack on British S.S. *Chorley*	188
1624	Mar. 28	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Refusal to receive Ambassador designate and offer of safe-conduct to Vienna. Instructions for U. S. Ambassador to report in Washington.	188
	Mar. 28	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of British bark *Neath*	189
	Mar. 30	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	British freight liner *Crispin* torpedoed.	189

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY SUBMARINE OPERATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 30 [Rec'd Mar. 31]	From the Consul General at Marseilles (tel.)	Sinking of British S.S. *Eptalofos*	190
3467	Mar. 31	To the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Instructions to be followed in case Turkey decides to sever relations with the United States.	191
532	Mar. 31 [Rec'd Apr. 1]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Quotes German Foreign Minister's address before the Reichstag in justification of his overtures to Mexico.	192
535	Mar. 31 [Rec'd Apr. 1]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Press report of German Chancellor's speech concerning possibility of war with the United States.	192
1800	Apr. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 2]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary will sever diplomatic relations with the United States if latter declares war on Germany.	193
	Apr. 2	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Additional data regarding crew of the *Crispin*.	194
	Apr. 2	To the diplomatic representatives in all countries (tel.)	*Résumé* of President's address to Congress advising declaration of war; joint resolution of Congress declaring war with Germany.	194
	Apr. 2	Address of the President	Text of address before joint session of the two Houses of Congress advising war with Germany.	195
1969	Apr. 2 [Rec'd Apr. 3]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	American S.S. *Aztec* torpedoed	203
	Apr. 4	From the Consul at Cardiff (tel.)	Sinking of the British S.S. *Lincolnshire*.	203
	Apr. 4	From the Consul at Cardiff (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S. S. *Sandvik*.	203
1974	Apr. 4 [Rec'd Apr. 5]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of the American S. S. *Aztec*.	204
	Apr. 5	From the Consul General at Genoa (tel.)	Sinking of the American S. S. *Missourian*.	205
	Apr. 5	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Leyland horse transport *Canadian*.	205
	Apr. 5	From the Consul at Hull (tel.)	Sinking of British S. S. *Cannizaro*	206
2587	Apr. 2 [Rec'd Apr. 6]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Speculation regarding Turkey's attitude toward the United States. Suggested diplomatic representations should relations be broken.	206
1364	Apr. 6	Proclamation	Proclaims existence of war between the United States and Germany.	207

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PART II

THE STATUS OF NEUTRAL SEAMEN ON ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS OF BELLIGERENT NATIONALITY—TREATMENT OF CAPTURED AMERICAN SEAMEN BROUGHT TO GERMANY BY THE "YARROWDALE" AND THE "MOEWE"

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4909	Jan. 19 [Rec'd Jan. 20]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Press reports British S. S. *Yarrowdale* brought in as German prize with neutrals among prisoners on board.	208
3809	Jan. 22	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Inquiry whether any Americans among prisoners on board *Yarrowdale*.	208
4929	Jan. 26 [Rec'd Jan. 27]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Reported American prisoners are on *Yarrowdale* and German Government undecided what position to take regarding them.	208
4949	Jan. 30 [Rec'd Jan. 31]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note stating that American citizens were among crews brought in by *Yarrowdale*.	209
3857	Feb. 2	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Instructions to insist on release of Americans on *Yarrowdale*.	209
4992	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Americans on *Yarrowdale* will be released.	210
	Feb. 12	From the Swiss Minister	Transmits German message that release of Americans on *Yarrowdale* conditional upon freedom from seizure of German vessels in U.S. waters.	210
355	Feb. 17	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Officially reported that nonbelligerents on *Yarrowdale* will be liberated.	211
269	Feb. 20	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Formal demand upon Germany through Spanish Ambassador at Berlin for release of *Yarrowdale* prisoners.	211
370	Feb. 25	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Official notice that *Yarrowdale* prisoners were released on 16th.	211
291	Feb. 27	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Reported infectious disease prevents release of *Yarrowdale* prisoners. Instructions to request that Spanish representative be sent to investigate.	211
XVI 2	Mar. 2	From the Swiss Minister	Transmits German note explaining delay in release of *Yarrowdale* prisoners and promising release at end of quarantine.	212
399	Mar. 7 [Rec'd Mar. 8]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spanish Embassy doctor visits *Yarrowdale* prisoners and states conditions are as reported by German authorities.	212
408	Mar. 12	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Release of American prisoners on the *Yarrowdale*.	213
636	Mar. 12	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Arrival at Zürich of Americans from *Yarrowdale*.	213

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PART II

THE STATUS OF NEUTRAL SEAMEN ON ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS, ETC.—Con.

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
678	Mar. 23	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Return of the *Moewe* to German port with prisoners. Suggests representations through Spanish diplomatic channels.	213
349	Mar. 24	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Request for release of Americans if any brought in as prisoners on the *Moewe*.	214
376	Mar. 31	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Instructions to urge Foreign Office to secure information regarding American prisoners on the *Moewe* and obtain their release.	214
481	Apr. 16	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	German reply to request for release of *Moewe* prisoners.	214
435	Apr. 26	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Instructions to request investigation of internment camp of the *Moewe* prisoners.	215
879	Apr. 18 [Rec'd May 15]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands	Transmits German memorandum of Mar. 30 regarding treatment of neutral members of crews of enemy merchantmen.	215
480	May 21	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Red Cross reports on American prisoners in Germany. Instructions to request Spanish investigation and report.	218
569	May 23	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spanish Ambassador's report on American prisoners in Germany.	218

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH EUROPEAN BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES AS AFFECTED BY THE WAR IN GENERAL AND BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WARFARE

EXPRESSIONS OF APPROVAL OF THE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTIONS OF DECEMBER 18, 1916, TO BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS—RESPONSES TO THE NOTIFICATION OF THE SEVERANCE BY THE UNITED STATES OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY—REPLIES TO THE GERMAN NOTIFICATION OF RESUMPTION OF UNRESTRICTED SUBMARINE WARFARE

	Dec. 26, 1916	To the diplomatic representatives in all neutral countries (tel.)	Instructions to deliver to Government to which accredited the President's suggestion to belligerent governments that they communicate their terms of peace.	219
	Jan. 8, 1917 [Rec'd Jan. 9]	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes Brazil's note concurring in pacific sentiments expressed by the President's peace note.	219
	Jan. 12	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguay's reply in sympathy with the President's peace note.	219
	Jan. 19	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peru's note expressing wish that the peace initiative of President Wilson may produce results.	220

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Panama's offer of cooperation with United States. Precautions taken in Canal Zone to prevent possible injury to the canal.	221
	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Cuba ready to render moral and material support to the United States against Germany.	221
	Feb. 5	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil will protest against German policy; looks to concerted action of South American powers; and supports action of the United States.	222
	Feb. 5 [Rec'd Feb. 6]	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Honduras gives assurance of sympathy with U.S. action toward Germany. Minister inquires if authorized to guarantee U. S. protection in case of German aggression.	222
	Feb. 6	From the Minister in Bolivia (tel.)	Bolivia in accord with U.S. view on Germany's submarine policy.	222
	Feb. 7	From the Minister in Guatemala (tel.)	Guatemala disposed to cooperate with United States.	223
	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Minister's note stating Haiti is disposed to adopt such attitude as will be necessary to obtain peace.	223
	Feb. 8	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Cuban protest against German note on submarine warfare, opening way for severance of relations.	224
	Feb. 8	To the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	The United States not in position to guarantee protection in case of aggression resulting from proposed action against Germany.	224
	Feb. 8	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes in part Panama's note giving assurance of cooperation in defense of the canal should armed force be necessary.	225
	Feb. 8	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine attitude toward Germany theoretically at one with that of the United States, but, in absence of concrete injury, form of reply will appear different.	225
	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes in part Brazil's note protesting against blockade of England's coast and placing upon Germany responsibility for any incidents resulting therefrom.	226
	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay may abstain from formally expressing its attitude toward Germany but is in full sympathy with U.S. position.	226

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile in note to Germany refuses acceptance of blockade measure and reserves rights.	227
DE–6	Feb. 9	From the Argentine Ambassador	Forwards copy of Argentina's reply to Germany deploring extreme measures of blockade and declaring adherence to rules of international law.	227
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguay's note recognizing justice of the President's sentiments; also note of protest to Germany.	228
	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Quotes in part Chile's note disclosing unity of purpose with the United States in favor of general rights of neutrality.	229
	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Chargé in Colombia (tel.)	Approval of Colombian treaty desired. Apprehension lest the United States invade Colombia to protect canal in case of war.	229
	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Minister in Bolivia (tel.)	Quotes Bolivian note to Germany stating Bolivia unites with the United States in protesting against restriction of neutral shipping.	230
	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peru's note of appreciation of the President's stand on blockade and hope that war with Germany may be averted.	230
	Feb. 12	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes from Peru's reply to Germany refusing to accept principles of blockade with reservation of rights. *Lorton* case cited.	231
	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Quotes Ecuador's acknowledgment of the President's message without indicating attitude toward his suggestion that neutrals sever relations with Germany.	231

SUGGESTIONS BY PARAGUAY, ECUADOR, AND ARGENTINA FOR A CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES—ATTITUDE OF THE DE FACTO MEXICAN GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE GERMAN PROPOSAL FOR AN ALLIANCE—OFFER OF MEXICO'S GOOD OFFICES TO RESTORE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

	Feb. 15 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay's suggestion that attitude of neutral American states be determined in convention.	232
2	Feb. 19	From the Ecuadoran Minister	Presents Ecuador's proposal of an American congress for agreeing upon joint action to protect neutral rights.	233
	Feb. 24	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Panaman Assembly authorizes cooperation with the United States in event of war with Germany.	233

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
10	Feb. 26	To the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Instructions to disclose to Carranza U. S. knowledge of German overtures and to suggest that statement of Mexico's position be published.	234
9	Feb. 26 [Rec'd Feb. 27]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Foreign Minister denies knowledge of German overtures.	235
	Feb. 27	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine initiative in suggesting that Latin-American powers mediate between Germany and the United States.	235
	Feb. 27	From the Minister in Salvador (tel.)	Salvador will observe scrupulous neutrality.	235
	Mar. 3	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Probable outcome of projected Latin-American conference.	236
420	Feb. 17 [Rec'd Mar. 6]	From the Minister in Honduras	Transmits Honduran note commending action of the United States against Germany.	236
339	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Mar. 6]	From the Minister in Nicaragua	Transmits Nicaraguan note expressing regret over U. S. break in relations with Germany and hope that rights of neutrals will be respected.	237
13	Mar. 10 [Rec'd Mar. 11]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Carranza denies having received proposal of alliance with Germany; suggests peace conference at Washington.	238
	Mar. 7 [Rec'd Mar. 12]	From the Venezuelan Minister	While Venezuela maintains strict neutrality, it sympathizes with U.S. move to enforce respect for neutral rights.	239
1266	Feb. 23 [Rec'd Mar. 14]	From the Minister in Panama	Panama refuses to follow Mexico's suggestion that neutral governments discontinue sending munitions and supplies to belligerents.	240
	Mar. 14	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to report Argentina's activities regarding mediation by Latin-American powers.	240
	Mar. 14	To the Ambassador in Chile (tel.): to repeat to Peru and Uruguay	Instructions to report on activities of Argentina regarding mediation by Latin-American powers, also on attitude of Government to which accredited.	240
	Mar. 15	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile and Brazil will not join Argentine movement for mediation between the United States and Germany.	241
	Mar. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Slight activity in promoting move for Latin-American mediation.	241
26	Mar. 17 [Rec'd Mar. 18]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Offer of Mexico's good offices to restore relations between the United States and Germany.	241

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 20	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	No organized effort to bring about mediation by Latin-American republics; plan not favored by Uruguay.	242
	Mar. 24	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Peru discredits mediation proposition, favoring united action for insisting on neutrality and observance by belligerents of neutral rights.	242
54	Apr. 3	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Ecuador and Colombia apparently only American republics supporting Mexican peace propaganda.	243
	Apr. 3 [Rec'd Apr. 4]	From the Minister in Costa Rica (tel.)	Costa Rica will observe benevolent neutrality and try to prevent development of hostility against the United States within its territory.	243
	Apr. 5	From the Cuban Minister	Message from the Foreign Minister stating Cuba identified with the United States in policy; Cuban President will request authorization to declare a state of war with Germany.	244

RESPONSES TO THE NOTIFICATION OF A STATE OF WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY—SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, IN TERMS AMOUNTING TO A DECLARATION OF WAR, BY PANAMA, APRIL 7—DECLARATION OF WAR WITH GERMANY BY CUBA, APRIL 7—SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY BRAZIL, APRIL 11, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE SINKING OF THE "PARANÁ"—SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY BOLIVIA, APRIL 13—THE SINKING OF THE ARGENTINE SHIP "MONTE PROTEGIDO"

	Apr. 6	To the diplomatic representatives in all countries except Russia (tel.)	Notification of state of war between the United States and Germany.	244
	Apr. 6 [Rec'd Apr. 7]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Exequaturs of German consuls in Panama will be canceled and proclamation of alliance with the United States will be issued.	245
	Apr. 7 [Rec'd Apr. 8]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Panaman proclamation of alliance and cooperation with the United States in war with Germany.	245
	Apr. 7 [Rec'd Apr. 8]	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Quotes text of act authorizing the Cuban President to declare war on Germany.	246
	Apr. 7 [Rec'd Apr. 8]	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Commission to be sent to Washington to confer regarding Cuba's part in war. Precautions taken on land and in harbor.	247

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 9	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Inquires if Panaman proclamation is declaration of war against Germany.	247
	Apr. 9 [Rec'd Apr. 10]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes extract from Panaman proclamation in which Panama and Germany defined as belligerents.	248
	Apr. 10 [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Officially confirmed that proclamation construed as declaration of war.	248
77	Apr. 10 [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Office note lamenting U.S. difficulties with Germany and promising to omit no effort to bring about peace.	249
	Apr. 10 [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes Argentine note recognizing justice of U.S. action against Germany.	249
	Apr. 12	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Satisfaction expressed at action of Panama in allying itself with the United States.	250
	Apr. 12	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	President Wilson's message to the President of Cuba in appreciation of Cuba's declaration of war against Germany.	250
	Apr. 12	From the Salvadoran Minister	Salvador will maintain neutrality. Presents sympathy and good wishes to the United States.	251
	Apr. 12	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile will maintain neutrality	251
	Apr. 12 [Rec'd Apr. 13]	From the Brazilian Ambassador	Severance of relations with Germany by Brazil in consequence of the sinking of the *Paraná*.	251
	Apr. 12 [Rec'd Apr. 13]	From the Consul General at Rio de Janeiro (tel.)	Brazil takes possession of German shipping in its ports.	252
	Apr. 13	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peru's note deploring necessity for U.S. action against Germany.	253
	Apr. 14	From the Bolivian Minister	Bolivia severs relations with Germany.	253
	Apr. 14	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Gratification at Cuba's desire to cooperate by sending commission to the United States.	254
	Apr. 14 [Rec'd Apr. 15]	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay sympathizes with the United States in its action against Germany.	254
	Apr. 14 [Rec'd Apr. 15]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay approves U.S. action against Germany but will observe neutrality.	254
	Apr. 15	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Sinking of the Argentine brigantine *Monte Protegido* by German submarine may cause severance of diplomatic relations.	255
95	Apr. 15 [Rec'd Apr. 16]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Mexico will observe strict neutrality.	255

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
118	Apr. 16	To the Brazilian Ambassador	No recourse left Brazil and the United States but to take up arms to meet attacks on neutral shipping.	255
	Apr. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina expresses appreciation of attitude of Brazil in defense of principles of international law.	256

ARGENTINA'S INITIATIVE TOWARD CALLING A CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES; ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES—OFFER OF SUPPORT IN THE WAR BY GUATEMALA IN EXCHANGE FOR ASSURANCES AGAINST POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES; ACCEPTANCE BY THE UNITED STATES—SIMILAR ASSURANCES TO HAITI

	Apr. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Calling of commercial conference of American nations at Argentina includes the United States.	256
	Apr. 16	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay expresses sympathy for Brazil in severing relations with Germany.	256
	Apr. 17	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes proposed Argentine invitation to the nations of America.	257
	Apr. 18	From the Guatemalan Minister	Offer of support in the war by Guatemala in exchange for assurances against possible consequences. Enclosure: Copy of Foreign Office note to Minister in Guatemala offering cooperation in war.	257
	Apr. 18	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Inquiry regarding message of Mar. 16, 6 p.m., on commercial congress.	259
	Apr. 18	From the Minister in Nicaragua (tel.)	Nicaragua expresses sympathy for the United States in conflict and applauds the President's magnanimity.	259
	Apr. 19	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Suggests that Panaman Minister be given full powers as commissioner to cooperate on war matters.	259
	Apr. 20	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Changes in title of congress of American nations to be called by Argentina.	260
	Apr. 20	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Inquires U.S. attitude relative to conference of neutral American nations.	260
	Apr. 21	To the Minister in Guatemala (tel.)	The United States would give to Guatemala full support in action against Germany.	261
123	Apr. 21	To the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Germany's violations of international law prevent U.S. acceptance of Mexico's good offices in mediation.	261
124	Apr. 21	To the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Instructions to discuss with Mexico the menace arising from activities of German subjects in Mexico.	262

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 22	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Impossibility of any expression of views by the United States regarding conference of Latin-American nations.	263
	Apr. 22	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Press reports that Argentina demands apology and indemnity of Germany for sinking of brigantine.	263
	Apr. 22 [Rec'd Apr. 23]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes text of Argentine note of invitation to nations of America for conference to procure mutual understanding on the war.	263
	Apr. 20 [Rec'd Apr. 25]	From the Guatemalan Minister	Guatemala will accept with gratitude U.S. assistance proffered in support of its attitude regarding the war.	264
	Apr. 25	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Attempt of Argentina to interpret the meaning of U.S. reply regarding proposed conference of American nations.	264
133	Apr. 25 [Rec'd Apr. 26]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Discussion with Carranza of Latin-American mediation and war situation as affecting Mexican attitude toward the United States.	265
	Apr. 21 and 24	Memoranda of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Assurances of all proper assistance to Haiti in case of decision to break relations with Germany and declare war.	266
	Apr. 26	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Haiti inquires precisely what support the United States would give in event of a declaration of war on Germany.	267
	Apr. 27	To the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	The United States gives assurance of using every effort to prevent Haiti from suffering injury as result of war with Germany.	268
28517 Op-23	Apr. 27	From the Secretary of the Navy	The Navy Department requests to be informed whenever a change of relations between the United States and any foreign government occurs.	268
	Apr. 27	From the Guatemalan Minister	Presents copies of telegrams to and from the President of Guatemala on severance of relations with Germany and placing of its harbors and railways at disposal of the United States for mutual defense of both countries.	268
70	Apr. 28	To the Guatemalan Minister	U.S. appreciation of offer of assistance by Guatemala in war with Germany.	269

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 29	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Proposal that Cuba requisition German vessels and dispose of them to the United States. Suggested method of procedure.	270
	Apr. 30 [Rec'd May 1]	From the Panaman Minister	Authorization of Panaman commission for discussion of war measures for protection of the canal.	271

SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY GUATEMALA, APRIL 27—SETTLEMENT OF THE "MONTE PROTEGIDO" CASE BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND GERMANY—ARGENTINE INVITATION, MAY 9, TO THE LATIN-AMERICAN STATES FOR A CONFERENCE; ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES—SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY HONDURAS, MAY 17; BY NICARAGUA, MAY 19

	Apr. 27 [Rec'd May 1]	From the Guatemalan Minister	Guatemala severs relations with Germany and offers its ports and railways to the United States for use in common defense.	271
72	May 1	To the Guatemalan Minister	Assurances of U.S. appreciation and support in action taken for common defense.	272
46	May 1	To the Bolivian Minister	U.S. appreciation of Bolivia's supporting attitude in severing relations with Germany.	273
	May 1	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Socialist Party voted against intervention in the war.	273
	May 1	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Decreed that Brazil comply with neutrality rules of 1914 until further orders to the contrary.	273
	May 2	To the Secretary of the Navy	No action taken on Costa Rican offer of use of its harbors by the United States, as *de facto* Government not recognized.	274
	May 2	To the Minister in Salvador (tel.): to repeat to Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica	Guatemala's action in severing relations with Germany and offering support to the United States.	274
	May 2	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reported that Germany has agreed to indemnify Argentina for loss of vessel and will salute Argentine flag.	275
	May 3	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Certain opposition to war might be overcome by assurance of Haiti's admission to peace congress at end of war.	275
	May 4	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	War message of Haiti's President received in National Assembly.	275
	May 5	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina accepts German promise of reparation, ratifying friendly sentiments between the two countries.	275

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 5	To the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Necessity for prompt decision regarding alliance with great powers in war.	276
	May 7	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Assurance of Honduran cooperation in every way possible without violation of treaty of Washington.	276
	May 8	From the Venezuelan Minister	Presents extract from message of Provisional President of Venezuela to the National Congress declaring policy of neutrality.	277
	May 9 [Rec'd May 10]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Requests suggestion regarding reply Panama should make to invitation to congress of American nations.	277
	May 10	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Honduras accepts invitation to Latin-American congress with understanding that support of the United States is contemplated.	278
	May 11	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Reports reply of Central-American countries to invitation to Latin-American congress.	278
	May 10	From the Minister in Nicaragua (tel.)	Inquires what points Department wishes embodied in decree concerning Nicaragua's attitude toward Germany.	278
	May 11	To the Minister in Nicaragua (tel.)	U.S. desire that Nicaragua take action regarding Germany similar to that taken by Guatemala.	278
	May 11	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	President of Haiti authorized to protest against submarine warfare and to sever relations with Germany if there be need.	279
	May 12	To the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Congress of neutrals not necessary to represent Latin-American feeling, as many nations have declared their policy. Honduran attitude under scrutiny.	279
	May 12	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	The United States desires that Panama refuse to participate in conference.	280
	May 14	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Costa Rica accepts invitation to Latin-American conference.	281
	May 15	To the Panaman Minister	Acknowledgment of note concerning appointment of Panaman commission to discuss protection of Panama and the canal.	281
	May 15	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Haitian representative in Berlin instructed to ask for his passports if no satisfactory response received from Germany regarding protest.	281

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 17	From the Argentine Ambassador	Presents Argentine message explaining move for congress of American nations and desire to remove any misunderstanding regarding friendly relations with the United States.	282
	May 17	From the Venezuelan Minister	Presents copy of Venezuelan note to Argentina declining to attend conference.	283
	May 17	Memorandum of the Counselor for the Department of State	Brazil proposes to support the United States in war in exchange for trade guaranties and agreement regarding protection.	283
	May 17	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	The President of Honduras decrees adherence to the United States, and diplomatic relations with Germany broken.	284
	May 18 [Rec'd May 19]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Intimation that, if satisfactory cooperation with the United States can be effected, Brazil will revoke neutrality decree.	284
	May 22 [Rec'd May 23]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Text of message of President of Brazil to Congress on foreign policy.	285
	May 22 [Rec'd May 23]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes Panaman reply to Argentina refusing to attend conference of American nations.	286
	May 24	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Cuba will not sell German prize vessels but offers use of them to the United States on any terms desired.	286
	May 24	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	*De facto* Government of Costa Rica would sever relations with Germany in case of U.S. recognition.	287
1384	May 11 [Rec'd May 25]	From the Minister in Panama	Reports conference relating to measures for proper defense of Panama and the Canal Zone.	287
	May 25	To the diplomatic representatives in Central and South America, except Argentina, Mexico, Panama, Cuba, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic (tel.)	Instructions to bring to attention of Governments to which accredited U.S. attitude toward the conference.	289
	May 25	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes Nicaragua's message to Argentina accepting invitation to conference, though adopting policy in accord with that of the United States.	289
	May 19 [Rec'd May 26]	From the Nicaraguan Chargé	Nicaragua severs relations with Germany and offers support to the United States.	289

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 26 [Rec'd May 27]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes text of the Brazilian President's message to Congress recommending appropriation of German merchant ships in Brazilian ports.	290
	May 28 [Rec'd May 29]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazilian Chamber of Deputies passed resolution authorizing withdrawal of decree of neutrality as affecting the United States and Germany.	291
	May 29	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Foreign Relations Committee of Brazilian Chamber recommends appropriation of German merchant vessels and takes measures for defense of foreign commerce.	291
	May 17 [Rec'd May 31]	From the Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs	Honduras tenders its cooperation with the United States in every possible way.	291
	June 1	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay declares that the U.S. Fleet would be received as a friend in port of Montevido.	292
36	June 2	To the Nicaraguan Chargé	Appreciation of Nicaragua's action in severing relations with Germany and offering support to the U.S. cause.	292
	June 2	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Haiti declines to be represented at conference.	293

REVOCATION BY BRAZIL, JUNE 2, OF THE DECREE OF NEUTRALITY AS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY; SEIZURE OF GERMAN SHIPS IN BRAZILIAN PORTS—SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY HAITI, JUNE 17—OPENING OF THE PORTS AND WATERS OF URUGUAY TO AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES

	June 2	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Bill passed revoking decree of neutrality in war between the United States and Germany and authorizing use of German interned vessels.	293
	June 2	From the Minister in Bolivia (tel.)	Bolivia declines to participate in conference.	293
	June 2	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil unwilling to revoke neutrality decrees affecting Allies until England removes prohibition on Brazilian coffee to Great Britain. U.S. good offices desired.	294
	June 3 [Rec'd June 4]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil appropriates German vessels anchored in Brazilian ports.	294
	June 4	From the Brazilian Ambassador	Unalterable friendship of Brazil for the United States and policy of continental solidarity.	294

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	June 4	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes President Wilson's message of appreciation of Brazil's move.	295
4939	June 6	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to request modification of prohibition on importation of Brazilian coffee.	296
	June 9 [Rec'd June 10]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay supports Brazil's policy on grounds of American solidarity. Suggests that American Fleet in its ports will have good effect.	296
	June 11	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Inquires regarding extent of invitation to use Uruguay's ports.	296
	June 11	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay does not favor convention of neutral American states.	297
	June 13	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Peru consents to join conference only on condition that it act under leadership of the United States.	297
6448	June 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British concession to Brazil, in matter of coffee exports, sent to Embassy at Washington.	297
	June 14 [Rec'd June 15]	From the Chilean Ambassador	Presents copy of Chile's note to Brazil commending action of latter in repealing neutrality decree.	298
	June 15	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Arrangements proposed for use by the United States of ex-German vessels.	299
	Undated [Rec'd June 15]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguay's reply to Brazil's declaration of neutrality, sympathizing with its aspirations toward continental solidarity.	299
	June 15 [Rec'd June 16]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Ports and waters of Uruguay open to American naval forces.	300
135	June 16	To the Brazilian Ambassador	Appreciation of friendly cooperation of Brazil in U.S. war policy.	300
	June 17 [Rec'd June 18]	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Haiti.	301
	Undated [Rec'd June 19]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Text of Executive order revoking Uruguay's neutrality decree.	301
	June 20	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Acceptance of Uruguay's ports for use of U.S. naval vessels.	302
	June 20	To the Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs	Honduran offer of cooperation accepted.	302
	June 23	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reports countries which will participate in conference of neutrals.	303

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

THE SINKING OF THE ARGENTINE SHIP "TORO"; ADJUSTMENT OF THE CASE—VISIT OF THE AMERICAN FLEET TO RIO DE JANEIRO, MONTEVIDEO, AND BUENOS AIRES—ARRANGEMENTS FOR COOPERATION WITH BRAZIL IN PATROLLING THE SOUTH ATLANTIC—REVOCATION OF BRAZIL'S NEUTRALITY WITH RESPECT TO THE ALLIED POWERS, JUNE 28; DISCUSSION AS TO THE EXPORT OF BRAZILIAN COFFEE AND THE DISPOSITION OF GERMAN SHIPS TAKEN OVER BY BRAZIL—TRANSFER TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE GERMAN SHIPS SEIZED BY CUBA—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PERU AND GERMANY CONCERNING THE SINKING OF THE "LORTON"

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	June 26	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Sinking of Argentine vessel *Toro*	303
	June 29	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Revocation of Brazil's neutrality decree with respect to Allied powers.	304
	July 1	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Annual message to Congress recites Argentina's efforts to maintain neutrality and plan for congress of neutrals.	304
	July 2	From the British Embassy	Proposes to import Brazilian coffee if German requisitioned ships placed at disposal of Great Britain.	304
	July 2	To the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Interview with Chilean Ambassador regarding Chile's war policy.	305
	July 3	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Request for outline of plan of congress of neutrals.	305
	July 5	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Date and program of conference uncertain. Believed that Argentina's note to Germany will result in severance of diplomatic relations.	306
	July 6	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Inquires if Argentina can assist the United States in its plan of export allotment to the Allies by sending more wheat to France and Great Britain unconditionally.	306
109	July 6	To the Uruguayan Minister	Appreciation of action of Uruguay in revoking neutrality decree.	307
	July 6	From the Minister in Guatemala (tel.)	Should Guatemala take part in conference, it would take no action which is not in accordance with wishes of the United States.	307
	July 9	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Arrangements for remuneration when Cuba turns over ex-German ships to U.S. Shipping Board.	307
	July 19	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Colombia and Mexico most active in urging congress of neutrals.	308

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	July 25	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	German interned ships in Cuba to be turned over to him as agent of Shipping Board.	308
	July 29	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes message of President of Peru to Congress, adhering to U.S. policies and commending President Wilson's ideals.	308
	July 31	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina will declare war if demands not accepted by Germany.	309
156	July 3 [Rec'd Aug. 1]	From the Ambassador in Chile	Possibility of Chile's alignment with Brazil and the United States.	309
	Aug. 4	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Evidence of change in Chilean neutrality policy. U.S. Fleet would be received as friendly visitor.	310
	July 12 [Rec'd Aug. 8]	From the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	British conditions regarding shipments of coffee to Great Britain unacceptable to Brazil. Patrol of Brazilian coast.	310
	Undated [Rec'd Aug. 9]	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peruvian Senate resolution of sympathy with President Wilson's declarations.	311
	Aug. 9	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile wishes to pursue neutral policy until directly wronged. If American Fleet reaches Pacific, would receive it in friendly spirit.	312
	Aug. 9 [Rec'd Aug. 10]	From the Peruvian Legation	Peru's refusal to submit to prize court question of sinking of bark *Lorton* by German submarine.	312
971	July 23 [Rec'd Aug. 11]	From the Ambassador in Brazil	Brazilian Navy will cooperate with U.S. Navy in patrolling South Atlantic.	312
258	July 16 [Rec'd Aug. 13]	From the Minister in Uruguay	Reception at Montevideo of American squadron of Atlantic Fleet under command of Admiral Caperton.	314
	Aug. 13	To the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Appreciation of Chile's friendly attitude. Not known when fleet will reach Pacific.	315
	Aug. 14	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazilian coast patrol and Allied patrol of high seas.	315
2554	Aug. 18	To the Ambassador in France (tel.). Same to Great Britain	Uruguay not inclined to give the French and British the freedom of its ports. Instructions to suggest that matter be dropped.	316
	Undated [Rec'd Aug. 20]	From the Ecuadoran Legation	Ecuador accepts invitation to conference; continues neutrality.	317

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Aug. 19 [Rec'd Aug. 21]	From the British Embassy	Great Britain will sanction importation of portion of Brazilian coffee crop into United Kingdom on condition one-half tonnage of German vessels in Brazil be turned over to Allies.	318
	Aug. 21	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Four German steamships, prizes of war, transferred to U. S. Shipping Board.	318
	Aug. 24 [Rec'd Aug. 25]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	France secures tonnage from Brazilian company; consideration, purchase of coffee. Suggests negotiations with this company.	319
	Aug. 29	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	German reply to Argentine demands considered acceptable.	319
	Aug. 29	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Proposition to secure interned German vessels from Brazil by cash payment or fair exchange after war.	320
	Sept. 3 [Rec'd Sept. 4]	From the British Embassy	Disposition of German ships taken over by Brazil.	321
	Sept. 6	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Peru's foreign policy; probable break with Germany over sinking of the *Lorton*.	321

PUBLICATION, SEPTEMBER 8, OF THE RECOMMENDATION BY LUXBURG, GERMAN CHARGÉ IN ARGENTINA, THAT SHIPS BE "SPURLOS VERSENKT"; HANDING OF PASSPORTS TO LUXBURG—SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY THE TINOCO GOVERNMENT IN COSTA RICA, SEPTEMBER 22—NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO THE REVOCATION OF URUGUAY'S NEUTRALITY, THE CONCLUSION OF ARBITRATION TREATIES BETWEEN URUGUAY AND THE ALLIED POWERS, AND THE DISPOSITION OF GERMAN SHIPS IN URUGUAYAN PORTS

	Sept. 7	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes three messages from Luxburg, German Chargé in Argentina, to Berlin, dispatched as official messages of Swedish Legation, and recommending drastic treatment of Argentine ships.	322
	Sept. 8	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Revocation of Argentine export-prohibition decree urged. Attempted adjustment.	323
	Sept. 9	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Conference with President Braz on German ship proposition.	323
	Sept. 9	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Publishing of Department's *communiqué* on Luxburg's messages to Berlin. Swedish Minister denies having sent them.	324
	Sept. 10	From the Consul General at Lima (tel.)	Peru demands of Germany full compensation for sinking of the *Lorton*.	324

Digitized by Google

PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Sept. 11	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Foreign Minister denies any undertakings for limiting of Argentine shipping; awaits official confirmation before taking action on Luxburg messages.	324
	Sept. 12	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reported German Chargé has been given his passports.	325
	Sept. 13	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Urges acceptance of U.S. proposal to take over German merchant vessels.	325
	Sept. 13	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Report requested on interned German vessels, also on Argentine merchant vessels.	325
	Sept. 14	From the Guatemalan Special Mission to the United States	Specifies aid needed by Guatemala in order to cooperate with the United States in the war.	326
	Sept. 14	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	German ships in port placed under police control.	327
	Sept. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine merchant marine and their whereabouts.	327
	Sept. 17 [Rec'd Sept. 18]	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Move of Costa Rican *de facto* Government to sever relations with Germany irrespective of recognition. Safe-conduct for German Chargé requested.	328
	Sept. 20	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine Senate voted to break relations with Germany.	328
	Sept. 21	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	All cables sent by Swedish Legation transmitted to Argentine Ambassador at Washington.	329
	Sept. 21	To the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Safe-conduct will be granted German representative, when requested by neutral state, so far as it concerns U.S. forces.	329
	Sept. 22	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by the Tinoco government in Costa Rica.	329
	Sept. 23	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	German Government disavows Luxburg messages. Argentina undecided regarding future attitude toward Germany.	329
	Sept. 25	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reported House votes rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany.	330
	Sept. 25	To the Minister in Salvador (tel.)	Inquires meaning of Salvador's declaration of friendly neutrality toward the United States and Italy.	330
	Sept. 26	From the Consul General at Lima (tel.)	Peru threatens severance of diplomatic relations if the *Lorton* case not settled.	331

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Sept. 27 [Rec'd Sept. 28]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Probable Brazil will propose that ex-German ships shall be chartered to the United States, France, and Great Britain for their common interest.	331
	Sept. 29	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Suggestion that offer to charter ex-German ships be made first to the United States, in adherence to doctrines of Americanism.	332
	Sept. 29	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Details of House vote on severance of relations with Germany.	332
922	Oct. 1	To the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Instructions to make representations to Italy of Uruguay's desire for arbitration treaties.	333
	Oct. 2 [Rec'd Oct. 3]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay will maintain neutrality and join conference of neutrals unless Allies give consideration to its proposals.	334
	Oct. 3 [Rec'd Oct. 4]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Believed British acceptance of treaty terms with Uruguay to be effected by transfer of German vessels to U.S. custody.	334
	Oct. 3 [Rec'd Oct. 4]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	U.S. and French proposals for extending Brazil's foreign commerce and assisting the cause of the Allies by employing ex-German vessels.	335
	Oct. 4	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Requests permission to suggest that American squadron in Rio de Janeiro be moved temporarily to Montevideo.	336
	Oct. 5	To the British, French, and Italian Embassies	Tendency toward neutrality in Uruguay fomented by failure of Allies to come to treaty agreement.	336
	Oct. 6	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Informed Italy willing to negotiate arbitration treaty with Uruguay.	338

SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY PERU, OCTOBER 6; BY URUGUAY, OCTOBER 7—REVOCATION BY URUGUAY OF DECREES OF NEUTRALITY; SECOND VISIT OF THE AMERICAN SQUADRON TO MONTEVIDEO—ASSURANCES OF SALVADOR AS TO THE USE OF ITS PORTS AND WATERS BY THE UNITED STATES

	Oct. 6	From the Consul General at Lima (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Peru.	340
	Oct. 7	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Uruguay.	340
	Oct. 8	From the Peruvian Minister	Copy of Peru's telegram of Oct. 6 announcing severance of relations with Germany.	340
	Undated [Rec'd Oct. 8]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguayan decree breaking relations with Germany.	341

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
36	Oct. 9	From the Ecuadoran Minister	Presents Foreign Office note and memorandum of Sept. 11 in which Ecuador favors a congress for promotion of Pan-American understanding.	341
	Oct. 10	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Second visit of U.S. squadron to Montevideo.	344
	Oct. 12 [Rec'd Oct. 13]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil's plan for use of ex-German ships.	345
	Undated [Rec'd Oct. 16]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Revocation by Uruguay of decrees of neutrality as affecting the Allies.	346
	Oct. 15 [Rec'd Oct. 16]	From the Brazilian Ambassador	Brazilian mission to the United States.	346
	Oct. 19 [Rec'd Oct. 20]	From the Chargé in Colombia (tel.)	Colombian protest against submarine warfare.	347
249	Oct. 5 [Rec'd Oct. 20]	From the Minister in Salvador	Salvador offers the use of its ports and waters to the United States for naval purposes and for armed merchantmen.	347
	Oct. 20	From President Viera of Uruguay to President Wilson (tel.)	Uruguay's appreciation of sentiments of solidarity expressed by friendly visit of U.S. squadron.	347
	Oct. 20	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Formalities of law regarding registry of German merchant vessels seized by Cuba and turned over to the United States.	348
	Oct. 19 [Rec'd Oct. 20]	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Safe-conducts issued for German representative in Costa Rica.	348
520	Oct. 20 [Rec'd Oct. 21]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Resolution introduced into Mexican Senate declaring benevolent neutrality toward Entente nations necessary for life of nation.	349
	Oct. 22	From President Wilson to President Viera of Uruguay (tel.)	U.S. relations with Uruguay may result in greater continental unity of purpose and policy.	349
157	Oct. 23	To the Brazilian Ambassador	Every possible facility will be extended to Brazilian commission.	350
	Oct. 25	From the British Embassy. Same from French Embassy	British acceptance in principle of arbitration treaty with Uruguay; proposals for use by the United States and Allies of German ships in Uruguayan ports.	350

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

DECLARATION OF A STATE OF WAR BETWEEN BRAZIL AND GERMANY, OCTOBER 26—RENEWED INITIATIVE OF ARGENTINA FOR A LATIN-AMERICAN CONGRESS, OCTOBER 29—PERUVIAN PLAN, APPROVED BY THE UNITED STATES, TO HAVE THE CONGRESS CONSIDER SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY—ASSURANCES GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES TO THE GUATEMALAN SPECIAL MISSION, NOVEMBER 6—CHARTER TO FRANCE OF GERMAN SHIPS SEIZED BY BRAZIL

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Oct. 25 [Rec'd Oct. 26]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes the Brazilian President's message to Congress relating to sinking of S.S. *Maçâo* and recommending war with Germany.	351
	Oct. 26	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	France unwilling to withdraw proposal for acquisition of German ships in Brazil.	352
	Oct. 26 [Rec'd Oct. 27]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes Brazilian Senate resolutions declaring war with Germany.	352
	Oct. 27	To the Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs	Acknowledges Ecuadoran note of Sept. 11 recommending a continental policy for defense of of American interests.	352
	Oct. 27	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to deny that information published regarding German despatches at Department for decoding came from U.S. Government.	353
	Oct. 29	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Inquires the status of negotiations between England, France, and Uruguay regarding acquisition of ex-German ships.	354
	Oct. 29	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes Argentine message to Panama setting date for Latin-American congress.	354
	Oct. 30	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Peru is informed that the United States can express no opinion on matter of proposed American congress.	354
	Oct. 30	From President Wilson to President Braz of Brazil (tel.)	Brazil's entrance into war welcomed by the United States and associated nations.	355
	Oct. 31	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Salvador accepts and Honduras refuses invitation to conference.	356
	Nov. 1	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Nicaragua, with simple acknowledgment, requests program of discussions of conference.	356
	Nov. 3	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	The President suggests that the United States stand aside and let France negotiate for Brazilian ships.	356
	Nov. 3 [Rec'd Nov. 4]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Misunderstanding of U.S. position regarding French arbitration treaty with Uruguay.	356

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Nov. 5	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Negotiations for agreement regarding use of ex-German ships in Uruguay; U.S. and British proposals.	357
	Nov. 6	To the Guatemalan Special Mission to the United States	U.S. assurances given the Guatemalan Special Mission.	358
	Nov. 7 [Rec'd Nov. 8]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Ratification by National Assembly of all steps of belligerency taken in Panama.	363
	Nov. 7 [Rec'd Nov. 8]	From the Chargé in Paraguay (tel.)	Failure of united action by American republics; Paraguay considers that each government should follow own course in dealing with Germany.	363
552	Nov. 8 [Rec'd Nov. 9]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Mexico to be represented at Latin-American conference.	364
	Nov. 10	From the Chilean Ambassador	Copy of Chilean telegram of Nov. 9 quoting message to Argentina inquiring object of proposed congress.	364
	Nov. 10	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Guatemala declines to participate in conference.	364
	Nov. 11 [Rec'd Nov.12]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Certain countries respond to Argentina's urge for conference. Brazil excluded.	365
355	Nov. 10 [Rec'd Nov.12]	From the Venezuelan Minister	Presents copy of reply to Argentina in which Venezuela declines to attend conference.	365
	Nov. 13	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Not necessary that Panama make formal declaration of war.	366
	Nov. 14	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Proposed purchase of Argentine surplus wheat by British and French; U.S. cooperation in plan.	366
	Nov. 14	From the Peruvian Legation	Peruvian plan for the congress to consider severance of relations with Germany.	367
	Nov. 14	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Argentina proposes a congress of Latin-Americans rather than a congress of neutrals. Brazil and Uruguay have inquired program.	368
	Nov. 15	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	The United States could not urge France to sign arbitration treaty with Uruguay more radical than the U.S. treaty.	369
288	Oct. 17 [Rec'd Nov.17]	From the Minister in Uruguay	Transmits copy of Uruguayan note announcing revocation of neutrality decree with respect to Allies upon principles of American solidarity.	369

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Nov. 17	To the Minister in Salvador (tel.)	Inquiry regarding privilege accorded U.S. vessels in Salvadoran waters.	370
	Nov. 19	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Colombia declines to attend the conference of American states.	370
	Nov. 21	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Discussion of conference with Brazilian Ambassador; advisable to take no further steps until opinion received from Argentina regarding Peruvian plan.	371
	Nov. 22	From the Chargé in Salvador (tel.)	Salvador concedes to U.S. naval vessels same privileges enjoyed by Salvadoran vessels in its ports.	371
	Nov. 22 [Rec'd Nov.23]	From the Chargé in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay's conditional acceptance of invitation to conference.	372
	Nov. 23	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.): to repeat to Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay	Peruvian plan for congress approved by the United States.	372
	Nov. 23 [Rec'd Nov.24]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil wishes to prevent Latin-American conference or to impose condition that attendance depend upon breaking relations with Germany.	373
1660	Nov. 9 [Rec'd Nov.24]	From the Minister in Panama	National Assembly approves the President's steps in proclaiming war with Germany. Bill introduced expanding the President's power, first submitted to Canal Zone authorities.	374
	Nov. 26	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Discussion with Peruvian Chargé regarding conference to be called by Argentina.	376
	Nov. 28	From the Peruvian Chargé	Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Uruguay accept Peruvian plan.	377
	Nov. 29	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Charter to France of German ships seized by Brazil.	377

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Dec. 1	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Instructions to report whether, under French and Brazilian agreement, any North Atlantic trade is intended.	378
	Dec. 1	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	U.S. proposal to Uruguay regarding charter of ex-German vessels.	378
	Dec. 1	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil's request for U.S. naval officers and offer to send squadron to Mediterranean. Ambassador recommends invitation be extended to join American squadron.	379
	Dec. 3	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Invitation for Brazilian squadron to join American naval forces; naval officers will be furnished as requested.	379
	Dec. 3 [Rec'd Dec. 4]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Trade arrangement between France and Brazil will benefit France. No provision for use of ships in North Atlantic.	380
600	Dec. 3 [Rec'd Dec. 4]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Personnel of Mexican delegation to Buenos Aires conference.	380
449	Dec. 5	To the Minister in Panama	Approval of action in submitting the Panaman war measure to Canal Zone authorities.	380
5960	Dec. 5	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from Polk for Colby	Suggests representations to France because no provision made to relieve North Atlantic situation in French-Brazilian trade arrangements.	381
	Dec. 6 [Rec'd Dec. 7]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Conference with the President on Argentina's international policy. Invitation to Pan-American conference would be tendered if the United States would accept.	381
	Dec. 7	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to deny rumor that the United States and Great Britain approve the Pope's further mediation in war.	382
	Dec. 7	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Costa Rica declines to take part in conference.	383
	Dec. 7	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Ecuador will attend Latin-American congress if all American countries previously reach common agreement.	383

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY ECUADOR, DECEMBER 7—DECLARATION OF WAR ON AUSTRIA-HUNGARY BY PANAMA, DECEMBER 10; BY CUBA, DECEMBER 16—FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE DISPOSITION OF GERMAN SHIPS SEIZED BY BRAZIL, CUBA, AND URUGUAY—FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE PROPOSED CONGRESS OF AMERICAN STATES—CONVENTION FOR THE PURCHASE OF ARGENTINE WHEAT BY GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, SIGNED JANUARY 14, 1918

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Dec. 8	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Ecuador.	383
	Dec. 10	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Understood that Peru, Bolivia, and Uruguay will not be represented at conference unless called for purpose of breaking relations with Germany.	384
	Dec. 11	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Disposition of ex-German ships in Uruguay discussed. Charter to Emergency Fleet Corp. desired by the United States.	384
	Dec. 10 [Rec'd Dec. 11]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	At his informal suggestion, National Assembly passed resolution declaring war on Germany.	385
	Dec. 13	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Inquires why suggestion that Panama declare war on Austria-Hungary was made without instructions. Wording of decree requested.	385
	Dec. 13	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes message to the Treasury from commissioner at Paris that France and Great Britain favor acquiring supplies in Argentina on open market. The United States has like policy.	386
	Dec. 14	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	U.S. proposals for chartering German ships seized by Cuba.	386
1695	Nov. 27 [Rec'd Dec. 15]	From the Minister in Panama	Panama refuses second invitation to be represented at Latin-American congress.	387
	Dec. 15	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions regarding U.S. attitude toward the conference. Stand taken by Latin-American countries.	388
	Dec. 15 [Rec'd Dec. 16]	From the Chargé in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay makes arrangements with England and France for use of six German vessels. Others open to bids for charter.	389
	Dec. 16 [Rec'd Dec. 17]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Reasons for suggesting that Panama declare war with Austria-Hungary. Text of decree quoted.	389
	Dec. 17	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Ecuador offers its waters and wireless stations to friendly war vessels without restriction.	390
	Dec. 17	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	The President determined not to break with Germany. Luxburg telegrams said to be work of madman.	391

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Dec. 18	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Inquires if vessels not chartered by France are available for charter by the United States through Shipping Board.	391
634	Dec. 19 [Rec'd Dec. 20]	From the Chargé in Mexico (tel.)	Mexican Senate defeated resolution declaring benevolent neutrality toward Entente nations necessary for life of nation.	392
	Dec. 20	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Approves action in suggesting that Panama declare war with Austria-Hungary.	392
	Dec. 20 [Rec'd Dec. 21]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	France secured best ex-German vessels. Remainder not available or desirable for charter to the United States.	392
	Dec. 21	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	More Luxburg telegrams published. Government disavows contents.	392
170	Dec. 21 [Rec'd Dec. 22]	From the Cuban Chargé	Declaration of war on Austria-Hungary by Cuba.	393
	Dec. 22	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Publication of additional Luxburg telegrams had slight effect upon the public. *Washington Post* editorial resented, paper called "official."	393
	Dec. 24	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Informed that proposed congress of neutrals postponed. Instructions to report.	394
	Dec. 24	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to deny, if advisable, that the *Washington Post* voices views of the administration.	394
	Dec. 28	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	General opinion that Latin-American conference will never take place.	394
	Dec. 28	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Text of proposed convention between France, Great Britain, and Argentina for purchase of wheat in exchange for combustibles from the United States. Requests instructions.	395
	Dec. 29	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	The United States would allow export of combustibles for Argentine requirements, but considers it inadvisable to make engagement.	397
1061	Nov. 21 [Rec'd Jan. 2, 1918]	From the Ambassador in Brazil	Great Britain refuses to relax restrictions on coffee from Brazil. Imports confined to necessities.	397
	Jan. 2, 1918	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina will accept wheat convention if U.S. position regarding coal stated definitely. Submits statement on subject for approval.	398
	Jan. 3, 1918	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Authorization to send to Foreign Minister note regarding coal export as submitted for approval.	398

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 3, 1918 [Rec'd Jan. 4]	From the Chargé in Uruguay (tel.)	Notification of time when bids for chartering of German vessels may be made.	399
	Jan. 14, 1918 [Rec'd Jan. 15]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Convention for the purchase of Argentine wheat by Great Britain and France signed.	399
	Jan. 15, 1918	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	The President seeking legal way to conform with Shipping Board's proposals for chartering ex-German vessels.	400

RELATIONS OF ASIATIC COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH EUROPEAN BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES AS AFFECTED BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WARFARE

CHINA'S APPROVAL OF THE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTIONS OF DECEMBER 18, 1916, TO BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS—REQUESTS FOR ASSURANCES BY CHINA IN THE EVENT OF SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY; ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES

	Jan. 9, 1917	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Minister's approval of President Wilson's peace note of Dec. 18, 1916.	400
	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China requests assurances on certain points in event of severing relations with Germany.	401
	Feb. 6	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China will probably associate itself with American action if certain assurances are given by the United States.	402
	Feb. 7	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China fearful lest Japan secure mandate to supervise Chinese military organization. Quotes assurances of U.S. assistance, which he proposes to make.	403
	Feb. 8	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China will voice disapproval of submarine warfare in note to Germany; will sever relations, if the United States gives assurance of support. Instructions requested.	404
1335	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Minister in China	Position of China with respect to settlement after the war; representation at peace conference; possible courses of procedure for protection of interests.	404
	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China has protested to Germany against measures of blockade; if protest ineffectual, relations will be severed.	407
	Feb. 10	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Instructions to give no further assurances of support to China at present; matter under consideration.	408

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PART II

RELATIONS OF ASIATIC COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 10	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Inability to give assurances of support to China. Warning against isolated action.	408
	Feb. 12	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Will take no action until further instructed. Suggestion that U. S. leadership could prevent unilateral action harmful to China.	408
	Feb. 13	From the Japanese Ambassador	China is advised by Japan to take attitude similar to that of the United States regarding severance of relations with Germany.	409
	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb. 15]	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Quotes reply of Siam to peace note maintaining neutrality until its interests demand action.	410
	Feb. 17	To the Minister in China (tel.)	China should not do more than break diplomatic relations with Germany until U. S. decision is reached.	410
576	Feb. 26	To the Minister in China	The United States not disposed to urge China to declare war on Germany. Recommends awaiting developments.	411
	Feb. 28 [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Japan bringing strong pressure to bear to force China to join Allies.	412
	Mar. 2	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Informed of China's overtures to join Entente powers in return for certain assistance. Instructions to recommend that China wait.	412
	Mar. 3	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Discussion of China's alignment with either the United States or the Allies. Latter offer inducements.	413
	Mar. 3	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China sees advantage in joining Allies. Early determination of attitude by the United States necessary.	413
1390	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Mar. 12]	From the Minister in China	*Résumé* of steps taken and argument used in urging China to associate itself with policy and action of the United States.	414
	Mar. 12	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Parliament votes break in relations with Germany. American International Corp. causes distrust of the United States.	418
	Mar. 12	To the Minister in China (tel.)	The United States not in position to give practical assurances to China, but will lend influence for its welfare.	419
	Mar. 13	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Instructions to inform China that declaration of war inadvisable; internal discord deprecated.	419

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PART II

RELATIONS OF ASIATIC COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY BY CHINA, MARCH 14—DESIRES EXPRESSED BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT; ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES—DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST GERMANY BY SIAM, JULY 22; DISCUSSION AS TO THE DISPOSITION OF GERMAN SHIPS IN SIAMESE PORTS—DECLARATION OF WAR BY CHINA, AUGUST 14

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 14	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by China.	420
	Mar. 18	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Enumeration of China's desires. Attitude of the United States.	420
41	Mar. 17 [Rec'd Mar. 19]	From the Chinese Minister	Germany willing to discuss safeguarding lives and property of Chinese but refuses to renounce submarine methods. Relations severed.	422
	Mar. 21	To the Minister in China (tel.)	U.S. attitude toward China remains unchanged.	422
	Mar. 26	To the Minister in China (tel.)	China's desires will receive consideration under certain conditions enumerated.	422
	Apr. 3	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China wishes to be informed of American action respecting Germany before further decision made as to policy.	423
1407	Mar. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 6]	From the Minister in China	Japanese pressure, internal politics, Allied financial assurances, and failure of the United States to give assistance, all tend to induce China to join the Allies.	424
	Apr. 12	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Advantages to be derived from China's entrance into the war. Inclined to follow American policy.	425
	Apr. 14	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Possibility of financial assistance to China through congressional appropriation for loans.	427
1412	Mar. 9 [Rec'd Apr. 16]	From the Minister in China	Events and influences in China prior to break in relations with Germany.	427
	Apr. 17	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Recommends that indication of financial assistance to China be withheld until methods and conditions decided upon.	430
	Apr. 19	To the Minister in China (tel.)	U.S. situation regarding financial assistance to China.	431
	Apr. 23	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Requests to be informed of any statements made to Chinese Minister regarding financial assistance.	431
	Apr. 23	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Chinese Minister was told that China, if at war with Germany, had reason to expect financial assistance under bill pending in Congress. Text of bill quoted.	431
	Apr. 25	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Requests that he be informed upon passage of bill for financial assistance, before signature by the President.	432

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PART II

RELATIONS OF ASIATIC COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 27	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China on verge of declaration of war. Inquires if possible to extend financial assistance to equip reserves, etc.	432
	Apr. 27	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Bill for financial assistance already signed by the President. Action delayed because interpretation must be decided by the Department of Justice.	432
	Apr. 28 [Rec'd Apr. 29]	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Quotes Russian appeal to Siam to take action against Germany.	433
1429	Mar. 28 [Rec'd May 1]	From the Minister in China	Report of situation in China after break in relations with Germany. Enclosure: Consular report from Canton on attitude in southern China.	433
1449	Apr. 13 [Rec'd May 12]	From the Minister in China	Summary of development of diplomatic situation after protest to Germany.	441
	May 12 [Rec'd May 17]	From the French Ambassador	Efforts to induce the United States to join Allies in urging Siam to break relations with Germany. Advantages of such move.	444
1853	May 19	To the French Ambassador	Declines to make further suggestions to Siam concerning relations with Germany.	445
1490	May 10 [Rec'd June 6]	From the Minister in China	Diplomatic situation and question whether China is to declare war against Germany. Enclosure: Memorandum of conversation with the Premier.	445
	June 8	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Inquires regarding U.S. cooperation in protection of Mukden Railway zone by foreign troops to exclusion of Chinese troops.	451
	June 9	To the Minister in China (tel.)	The United States declines to change its attitude toward question of excluding Chinese troops from Tientsin.	452
	June 27	From the Chargé in Japan (tel.)	Discussions in the Diet on approval of entrance of the United States into the war; retention by Japan of territory taken from Germany.	452
	July 22	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Siam's declaration of war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.	453
1540	June 22 [Rec'd July 30]	From the Minister in China	Criticism of article published in the *Saturday Evening Post* on action taken by China against Germany.	453
	July 31	To the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Instructions to expedite the deal of American International Corp. to purchase from Siam the seized German steamers.	454
	Aug. 7	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Siam will accept final decision of Allies for disposition of seized German steamers.	454

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PART II

RELATIONS OF ASIATIC COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Aug. 9 [Rec'd Aug.11]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Suggests mission to China to forestall action adverse to Chinese independence and American interests.	454
	Aug. 11 [Rec'd Aug.12]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Suggested mission would accord with expectations of China to complete invitation to sever relations with Germany.	455
	Aug. 12 [Rec'd Aug.13]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Assurances of Allies in connection with impending declaration of war by China. Instructions requested.	455
	Aug. 13	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Character of China's participation in war should be decided after consultation with Allies.	455
	Aug. 14	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Authorization to offer to China, after declaration of war is made, assurances similar to those proposed by the Allies.	456
	Aug. 14 [Rec'd Aug.15]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Quotes Chinese note announcing declaration of war with Germany and Austria-Hungary.	456
1637	Sept. 27 [Rec'd Oct.22]	From the Minister in China	Efforts to secure Allied assurance of cooperation in maintaining Chinese sovereignty.	457

RELATIONS OF LIBERIA WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH EUROPEAN BELLIGERENTS AS AFFECTED BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WARFARE AND BY BRITISH AND FRENCH COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS

LIBERIAN REQUEST FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE DANGERS RESULTING FROM A BREACH WITH GERMANY—VISIT OF A BRITISH WARSHIP TO MONROVIA—SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, MAY 8—BRITISH AND FRENCH DEMAND FOR THE EXPULSION OF GERMANS; AMERICAN DEMAND FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALLIED TRADE RESTRICTIONS—RECEIPT OF SATISFACTORY ASSURANCES FROM THE BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS—PROJECT OF A CONVENTION WITH LIBERIA

	Feb. 6	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberia, ready to break relations with Germany, offers the United States facilities for naval and military operations, relying upon latter for protection.	458
	Apr. 4 [Rec'd Apr. 5]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberian request for protection against dangers resulting from a breach with Germany.	459
4726	Apr. 19	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.); *mutatis mutandis*, to France	Advisable for Liberia to sever relations with Germany if Great Britain and France will give temporary protection.	459
	Apr. 20 [Rec'd Apr. 21]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberia advised against making public its change of policy until protection secured against German attack.	460

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LIBERIA WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
6077	Apr. 24	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British proposal that Allied representatives advise Liberian break with Germany and give assurance of necessary protection.	460
4772	Apr. 30	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	When adequate protection has been given Liberia, the United States will advise break with Germany.	461
	May 3	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Instructions to advise Liberian break with Germany when Great Britain and France have furnished protection requested.	461
	May 6	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Arrival of British war vessel at Monrovia.	461
	May 7 [Rec'd May 8]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Agreed that, following severance of relations with Germany, all Germans should leave Liberia. Inquires regarding arrangements for departure.	461
	May 9 [Rec'd May 10]	From the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore	Announcement of Liberia's severance of relations with Germany.	462
4814	May 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	American request for removal of Allied trade restrictions in Liberia.	462
	May 11	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Instructions will be sent after conclusion of consultation with British Government.	463
6208	May 14 [Rec'd May 15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Outlines conditions under which normal trade will be resumed between Great Britain and Liberia as soon as Germans are deported.	463
6219	May 15	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Liberia desires immediate deportation of Germans.	463
	May 15	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	General Receiver of Customs voices disapproval of Liberia's severance of relations with Germany without guaranty of future protection.	464
4843	May 16	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to request removal of Allied trade restrictions against Liberia.	464
	May 16	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Instructions to suggest that Liberia take no further action againt Germany until advised by the United States. Trade guaranties requested of Great Britain.	464

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LIBERIA WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 17	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Citizens of Liberia endorse Government's action concerning Germany and express confidence in the United States.	465
4877	May 25	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Liberia's declaration of war and deportation of Germans should be conditional upon removal of trade restrictions.	465
6299	May 28	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British measures not intended to restrict legitimate Liberian trade but for circumscribing German activities.	466
5452	May 15 [Rec'd May 31]	From the Ambassador in France	Transmits French note on deportation of Germans and resumption of trade with Liberia.	466
	June 2	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Arrival of British war vessel. Delay in program of deporting Germans, furthering German intrigue to divide Cabinet.	467
	June 2	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Pending negotiations regarding resumption of trade, Liberia not advised to declare war or to remove Germans. Inquiry regarding action of German Receiver in Monrovia.	468
4918	June 4	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Maintains that retention of published white list and certificates of interest not needed after removal of Germans from Liberia.	468
	June 7	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	French and British proposal for deporting Germans; Liberian reply making certain conditions, relying on U.S. advice.	469
	June 11	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Quotes British memorandum stating conditions under which Liberian trade restrictions will be removed. Inquires attitude of Liberia.	469
	June 15 [Rec'd June 16]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Outlines steps Liberia is prepared to take in compliance with British terms in order that trade restrictions may be removed.	470
	June 30	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Proclamation of the President of Liberia regarding German property and deportations.	470
	July 1 [Rec'd July 2]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberia will fix time for German deportation as soon as assurances of protection given.	471
	July 6 [Rec'd July 7]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	German protest to Liberia against deportation or internment of German subjects.	471
99	May 18 [Rec'd July 7]	From the Minister in Liberia	Transmits copy of Liberian note severing relations with Germany.	472
	July 11	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Great Britain requires Liberia to fix date for deportation of Germans.	473

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LIBERIA WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	July 13	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Suggestion that Liberia defer deportation action awaiting British reply regarding guaranties to Liberia.	474
	July 13	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Great Britain and France advise declaration of war by Liberia, guaranteeing protection and removal of trade restrictions. U.S. advice desired.	474
	July 14 [Rec'd July 18]	From the British Embassy	British withdrawal of restrictions on Liberian trade and protection against German aggression promised, provided Germans are deported and German firms closed.	474
	July 18	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	U.S. advice that Liberia sever relations with Germany and deport Germans.	475
	July 23 [Rec'd July 24]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Draft convention between Liberia, France, and Great Britain submitted with request for instructions regarding signing.	475
	July 24	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Inquires if the United States should merely acquiesce in convention by signature in postscript rather than as signatory with other powers.	476
	July 28	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Disapproves of Liberian convention with Great Britain and France unless limited to duration of the war.	476

LIBERIA'S DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST GERMANY, AUGUST 4—DEPORTATION OF GERMANS

	Aug. 5 [Rec'd Aug. 6]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Declaration of war against Germany and deportation of Germans.	477
	Aug. 11 [Rec'd Aug. 14]	From the French Ambassador	Approval of Liberian arrangements for deporting German officials, women, and children.	478
1923	Aug. 17	To the French Ambassador	No objection to Liberian plan for deporting German officials, women, and children.	478
	Aug. 28 [Rec'd Aug. 29]	From the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore	*Résumé* of negotiations leading up to Liberia's declaration of war with Germany. Quotes Department's letter informing him of British assurance of protection and U.S. approval of action taken.	479
	Aug. 30	To the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore	Acknowledges receipt of communication regarding severance of relations between Liberia, and Germany.	484
122	Aug. 10 [Rec'd Sept. 14]	From the Minister in Liberia	Convention between Liberia, Great Britain, and France not consummated.	485

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PART II

RELATIONS OF LIBERIA WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
124	Aug. 11 [Rec'd Sept. 14]	From the Minister in Liberia	Transmits copy of Liberian reply to German protest against deportation of Germans resident in Liberia, sent through the Spanish Consul.	486
128	Aug. 14 [Rec'd Sept. 14]	From the Minister in Liberia	Transmits copy of French and British joint note, with U.S. acquiescence, guaranteeing to Liberia lifting of trade restrictions and granting protection. Liberian reply enclosed.	489
	Oct. 12	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	German women and German Receiver in Liberia embarked on Spanish vessel for Germany.	491

BRITISH PROCLAMATIONS AND ORDERS IN COUNCIL AFFECTING NEUTRAL TRADE—THE DETENTION OF NEUTRAL SHIPS

	Jan. 1	From the Consul General at London (tel.); the same from Paris	Additional list of absolute contraband announced.	492
	Jan. 13	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	Quotes text of amendment to order in council of Mar. 11, 1915, interpreting the term "enemy."	492
	Feb. 22	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	Quotes order of Feb. 16, 1917, supplemental to orders in council of Mar. 11, 1915, and Jan. 10, 1917, for restricting enemy commerce.	493
5822	Feb. 16 [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits report drawn up by committee on administration of order in council of March, 1915, regarding methods used in dealing with ships and cargoes brought into British ports.	494
	Apr. 11 [Rec'd Apr. 26]	From the Consul General at London	Report on shipping detentions at Kirkwall showing decrease in number of arrivals due to submarine peril.	504

BRITISH CONTROL OF NEUTRAL SHIPPING THROUGH BUNKERING AGREEMENTS AND BLACK LIST OF NEUTRAL SHIPS

4224	Dec. 28, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to report on British attempt to control neutral shipping through bunker agreements.	505
4232	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Representations to Great Britain regarding blacklisting of S.S. *Balboa*.	505

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PART II

BRITISH CONTROL OF NEUTRAL SHIPPING THROUGH BUNKERING AGREEMENTS AND BLACK LIST OF NEUTRAL SHIPS—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5404	Jan. 2, 1917 [Rec'd Jan. 3]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Unofficial reply to complaint against blacklisting of ships. Measures meant to discourage European neutral ships from deserting European waters.	506
5488	Jan. 17	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The *Balboa* removed from black list.	507
5500	Jan. 19 [Rec'd Jan. 20]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Requirement that shipowner not surrender control of ship to third party without British consent.	507
4364	Jan. 30	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Entente supervision of neutral shipping reported. Instructions to investigate effect on American shipping and freight rates.	508
5577	Feb. 2	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Reports Entente committee's measures for control of neutral shipping and their probable effect.	508

ARRANGEMENTS WITH GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS OF GERMAN ORIGIN DETAINED IN THE NETHERLANDS

4400	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Renewal of application for permit to ship American-owned goods held in Rotterdam.	509
4566	Mar. 20	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Further representations and suggestions regarding detention of merchandise of American destination.	509
5901	Mar. 7 [Rec'd Mar. 26]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits British note requesting exact statement of points the United States wishes covered in British ruling on goods at Rotterdam.	510
4753	Apr. 25	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Adequate information has been given in proposal for release of German and Austrian goods in neutral ports.	512
6260	May 21	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instance cited where American merchants continue to order goods from Germany. Caution necessary.	512
146	May 21 [Rec'd May 23]	From the British Ambassador	Renewal of permits which had lapsed through delay caused by lack of shipping space.	512
979	June 11	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Preferential shipments go forward. Suggests that Department press immediately for shipping permits.	513
1019	June 27	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Reports disposition of certain goods stored in Rotterdam and apparent oversight in dealing with other shipments.	513

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PART II

ARRANGEMENTS WITH GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS OF GERMAN ORIGIN DETAINED IN THE NETHERLANDS—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5169	July 18	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Substitute proposal for release of all goods in neutral ports.	514
6917	Aug. 10	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British Government will consider proposal for release of German goods if paid for and if list of goods is furnished.	515
	Sept. 26	From the Counselor for the Department of State to the Commercial Adviser of the British Embassy	List forwarded descriptive of goods actually in neutral ports and paid for prior to Apr. 7, 1917, with recommendation for release. Other cases reserved for consideration.	515
	Oct. 29 [Rec'd Oct. 30]	From the Commercial Adviser of the British Embassy to the Counselor for the Department of State	British authorization for release of goods of German origin as recommended by the U.S. Government.	517

BRITISH DECLARATION OF A "DANGEROUS AREA" IN THE NORTH SEA—PROTEST BY THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 19

5544	Jan. 25	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes British notice delimiting an area in the North Sea as dangerous to shipping.	518
5701	Feb. 15	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes revised British notice delimiting an area in the North Sea as dangerous to shipping.	518
1485	Feb. 19	To the British Ambassador	Protest against delimiting of certain areas of high seas for military operations; reservation of rights.	519
5876	Mar. 23	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes British note giving directions for further delimitation of North Sea as dangerous area.	520

INTERFERENCE WITH THE MAILS BY BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS

1894	Feb. 28	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	France willing to expedite dispatch of pouches marked "Shipping Documents" if the United States gives assurance that they contain only such papers.	520
1572	Mar. 7	To the Ambassador in France	Quotes inquiries received at U.S. Post Office regarding detention of mail for neutral countries.	521

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PART II

INTERFERENCE WITH THE MAILS BY BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4526	Mar. 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.); the same to France	Inquiry regarding interference with commercial mail for Greece.	521
2064	Mar. 12	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Unable to give guaranties for contents of pouches marked "Shipping Documents."	521
1967	Mar. 30 [Rec'd Mar. 31]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Explanation offered for nondelivery of U. S. commercial letters for Greece.	522
4916	Apr. 6	To the Ambassador in Great Britain	Inquiry regarding intended disposition by British authorities of detained securities sent to persons in Germany, Austria, and neutral countries.	522
6065	Apr. 23	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	U.S. mail for Greek blockaded areas has been sent to London Post Office. Letter-mail service with Greece soon to be resumed.	523
5477	May 23 [Rec'd June 8]	From the Ambassador in France	Disposition of mail matter detained in France.	524
5527	June 8 [Rec'd June 20]	From the Ambassador in France	French notification that correspondence marked "Shipping Documents" shall be examined and dispatched to destination.	524
6435	June 20 [Rec'd July 6]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits British note regarding disposition of remittances found in detained mail.	525

THE REMOVAL BY BRITISH NAVAL AUTHORITIES OF ENEMY RESERVISTS FROM AMERICAN SHIPS ON THE HIGH SEAS

4417	Feb. 8	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Inquires if time opportune for proposal of arbitration in the *Ausable* case.	526
4476	Feb. 23	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Desires intimation regarding British attitude before making arbitration proposal in the *Ausable* case.	526
5761	Feb. 26	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British Government contends that German reservist is part of armed forces of enemy and different from reservist of any other army.	527
4485	Feb. 28	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Requests views on advisability of presenting arbitration proposal now.	527
5793	Mar. 5	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Suggests postponement of arbitration proposal in *Ausable* case until British note is received.	528

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PART II

THE REMOVAL BY BRITISH NAVAL AUTHORITIES OF ENEMY RESERVISTS FROM AMERICAN SHIPS ON THE HIGH SEAS—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4747	Apr. 23	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Continuance of British practice of removing enemy reservists from U.S. ships contingent upon mutual agreement for reciprocal action. Case of the *Allaguash*.	528
6318	May 31	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British Government is willing that the United States remove enemy subjects from British ships.	529
6338	June 1 [Rec'd June 12]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits British note in justification of policy of removing enemy subjects from neutral vessels without detaining vessel for adjudication by prize court.	529

PART III: NEUTRAL DUTIES

THE PREVENTION OF RECRUITING WITHIN THE UNITED STATES: THE CASE OF ADDIS AND BLAIR

43	Feb. 15	From the British Ambassador	Representations regarding delay in trial of British subjects indicted for recruiting within the United States in alleged violation of neutrality act.	535
4917	Apr. 6	To the British Ambassador	Reply of Attorney General to British Ambassador's complaint against delay in trial of British subjects for recruiting within the United States.	536
325	Sept. 26	From the British Ambassador	Forwards applications for Executive clemency made by Addis and Blair, convicted for infraction of U.S. neutrality laws.	538
	Nov. 27	To the British Ambassador	Sends warrants of pardon for Addis and Blair from the Attorney General.	538
607	Dec. 14	From the British Ambassador	Defense of action of Addis and Blair; criticism of U.S. neutrality laws.	539
1947	Dec. 28	To the British Ambassador	Suggestions regarding U.S. neutrality laws will be referred to Attorney General for consideration.	541

TREATMENT OF ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS IN NEUTRAL PORTS—ATTITUDE OF EUROPEAN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES TOWARD AMERICAN ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS

	Dec. 21, 1916	From the Secretary of the Treasury	Suggests that special authorization from Washington for clearance of vessels be dispensed with, except under unusual circumstances.	541

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PART III

TREATMENT OF ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS IN NEUTRAL PORTS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1902	Dec.27, 1916	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Inquiry regarding reports that commissions in the Navy are being issued to commanders of French Line vessels.	542
4216	Dec. 27, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Inquiry regarding reported transfer of western terminus for British steamships, nationalization of merchant vessels, and their protection by disguised cruisers.	543
	Jan. 3, 1917	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Case of the French S.S. *L'Erdre*. Question whether naval men in the pay of their governments form part of complement of merchant vessels.	543
1785	Jan. 4 [Rec'd Jan. 5]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Commissions in the Navy have not been issued to merchant marine officers.	544
	Jan. 6	To the French Ambassador	Questions the purpose of armament on merchant vessels. Case of the French S.S. *Mississippi*.	544
	Jan. 9	To the Secretary of the Treasury	There will be no modification of regulations regarding clearance of armed merchant vessels.	545
5568	Jan. 5 [Rec'd Jan.15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	British need for further protection of merchant vessels and uncertainty regarding American attitude thereto.	546
	Feb. 19	From the Secretary of the Treasury	Forwards letter from collector of customs at Norfolk on sinking of submarine by British S.S. *Oxonian*. Requests advice relative to clearance.	548
	Feb. 19	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Authorizes the clearance of the *Oxonian* on assurance from the British Consul that its armament is for defense only.	549
	Feb. 19	From the British Ambassador	Certifies to sworn statement made by master of British S.S. *Oxonian* that gun used only in self-defense.	550
	Feb. 20	To the Secretary of the Treasury	British S.S. *Missouri*. Collector should require consul to file assurance in each instance before granting clearance to a vessel carrying armament.	550
268	Mar. 3	To the Minister in Denmark (tel.); the same to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands	Instructions to report whether Government to which he is accredited prohibits entrance and departure of merchant vessels armed for defensive purposes.	550
388	Mar. 4	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	No restrictions on armed merchant vessels in Spanish ports.	551

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PART III

TREATMENT OF ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS IN NEUTRAL PORTS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
132	Mar. 6	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Armed merchant vessels subject to examination by naval authorities in Norwegian ports.	551
208	Mar. 6	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Government's attitude undetermined regarding port restrictions on defensively armed merchant ships.	551
	Mar. 6	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Collectors should report on use made of armament on merchant vessels if for purposes other than practice.	551
758	Mar. 10	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Armed merchantmen of belligerents not permitted to enter Dutch waters. No decision regarding armed neutral vessels.	552
	Mar. 12	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Plan to obviate delay at certain ports, caused by requirement for special authorization for clearance of armed merchant vessels.	552
438	Mar. 13	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Inquires attitude of Government regarding entrance into Dutch ports of U.S. vessels armed for self-defense.	553
	Mar. 16	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.); *mutatis mutandis*, to Spain, Norway, and Sweden	Will distinction be drawn between treatment of merchant vessels privately armed and those on which armed guards are placed by the U.S. Government?	553
231	Mar. 17 [Rec'd Mar.18]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Armed British merchant vessels permitted in Norwegian ports.	554
423	Mar. 18 [Rec'd Mar.19]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Merchant vessels armed for defense permitted in Spanish ports without distinction as to neutral or belligerent ownership.	554
246	Mar. 21 [Rec'd Mar.22]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Verbal permission to admit armed U.S. merchant vessels to Swedish ports. No definite regulations.	554
798	Mar. 23	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Office note refusing to permit entrance into Dutch ports of war vessels or armed merchant vessels according to royal decree.	555
	Mar. 24 [Rec'd Mar.25]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Denmark wishes to preserve its neutrality. Neither British nor French armed vessels have entered its ports.	556
462	Mar. 31	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Inquires if armed neutral vessels may enter Dutch ports as ships of commerce.	556
18	Mar. 31	To the Panaman Minister	Reply to inquiry whether Italian armed merchant vessels are admitted to U.S. ports.	556

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PART III

TREATMENT OF ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS IN NEUTRAL PORTS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
166	Apr. 28	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Quotes Norway as reserving to itself right to decide in each case when belligerent armed merchant vessels may enter its ports.	557
338	Oct. 10 [Rec'd Oct. 11]	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Transmits Norwegian *note verbale* regarding civilian character of gun crews of merchant vessels.	557

TREATMENT OF GERMAN MERCHANT SHIPS IN AMERICAN PORTS PRIOR TO THE DECLARATION OF A STATE OF WAR

	Feb. 10	To the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	Inquiry regarding reported seizure of German refugee boats in Hawaiian waters.	558
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	German ships placed under guard, crews interned, and vessels cleaned.	558
	Feb. 12	To the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	Advises against seizure of German vessels and internment of crews; action should be limited to legal procedure for violation of law.	559
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	Compliance with U.S. policy regarding war-bound vessels; transactions reported to the departments concerned.	559
	Feb. 15	From the Attorney General	Instructions sent to U.S. attorneys at various points regarding measures to be taken against crews of German and Austrian ships.	560
	Feb. 16	From the Secretary of War	Forwards correspondence with Governor General of Philippine Islands regarding treatment of German vessels and their crews.	562
	Feb. 21	From the Swiss Minister	Attention called to seizure of German merchant ships at Honolulu, Manila, and Colon, and looting by Government guards.	563
403	Mar. 10	To the Swiss Minister	Reply to charge of looting of German vessels by Government guards in ports of Honolulu, Manila, and Colon.	564
	Mar. 14	To the Secretary of the Interior	Compliance with Spanish Consul's request that no American may board German steamer at Honolulu without giving notice to Spanish Consulate.	565
	Mar. 29	From the Assistant Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Swiss Legation	German refugee merchant vessels at Honolulu now under their German crews, subject to supervision by U.S. customs officials.	565

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PART III

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST THE SUPPLYING TO BELLIGERENT WARSHIPS OF INFORMATION REGARDING THE SAILING OF MERCHANT SHIPS

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 10	From the Assistant Secretary of State to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury	British and French request that publication of manifests of ships' sailings be discontinued.	566
	Feb. 12 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to the Assistant Secretary of State	Practice of publishing manifests of particular vessels will be discontinued; total export figures only will be given.	566
	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Secretary of Agriculture	Temporary suspension of information service relative to publication of arrival and departure of vessels.	567
	Mar. 23	From the British Chargé	British request that publication of information regarding sailings of Allied vessels from U.S. ports be withheld until seven days after departure.	567
	Mar. 24	From the Counselor for the Department of State to the French Ambassador	Treasury instructions issued to omit name of port of destination from export declarations if country of destination is given.	568
	Mar. 29	To the Secretary of Agriculture	Withholding publication by Weather Bureau and leading newspapers of information regarding sailings of vessels.	568
	Apr. 24	To the British Embassy	Compliance with request that publication of information regarding sailings of Allied vessels be withheld. Precautions in Canal Zone.	569

PART IV: OTHER PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

REGULATIONS REGARDING PASSPORTS AND THE EXPATRIATION OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS

2519A	Jan. 24	Executive order	Text of amendments to rules governing the granting and issuing of passports in the United States.	573
507	Feb. 28	To all diplomatic representatives and consular officers (including consular agents)	Instructions amplifying the rules regarding proposed return to the United States of naturalized citizens against whom the presumption of expatriation has arisen.	576

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PART IV

Conviction of the German Consuls Bopp and Schack for Violations of American Laws; Revocation of Their Exequaturs; Their Internment as Enemy Aliens

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 11	From the Assistant Attorney General to the Counselor for the Department of State	Conviction of the German consular officers, Bopp and Schack, and three others for violation of American neutrality laws.	579
B 473	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 13]	From the German Ambassador	Requests authorization to appoint certain German consular officers to take the place of Bopp and Schack.	580
2291	Jan. 22	To the German Ambassador	Revocation of exequatur of Consul General Bopp.	580
2292	Jan. 22	To the German Ambassador	Provisional recognition accorded new assignments of German consular officers at San Francisco and Seattle.	581
I 3	Feb. 28 [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Swiss Minister	German proposal that court proceedings be deferred in case of Bopp and Schack until after reestablishment of diplomatic relations.	581
396	Mar. 3	To the Swiss Minister	Refusal to free Bopp and Schack; representations made regarding assumption that U.S. courts would experience difficulty in affording them fair trial.	583
XI 20	Oct. 17	From the Swiss Minister	German offer of bail for release of Bopp and Schack pending trial. Status of trial requested.	584
	Oct. 25	From the Attorney General; copy transmitted to the Swiss Legation	History of indictment and trial of Bopp and Schack. Bail refused.	584

The Return of Diplomatic Officers from Their Posts upon the Severance of Relations between Their Countries

RETURN OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR FROM GERMANY

3860	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Instructions to leave Germany. Directions regarding arrangements to be made. Passports to be handed German Ambassador.	585
5002	Feb. 5 [Rec'd Feb. 6]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Not permitted to leave Germany until news received of departure of Bernstorff and staff from the United States. *Yarrowdale* prisoners held as reprisal measure.	587

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PART IV

THE RETURN OF DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS FROM THEIR POSTS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
222	Feb. 6	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Complete arrangements made for departure of German diplomatic and consular staffs. Protective measures taken only against German interned vessels.	587
515	Feb. 12 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Ambassador formerly in Germany (tel.)	Arrives at Berne. Quotes proposed agreement between the United States and Germany for reciprocal treatment of citizens and private property. Advises not to sign.	588
285	Feb. 26	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain is requested to notify Germany of sailing date of former Ambassador Gerard.	591
		RETURN OF THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR FROM THE UNITED STATES		
213	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Arrangements made for protection of German representatives *en route* to Germany.	591
4396	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.); the same to France	Requests safe-conduct and facilities for German representatives and families leaving the United States.	592
4410	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.); the same to France	Requests safe-conduct for German party to sail on the *Frederik VIII*. Inquires if vessel may carry other passengers and cargo.	592
1854	Feb. 7	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Safe-conduct accorded German Ambassador and party.	592
4418	Feb. 8	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to inform Foreign Office that it will be appreciated if examination of vessel conveying German party is conducted at Halifax.	593
5643	Feb. 8	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes British note consenting to examination at Halifax of ship carrying German party, in deference to U.S. wishes.	593
5645	Feb. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The right of search is reserved; no objection to steamer with German party aboard carrying other passengers and cargo.	593
1862	Feb. 9	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	No objection to other German passengers embarking on the *Frederik VIII* with German official party.	594
460	Apr. 30	To the Swiss Minister	Regarding treatment of German Ambassador and party at Halifax, complaint should be made to Great Britain and France.	594

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PART IV

THE RETURN OF DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS FROM THEIR POSTS, ETC.—Continued

RETURN OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE FROM THE UNITED STATES

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 9	From the Austro-Hungarian Chargé	Relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary severed. Guaranty for safe return of personnel of Embassy and consulates requested.	594
	Apr. 9	To the Austro-Hungarian Chargé	Passports for Austro-Hungarian official party granted.	595
4667	Apr. 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.); *mutatis mutandis*, to France	British cooperation requested to facilitate departure from the United States of Austro-Hungarian Embassy and consular officers together with German officials from China.	595
1829	Apr. 11 [Rec'd Apr. 13]	From the Chargé in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austro-Hungarian request for protective measures for officials departing from the United States. Embassy's reply.	596
1541	Apr. 19	To the British Ambassador	Requests consideration be shown Austro-Hungarian Embassy staff on departure, and presents inquiry relative to restrictions on personal effects.	596
2031	Apr. 20	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	French safe-conduct granted steamer carrying Austro-Hungarian staff and German consuls from China.	597
	May 7 [Rec'd May 9]	From the Swedish Minister	Conveys thanks of Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate for courtesies and facilities accorded him and party by American authorities.	598

RETURN OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR FROM TURKEY

912	Apr. 23 [Rec'd June 20]	From the Chargé in Turkey	Plans for departure of Embassy staff. Enclosures: Turkish notes (1) announcing severance of relations; (2) inviting departure of U.S.S. *Scorpion* from Turkish port.	598
	June 10 [Rec'd June 28]	From the Ambassador formerly in Turkey	Reports details of severance of relations with Turkey and departure of Embassy staff.	604

RETURN OF GERMAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICERS FROM BRAZIL, BOLIVIA, AND SIAM

	Apr. 12	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Foreign Minister requests that voyage of German official party leaving Brazil be unimpeded.	606
	Apr. 14	To the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Instructions issued against molestation of former German Minister to Brazil and party on voyage.	607

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PART IV

THE RETURN OF DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS FROM THEIR POSTS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	June 1	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	British safe-conduct granted German Minister to Brazil to proceed to Germany. Inquiry regarding U.S. safe-conduct to New York.	607
	June 2	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Authorization to issue safe-conduct to former German Minister. Right of search reserved.	607
	June 5	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Inquiry regarding safe-conducts for other members of German Embassy party and for German Minister formerly in Bolivia.	608
	June 6	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Authorizes granting of safe-conduct to members of German party not already taken care of and to German Minister formerly in Bolivia. Why will *Frisia* stop at New York?	608
	June 12	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Reports sailing of *Frisia* with German Minister and official party; will touch at New York to discharge passengers and cargo.	609
	Aug. 5 [Rec'd Aug. 6]	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Siam requests permission for German and Austrian Chargés to pass through Panama Canal in returning to Europe.	609
	Aug. 8	To the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Refuses permission for German and Austrian Chargés to travel through Panama Canal.	610

REPRESENTATION OF GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THEY HAVE SEVERED RELATIONS; PROTECTION OF THEIR INTERESTS AND NATIONALS

REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN GERMANY BY SPAIN

209	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Requests representation of U.S. interests in Germany by Spain.	610
327	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain accedes to request to represent U.S. interests in Germany.	610
215	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	The United States desires to intrust its interests in Germany to officers of Spanish birth.	610
350	Feb. 13	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Reports Spanish Ambassador, Berlin, in charge of American interests.	611
403	Mar. 10	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Compliance with request for Spanish personnel in caring for U.S. interests.	611

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PART IV

REPRESENTATION OF GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THEY HAVE SEVERED RELATIONS, ETC.—Continued

REPRESENTATION OF GERMANY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES BY SWITZERLAND; IN HAWAII, PORTO RICO, AND THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE BY SPANISH CONSULS

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Swiss Minister	Notification that German interests in the United States and the Philippines are in the charge of Swiss representatives.	612
342	Feb. 9	To the Swiss Minister	No objection to German interests being represented by Switzerland.	612
	Feb. 20	From the Spanish Ambassador	Spanish consuls at Honolulu and in Porto Rico intrusted with protection of German interests.	613
	Apr. 6	From the Swiss Minister	Denmark offers to protect German archives in Danish West Indies, recently ceded to the United States.	613
	June 20	Memorandum of the Acting Chief of the Division of Western European Affairs of the Department of State	Swiss Legation notified that all Germans attached to Legation or consulates must depart or resign.	613
1026	June 30 [Rec'd July 1]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Germany will withdraw permission for Americans to work at Spanish Embassy, Berlin, if German employees at Swiss Legation, Washington, dismissed.	614
585	July 3	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	No alternative but to request Swiss Legation at Washington to dismiss former German Embassy employees.	614
I b 15	Oct. 30	From the Swiss Minister	Swiss Consulate at San Francisco temporarily in charge of German interests in Hawaiian Islands.	614
IV 14	Oct. 31	From the Swiss Minister	Swiss Consul requests authorization to administer German affairs without license under Trading with the Enemy Act.	615
	Nov. 27	To the War Trade Board	Steps to be taken to prevent interference (under Trading with the Enemy Act) with Swiss Consulate in administration of German affairs.	615
IV 14	Dec. 4 [Rec'd Dec. 6]	From the Swiss Minister	Premises formerly occupied by German Consulate leased in name of Swiss Consul. Appreciation of Department's action in matter.	616

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PART IV

REPRESENTATION OF GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THEY HAVE SEVERED RELATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
L d 7	Apr. 25, 1918 [Rec'd Apr. 27]	From the Swiss Minister	Spanish Vice Consul at Panama to assume protection of German interests in Canal Zone, subject to approval of powers concerned.	617
	Aug. 24, 1918	To the Swiss Chargé	Agrees to proposal that Spanish Vice Consul at Panama assume protection of German interests in Canal Zone.	617
REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY BY SPAIN				
210	Feb. 4	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Inquires if Spain will take over U.S. interests in Austria-Hungary in event of severance of relations.	618
328	Feb. 5	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain will assume charge of American interests in Austria-Hungary in event of severance of relations.	618
1646	Apr. 9	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austro-Hungarian Chargé has requested passports. Instructions for transfer of U.S. and Allied interests to neutral governments.	618
396	Apr. 9	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Instructions to inform Foreign Office that U.S. interests turned over to Spanish Ambassador in Vienna.	619
469	Apr. 11	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spanish Embassy, Vienna, has taken charge of American interests in Austria-Hungary. Similar instructions given regarding British and Japanese interests.	619
REPRESENTATION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY IN THE UNITED STATES BY SWEDEN, IN THE PHILIPPINES BY SWITZERLAND				
	Apr. 10	From the Swedish Minister	Announces that he has assumed charge of Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States.	619
	Apr. 23	To the Swedish Minister	Acknowledges receipt of notice that he has assumed charge of Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States.	619
	May 26	From the Spanish Ambassador	Spanish Consul at Honolulu will take charge of Austro-Hungarian interests in the Hawaiian Islands.	620
1 b 13	June 4 [Rec'd June 5]	From the Swiss Minister	Representation of Austria-Hungary in the Philippines by Switzerland.	620
	Oct. 29 [Rec'd Oct. 31]	From the Swedish Minister	Representation of Austria-Hungary in Hawaiian Islands transferred to Swedish Consulate at San Francisco.	620

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PART IV

REPRESENTATION OF GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THEY HAVE SEVERED RELATIONS, ETC.—Continued

REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY IN THE UNITED STATES BY SPAIN

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 27	From the Spanish Ambassador	Representation of Turkey in the United States by Spain.	621
	May 1	To the Spanish Ambassador	Acknowledges notice of Turkey's representation in the United States by Spain.	621

TRANSFER TO OTHER NEUTRAL GOVERNMENTS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS IN ENEMY COUNTRIES BY THE UNITED STATES UPON THE SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED

4385	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British interests in Germany to be turned over to Dutch Minister.	622
	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.); the same to France, Greece, Japan, Portugal, Roumania, Morocco, Russia, and Egypt	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622
5627	Feb. 7	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	German interests in Great Britain intrusted to Swiss Minister.	622
	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.); the same to France, Greece, Japan, Portugal, Roumania, Morocco, Russia, and Egypt	Germany has intrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623
346	Feb. 13	To the Swiss Minister	Inquiry regarding disposition of German interests at places where there are no Swiss consular officers.	623
1587	Mar. 8	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Difficulty in handling Austro-Hungarian relief work in Russia separate from that of Germany. Inquires if desired that American Embassy continue its representation.	623
I 4 h	Mar. 14 [Rec'd Mar. 16]	From the Swiss Minister	Arrangements made for German representation in certain places where there are no Swiss consuls.	624

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PART IV

REPRESENTATION OF GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THEY HAVE SEVERED RELATIONS, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1770	Mar. 20 [Rec'd Mar. 22]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austro-Hungarian *aide-mémoire* requesting continuation of U.S. protection in Russia.	625
1278	Mar. 23	To the Ambassador in Russia (tel.)	Instructions to continue to care for Austro-Hungarian interests in Russia.	626
5993	Apr. 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Swiss Minister has requested that archives of former German division of Embassy be turned over to him. Requests permission to refuse.	626
4703	Apr. 17	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to refuse to turn over to Swiss Minister the Embassy archives of former German division but to permit records to be copied.	627
	July 17	To the Swiss Legation	Requests that the necessity for transferring German representation in certain places be again pointed out to Germany.	627
I d Allg. 3	Aug. 14	From the Swiss Chargé	Arrangements for transfer of German representation to neutral powers in certain places where there are no Swiss consuls.	628

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER AND RELIEF WORKERS FROM BELGIUM—TRANSFER OF THE RELIEF WORK TO NETHERLAND SUBJECTS

38	Feb. 1	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.): for the President	Suggests intervention in order that British and German restrictions on shipping will not destroy Belgian relief work.	628
4386	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Suggestion regarding relief work in Belgium. Enclosure: Note from Hoover to members of commission on best shipping routes.	630
248	Feb. 3	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Arrangements to be made in event Germany desires withdrawal of American Minister from Belgium.	630
5590	Feb. 3 [Rec'd Feb. 4]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from Belgian Relief Commission for Hoover	Shipping difficulties and British Treasury loan to Belgium.	632
249	Feb. 4	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to represent to German authorities that their trade restrictions have cut off Belgian relief ships.	632
	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the British Ambassador	Great Britain will see that relief work goes on provided Germany will allow Belgian relief ships to come to Rotterdam.	633

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PART IV

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER AND RELIEF WORKERS FROM BELGIUM, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5612	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission for Hoover	Further German restrictions on trade and its effect on relief work.	633
5652	Feb. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The future of the Belgian Relief Commission.	634
5662	Feb. 10	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission for Hoover	Negotiations between Great Britain and Germany for concessions in shipping regulations.	635
1867	Feb. 10	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Danish S.S. *Lars Kruse* with cargo of corn for Belgian relief.	636
5673	Feb. 12	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Reported that Germany will no longer permit American members of relief commission to operate in Belgium. Recommends that Americans retire.	636
39	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the British Ambassador	British determination to continue Belgian relief work as far as feasible under German restrictions.	637
	Feb. 14	From the Netherland Minister	Netherland offer to take over work of American Commission for Relief in Belgium.	637
526	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.): from Herter, formerly in Belgium	Reports suspension of prerogatives of American Minister and restriction on activities of relief commission.	638
716	Feb. 14	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.): from Whitlock	Requests that no final action on Belgian situation be taken pending negotiations.	639
253	Feb. 15	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to inform German authorities that unless American Minister and relief commission be accorded former privileges, they will be withdrawn.	639
40	Feb. 16 [Rec'd Feb. 21]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Reports status of Legation and relief commission and recommends preparation for gradual departure.	640

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PART IV

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER AND RELIEF WORKERS FROM BELGIUM, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
43	Feb. 21 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	The commission is instructed to remain. Difficulty is divergence of opinion between Great Britain and Germany regarding shipping routes.	642
	Feb. 24	From the Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	British Government has issued safe-conduct to ships via northern route.	643
5748	Feb. 24	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission, for Hoover also	Commission resolved to send vessels to Rotterdam direct, without safe-conduct, requesting the United States to hold Germany responsible.	643
732	Feb. 25	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.): from Whitlock	It is his purpose to inform the German authorities that he will leave Belgium if former privileges not restored.	644
256	Feb. 26	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Desirable that Minister remain for present. Recommends Hoover's plan to transfer relief work to Netherland subjects, if Americans must withdraw.	644
257	Feb. 26	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to advise Americans to leave Belgium and to facilitate their departure.	645
5767	Feb. 27	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission, for Hoover also	British Government has warned Germany that unless safe-conduct granted, relief ships' cargoes will be unloaded and sold.	646
44	Feb. 26 [Rec'd Feb. 28]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	German authorities accord every privilege except diplomatic recognition; will withdraw from occupied territory.	646
261	Mar. 1	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions not to leave Belgium until directed. Commission to depart at same time.	647
45	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Attempt to put into effect suggestion for reorganization of commission. Only oral assurances given that commission can depart when they desire.	647
264	Mar. 2	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to obtain written assurances from German authorities that American members of commission may leave Belgium when they desire.	648
744	Mar. 4 [Rec'd Mar. 5]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	German correspondence with the Netherlands on subject of reorganization of the Belgian Relief Commission.	648

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PART IV

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER AND RELIEF WORKERS FROM BELGIUM, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
XII 2	Mar. 5 [Rec'd Mar. 7]	From the Swiss Minister	Swiss Legation in the United States authorized by Germany to continue to issue safe-conducts for Belgian relief ships. Route designated.	649
46	Mar. 3 [Rec'd Mar. 7]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Recommends early departure of commission; the Netherlands and Spain agree to conduct relief in Belgium.	649
5811	Mar. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): for Hoover also	Germany maneuvering to throw blame on relief commission and then dismiss it. No safe route to Rotterdam. Instructions awaited.	650
5819	Mar. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission for Hoover	Advocates withdrawal of American Relief Commission from Belgium because of interruption of service by Germany.	651
265	Mar. 10	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Belgian relief work will cease only when Americans are forced out.	651
4527	Mar. 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Hoover leaves for London; his view that relief commission should continue efforts until forced to retire.	651
760	Mar. 10	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Reports Belgian-Dutch frontier closed, Whitlock without diplomatic position or funds.	652
328	Mar. 16	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Protest against sinking by German submarine of Norwegian S.S. *Storstad* carrying corn for Belgian relief.	652
	Mar. 20	From the Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	Quotes London office report of further attacks on commission ships sailing under German safe-conducts. Protests made.	653
444	Mar. 20	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Inquires about communication with Whitlock.	653
792	Mar. 21	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Sealed communications with Brussels only through Spanish pouch, but Spanish courier service not yet resumed across Belgian-Dutch frontier.	654
48	Mar. 14 [Rec'd Mar.23]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Secured written assurances that members of American commission may leave Belgium in case of war, but subject to quarantine measures.	654
268	Mar. 23	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Orders withdrawal of American Minister and relief workers from Belgium.	655

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PART IV

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER AND RELIEF WORKERS FROM BELGIUM, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 23	To the Netherland Minister	Accepts proposal that relief work in Belgium be transferred to Netherland subjects.	655
	Mar. 24	Statement given to the press by the Department of State	Situation in German-occupied territory causes withdrawal of American Minister and relief workers from Belgium.	656
	Mar. 27	From the Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	London office desires that commissioners delay departure from Belgium in order to instruct new delegates in the work.	657
	Mar. 27	To the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	Members of commission should leave Belgium at once.	657
49	Mar. 28 [Rec'd Mar. 29]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Reports preparations to leave Belgium.	657
815	Mar. 29	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	It is reported American Relief Commission and officials in Belgium will be detained for period to prevent spread of military information.	658
711	Apr. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 2]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Informed that members of American Legation and consulates and relief commission will leave Belgium at once, several members of latter remaining to wind up affairs.	658
50	Apr. 3 [Rec'd Apr. 6]	From the Minister formerly in Belgium (tel.)	Reports departure from Belgium of Legation staff, consuls, and relief commission with few exceptions.	658
5992	Apr. 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes substance of Belgian Relief Commission's protest against destruction of relief ships to be transmitted through neutral channels to Germany.	660
	May 2	From the British Embassy	Great Britain does not feel justified in allowing other relief vessels to proceed in view of German outrages.	661
XVIII	May 2 [Rec'd May 4]	From the Swiss Minister	Points out that Belgian relief ships must avoid German blockade zone; safe-conducts contain this stipulation.	661
520	May 4	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	German explanation of sinking of the *Storstad*.	662
866	May 4 [Rec'd May 5]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Arrival from Belgium of remaining American delegates of relief commission. Passports refused private American citizens in Belgium.	662

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PART IV

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER AND RELIEF WORKERS FROM BELGIUM, ETC.—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 7	From the British Embassy	Permission for Belgian relief ships to proceed to Rotterdam in zone of safety prescribed by German Government.	663
6249	May 19	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission to Hoover	Admiralty refuses to release vessels. Commission protests.	663

REPORTS ON THE DEPORTATION OF CIVILIANS FROM BELGIUM

4231	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Inquires Hoover's opinion regarding continuance of Belgian deportations notwithstanding U.S. protest.	664
3722	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Inquires what action has been taken by Germany regarding protests against Belgian deportations.	664
243	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Inquiry whether deportations continue and what percentage of those deported are being returned.	664
5397	Jan. 2, 1917 [Rec'd Jan. 4]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from Hoover	Report on Belgian deportations and suggestion of personal note from President Wilson to the German Emperor along certain lines.	665
29	Jan. 2 [Rec'd Jan. 5]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Further report on Belgian deportations and efforts to influence the situation.	666
3754	Jan. 6	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Instructions to arrange for American inspection of work places of deported Belgians.	668
A 131	Jan. 8	From the German Ambassador	Presents German justification of system of deportation of Belgians.	668
32	Jan. 16 [Rec'd Jan. 17]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Reports milder methods of deportation and attempt of civil government to abrogate policy.	672
429	Jan. 17 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Minister in Belgium	Change of methods of deportation in Brussels. Encloses summons blank.	673

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SERBIAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES

1590	Sept. 11, 1916	From the Chargé in France (tel.)	Application for establishment of Serbian Legation in the United States, designating minister under consideration.	674
1740	Sept. 23, 1916	To the Chargé in France (tel.)	A Serbian diplomatic mission under minister proposed will be agreeable to the United States.	674

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PART IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SERBIAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES—Contd.

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 26, 1917	Remarks of the Serbian Minister upon reception by President Wilson	Letters of credence presented	674
	Jan. 26	President Wilson's reply to the Serbian Minister	Acceptance of letters of credence	675

THE JURISDICTION OF AMERICAN COURTS OVER SHIPS REQUISITIONED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—THE CASE OF THE "ATTUALITÀ"

	Sept. 12, 1916 [Rec'd Sept. 13]	From the Counselor of the Italian Embassy	Case of the Italian S.S. *Attualità*. Requests Department to suggest measures to protect Italian requisitioned ships from attachment in U.S. ports.	675
2977	Oct. 2, 1916 [Rec'd Oct. 4]	From the Italian Ambassador	Again presents case of the *Attualità* detained in U.S. court; claims right of exemption from attachment as a requisitioned vessel of a friendly country.	677
	Oct. 13, 1916	From the Counselor of the Italian Embassy	Reiterates formal protests against the assumption of jurisdiction by U.S. courts over an Italian requisitioned ship and points out impossibility for appeal in time allowed.	678
221	Oct. 26, 1916	To the Italian Ambassador	Summary of the *Attualità* case: not armed public vessel, not entitled to immunity under international law. Suggests application for release under bond.	680
750	Dec. 11, 1916 [Rec'd Dec. 12]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Italy requests the release of the *Attualità*: grain cargo needed.	685
682	Dec. 14, 1916	To the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Calls attention to reasons given in former correspondence why the *Attualità* cannot be released except under bond.	685
1359	May 12, 1917 [Rec'd May 14]	From the Italian Ambassador	Reserves rights of his Government regarding forced sale of the *Attualità*. Transfer of flag of Italian steamers prohibited.	686
278	May 29	To the Italian Ambassador	The *Attualità* case tried on its merits by court of competent jurisdiction, vessel found at fault in collision, and amount of damage referred to commissioner.	687

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LIST OF PAPERS BY COUNTRIES

[Incoming papers are listed chronologically under date of issue. Unless otherwise specified, the correspondence is *from* or *to* the Secretary of State or the Department. Correspondence to and from the London Office of the Commission for Relief in Belgium sent through the American Ambassador in London, is listed under Great Britain.]

ARGENTINA

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 8, 1917	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine attitude toward Germany theoretically at one with that of the United States, but, in absence of concrete injury, form of reply will appear different.	225
DE–6	Feb. 9	From the Argentine Ambassador	Forwards copy of Argentina's reply to Germany deploring extreme measures of blockade and declaring adherence to rules of international law.	227
	Feb. 27	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine initiative in suggesting that Latin-American powers mediate between Germany and the United States.	235
	Mar. 3	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Probable outcome of projected Latin-American conference.	236
	Mar. 12	To the Argentine Embassy	Announces the arming of U.S. merchant ships.	171
	Mar. 14	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to report Argentina's activities regarding mediation by Latin-American powers.	240
	Mar. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Slight activity in promoting move for Latin-American mediation.	241
	Apr. 10 [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes Argentine note recognizing justice of U.S. action against Germany.	249
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From President Irigoyen of Argentina to the American Ambassador	Recognition of justice of U.S. action against Germany.	249
	Apr. 15	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Sinking of the Argentine brigantine *Monte Protegido* by German submarine may cause severance of diplomatic relations.	255
	Apr. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina expresses appreciation of attitude of Brazil in defense of principles of international law.	256
	Apr. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Calling of commercial conference of American nations at Argentina includes the United States.	256

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ARGENTINA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 17	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes proposed Argentine invitation to the nations of America.	257
	Apr. 18	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Inquiry regarding message of Mar. 16, 6 p. m., on commercial congress.	259
	Apr. 20	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Changes in title of congress of American nations to be called by Argentina.	260
	Apr. 20	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Inquires U.S. attitude relative to conference of neutral American nations.	260
	Apr. 22 [Rec'd Apr. 23]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes text of Argentine note of invitation to nations of America for conference to procure mutual understanding on the war.	263
	Apr. 22	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Impossibility of any expression of views by the United States regarding conference of Latin-American nations.	263
	Apr. 22	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Press reports that Argentina demands apology and indemnity of Germany for sinking of brigantine.	263
	Apr. 25	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Attempt of Argentina to interpret the meaning of U.S. reply regarding proposed conference of American nations.	264
	May 1	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Socialist Party voted against intervention in the war.	273
	May 2	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reported that Germany has agreed to indemnify Argentina for loss of vessel and will salute Argentine flag.	275
	May 5	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina accepts German promise of reparation, ratifying friendly sentiments between the two countries.	275
	May 17	From the Argentine Ambassador	Presents Argentine message explaining move for congress of American nations and desire to remove any misunderstanding regarding friendly relations with the United States.	282
	June 1	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	British safe-conduct granted German Minister to Brazil to proceed to Germany. Inquiry regarding U.S. safe-conduct to New York.	607
	June 2	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Authorization to issue safe-conduct to former German Minister. Right of search reserved.	607
	June 13	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Peru consents to join conference only on condition that it act under leadership of the United States.	297

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ARGENTINA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	June 23	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reports countries which will participate in conference of neutrals.	303
	June 26	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Sinking of Argentine vessel *Toro*...	303
	July 1	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Annual message to Congress recites Argentina's efforts to maintain neutrality and plan for congress of neutrals.	304
	July 3	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Request for outline of plan of congress of neutrals.	305
	July 5	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Date and program of conference uncertain. Believed that Argentina's note to Germany will result in severance of diplomatic relations.	306
	July 6	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Inquires if Argentina can assist the United States in its plan of export allotment to the Allies by sending more wheat to France and Great Britain unconditionally.	306
	July 19	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Colombia and Mexico most active in urging congress of neutrals.	308
	July 31	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina will declare war if demands not accepted by Germany.	309
	Aug. 29	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	German reply to Argentine demands considered acceptable.	319
	Sept. 7	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes three messages from Luxburg, German Chargé in Argentina, to Berlin, dispatched as official messages of Swedish Legation and recommending drastic treatment of Argentine ships.	322
	Sept. 8	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Revocation of Argentine export-prohibition decree urged. Attempted adjustment.	323
	Sept. 9	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Publishing of Department's *communiqué* on Luxburg's messages to Berlin. Swedish Minister denies having sent them.	324
	Sept. 11	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Foreign Minister denies any undertakings for limiting of Argentine shipping; awaits official confirmation before taking action on Luxburg messages.	324
	Sept. 12	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reported German Chargé has been given his passports.	325

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ARGENTINA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Sept. 13	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Report requested on interned German vessels, also on Argentine merchant vessels.	325
	Sept. 16	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine merchant marine and their whereabouts.	327
	Sept. 20	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentine Senate voted to break relations with Germany.	328
	Sept. 21	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	All cables sent by Swedish Legation transmitted to Argentine Ambassador at Washington.	329
	Sept. 23	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	German Government disavows Luxburg messages. Argentina undecided regarding future attitude toward Germany.	329
	Sept. 25	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Reported House votes rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany.	330
	Sept. 29	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Details of House vote on severance of relations with Germany.	332
	Oct. 27	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to deny that information published regarding German despatches at Department for decoding came from the U.S. Government.	353
	Nov. 11 [Rec'd Nov. 12]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Certain countries respond to Argentina's urge for conference. Brazil excluded.	365
	Nov. 14	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Proposed purchase of Argentine surplus wheat by British and French; U.S. cooperation in plan.	366
	Dec. 6 [Rec'd Dec. 7]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Conference with the President on Argentina's international policy. Invitation to Pan-American conference would be tendered if the United States would accept.	381
	Dec. 7	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to deny rumor that the United States and Great Britain approve the Pope's further mediation in war.	382
	Dec. 10	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Understood that Peru, Bolivia, and Uruguay will not be represented at conference unless called for purpose of breaking relations with Germany.	384
	Dec. 13	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Quotes message to the Treasury from commissioner at Paris that France and Great Britain favor acquiring supplies in Argentina on open market. The United States has like policy.	386

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ARGENTINA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Dec. 15	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions regarding U.S. attitude toward the conference. Stand taken by Latin-American countries.	388
	Dec. 17	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	The President determined not to break with Germany. Luxburg telegrams said to be work of madman.	391
	Dec. 21	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	More Luxburg telegrams published. Government disavows contents.	392
	Dec. 22	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Publication of additional Luxburg telegrams had slight effect upon the public. *Washington Post* editorial resented, paper called "official."	393
	Dec. 24	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Informed that proposed congress of neutrals postponed. Instructions to report.	394
	Dec. 24	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Instructions to deny, if advisable, that the *Washington Post* voices views of the administration.	394
	Dec. 28	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	General opinion that Latin-American conference will never take place.	394
	Dec. 28	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Text of proposed convention between France, Great Britain, and Argentina for purchase of wheat in exchange for combustibles from the United States. Requests instructions.	395
	Dec. 29	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	The United States would allow export of combustibles for Argentine requirements, but considers it inadvisable to make engagement.	397
	Jan. 2, 1918	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Argentina will accept wheat convention if U.S. position regarding coal stated definitely. Submits statement on subject for approval.	398
	Jan. 3, 1918	To the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Authorization to send to Foreign Minister note regarding coal export as submitted for approval.	398
	Jan. 14, 1918 [Rec'd Jan. 15]	From the Ambassador in Argentina (tel.)	Convention for the purchase of Argentine wheat by Great Britain and France signed.	399

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

	Jan. 5, 1917	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3*n*
1635	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 14]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austria-Hungary's counter-reply to Allies' rejection of Central powers' invitation to discuss peace.	10

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1654	Jan. 23 [Rec'd Jan. 24]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Destruction of the S.S. *Chemung*..	93
1662	Jan. 25 [Rec'd Jan. 27]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Favorable reception given the President's peace address by Minister President of Hungary.	31
[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 25	From the Hungarian Minister President to the American Ambassador	Attitude toward President Wilson's peace address.	34
1666	Jan. 27 [Rec'd Jan. 29]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes note of Jan. 25 from the Hungarian Minister President.	34
[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 31	From the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Announces resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare.	104
1674	Feb. 1 [Rec'd Feb. 3]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austro-Hungarian note of Jan. 31.	104
1518	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Text of the President's address of Feb. 3 to Congress, for the Foreign Minister and for publication.	108
1526	Feb. 4	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Efforts of Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate to continue diplomatic relations with the United States.	112
1680	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Foreign Minister desires that good relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary be maintained.	113
1683	Feb. 5 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Minister's note appealing to the President.	38
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs	Appeal to the President to induce the Entente to conform to American viewpoint and conclude peace honorable to both sides.	38
1688	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Report on the Monarchy's desperate situation and desire for peace.	39
1532	Feb. 6	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Message for transmission from the Bulgarian Minister at Washington to his Government, stating the United States desires to maintain friendly relations with Bulgaria.	116

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1700	Feb. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 11]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	The Kaiser expected in Vienna for conference with the Emperor.	41
1551	Feb. 14	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Uncertainty of interpretation of Austria-Hungary's declarations on submarine warfare. Instructions to ascertain attitude.	131
1705	Feb. 15 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary taking precautions against break with America. No submarine activity outside the Adriatic.	135
1713	Feb. 19 [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Drastic measures to prevent press articles hostile to America.	137
1566	Feb. 22	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Offer to Austria-Hungary of Allies' limited assurances against dismemberment in the event of a request for early peace.	57
1567	Feb. 23	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary must change its submarine policy, otherwise its representative can not be received by the United States.	143
1728	Feb. 26 [Rec'd Feb. 27]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Foreign Minister gives assurance of satisfactory reply to communication regarding the *Ancona* and *Persia* pledges.	151
1729	Feb. 27	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Official denial that the *Lyman M. Law* was sunk by Austro-Hungarians.	152
1730	Feb. 27 [Rec'd Feb. 28]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister's memorandum refusing to consider separate peace.	62
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 28]	From the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Refusal to consider separate peace.	63
1731	Feb. 27 [Rec'd Feb. 28]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Official assurance of satisfactory reply to U.S. inquiry regarding submarine warfare.	152
1739	Mar. 2 [Rec'd Mar. 4]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austria-Hungary's justification of submarine policy.	161
[Quoted. in tel.]	Mar. 2	From the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office to the American Embassy	Justification of Austro-Hungarian submarine policy.	161

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1580	Mar. 3	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Instructions to request reconsideration of separate peace; delay may make it ineffective.	63
1746	Mar. 6 [Rec'd Mar. 7]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Foreign Minister requests that full reception be given the Ambassador designate in the United States.	169
1587	Mar. 8	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Difficulty in handling Austro-Hungarian relief work in Russia separate from that of Germany. Inquires if desired that American Embassy continue its representation.	623
1757	Mar. 13 [Rec'd Mar. 15]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary continues to refuse consideration of separate peace.	65
1760	Mar. 14 [Rec'd Mar. 16]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Prospect of difficulties if Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate not received in Washington.	177
1606	Mar. 18	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	U.S. position regarding official reception of Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate.	178
[Quoted in tel.]	Mar. 18	From the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Requests continuation of U.S. protection in Russia.	625
1770	Mar. 20 [Rec'd Mar. 22]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Quotes Austro-Hungarian *aide-mémoire* of Mar. 18.	625
1781	Mar. 22 [Rec'd Mar. 24]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	U.S. delay in receiving the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate.	186
1624	Mar. 28	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Refusal to receive Ambassador designate and offer of safe-conduct to Vienna. Instructions for U. S. Ambassador to report in Washington.	188
1800	Apr. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 2]	From the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austria-Hungary will sever diplomatic relations with the United States if latter declares war on Germany.	193
	Apr. 9	From the Austro-Hungarian Chargé	Relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary severed. Guaranty for safe return of personnel of Embassy and consulates requested.	594
	Apr. 9	To the Austro-Hungarian Chargé	Passports for Austro-Hungarian official party granted.	595

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1646	Apr. 9	To the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austro-Hungarian Chargé has requested passports. Instructions to transfer U.S. and Allied interests to neutral governments.	618
1829	Apr. 11 [Rec'd Apr. 13]	From the Chargé in Austria-Hungary (tel.)	Austro-Hungarian request for protective measures for officials departing from the United States. Embassy's reply.	596

BELGIUM

243	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Inquiry whether deportations continue and what percentage of those deported are being returned.	664
29	Jan. 2, 1917 [Rec'd Jan. 5]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Further report on Belgian deportations and efforts to influence the situation.	666
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Jan. 11]	From the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador in France	Belgian note accompanying Allies' reply to the President's peace note.	8
32	Jan. 16 [Rec'd Jan. 17]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Reports milder methods of deportation and attempt of civil government to abrogate policy.	672
429	Jan. 17 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Minister in Belgium	Change of methods of deportation in Brussels. Encloses summons blank.	673
38	Feb. 1	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.): for the President	Suggests intervention in order that British and German restrictions on shipping will not destroy Belgian relief work.	628
248	Feb. 3	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Arrangements to be made in event Germany desires withdrawal of American Minister from Belgium.	630
249	Feb. 4	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to represent to German authorities that their trade restrictions have cut off Belgian relief ships.	632
253	Feb. 15	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to inform German authorities that unless American Minister and relief commission be accorded former privileges, they will be withdrawn.	639
40	Feb. 16 [Rec'd Feb. 21]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Reports status of Legation and relief commission and recommends preparation for gradual departure.	640
43	Feb. 21 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	The commission is instructed to remain. Difficulty is divergence of opinion between Great Britain and Germany regarding shipping routes.	642

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BELGIUM—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
256	Feb. 26	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Desirable that Minister remain for present. Recommends Hoover's plan to transfer relief work to Netherland subjects, if Americans must withdraw.	644
257	Feb. 26	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to advise Americans to leave Belgium and to facilitate their departure.	645
44	Feb. 26 [Rec'd Feb. 28]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	German authorities accord every privilege except diplomatic recognition; will withdraw from occupied territory.	646
45	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Attempt to put into effect suggestion for reorganization of commission. Only oral assurances given that commission can depart when they desire.	647
261	Mar. 1	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions not to leave Belgium until directed. Commission to depart at same time.	647
264	Mar. 2	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Instructions to obtain written assurances from German authorities that American members of commission may leave Belgium when they desire.	648
46	Mar. 3 [Rec'd Mar. 7]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Recommends early departure of commission; the Netherlands and Spain agree to conduct relief in Belgium.	649
265	Mar. 10	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Belgian relief work will cease only when Americans are forced out.	651
48	Mar. 14 [Rec'd Mar. 23]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Secured written assurances that members of American commission may leave Belgium in case of war, but subject to quarantine measures.	654
268	Mar. 23	To the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Orders withdrawal of American Minister and relief workers from Belgium.	655
49	Mar. 28 [Rec'd Mar. 29]	From the Minister in Belgium (tel.)	Reports preparations to leave Belgium.	657
50	Apr. 3 [Rec'd Apr. 6]	From the Minister formerly in Belgium (tel.)	Reports departure from Belgium of Legation staff, consuls, and relief commission with few exceptions.	658

BOLIVIA

	Feb. 6	From the Minister in Bolivia (tel.)	Bolivia in accord with U.S view on Germany's submarine policy.	222
	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Minister in Bolivia (tel.)	Quotes Bolivian note to Germany stating Bolivia unites with the United States in protesting against restriction of neutral shipping.	230

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BOLIVIA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 14	From the Bolivian Minister	Bolivia severs relations with Germany.	253
46	May 1	To the Bolivian Minister	U.S. appreciation of Bolivia's supporting attitude in severing relations with Germany.	273
	June 2	From the Minister in Bolivia (tel.)	Bolivia declines to participate in conference.	293

BRAZIL

[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 6	From the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé	Concurs in pacific sentiments expressed by the President's peace note.	219
	Jan. 8 [Rec'd Jan. 9]	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes Brazil's note of Jan. 6----	219
	Feb. 5	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil will protest against German policy; looks to concerted action of South American powers; and supports action of the United States.	222
[Quoted in tel.]	Feb. 8	From the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé	Brazil has protested against German blockade and will hold Germany responsible for incidents resulting therefrom.	226
	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes in part Brazil's note of Feb. 8.	226
	Apr. 12 [Rec'd Apr. 13]	From the Brazilian Ambassador	Severance of relations with Germany by Brazil in consequence of the sinking of the *Paraná*.	251
	Apr. 12 [Rec'd Apr. 13]	From the Consul General at Rio de Janeiro (tel.)	Brazil takes possession of German shipping in its ports.	252
	Apr. 12	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Foreign Minister requests that voyage of German official party leaving Brazil be unimpeded.	606
	Apr. 14	To the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Instructions issued against molestation of former German Minister to Brazil and party on voyage.	607
118	Apr. 16	To the Brazilian Ambassador	No recourse left Brazil and the United States but to take up arms to meet attacks on neutral shipping.	255
	May 1	From the Chargé in Brazil (tel.)	Decreed that Brazil comply with neutrality rules of 1914 until further orders to the contrary.	273
	May 18 [Rec'd May 19]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Intimation that, if satisfactory cooperation with the United States can be effected, Brazil will revoke neutrality decree.	284

Digitized by Google

BRAZIL—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 22 [Rec'd May 23]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Text of message of President of Brazil to Congress on foreign policy.	285
	May 26 [Rec'd May 27]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes text of the Brazilian President's message to Congress recommending appropriation of German merchant ships in Brazilian ports.	290
	May 28 [Rec'd May 29]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazilian Chamber of Deputies passed resolution authorizing withdrawal of decree of neutrality as affecting the United States and Germany.	291
	May 29	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Foreign Relations Committee of Brazilian Chamber recommends appropriation of German merchant vessels and takes measures for defense of foreign commerce.	291
	June 2	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Bill passed revoking decree of neutrality in war between the United States and Germany and authorizing use of German interned vessels.	293
	June 2	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil unwilling to revoke neutrality decrees affecting Allies until England removes prohibition on Brazilian coffee to Great Britain. U. S. good offices desired.	294
	June 3 [Rec'd June 4]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil appropriates German vessels anchored in Brazilian ports.	294
	June 4	From the Brazilian Ambassador	Unalterable friendship of Brazil for the United States and policy of continental solidarity.	294
	June 4	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes President Wilson's message of appreciation of Brazil's move.	295
	June 5	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Inquiry regarding safe-conducts for other members of German Embassy party and for German Minister formerly in Bolivia.	608
	June 6	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Authorizes granting of safe-conduct to members of German party not already taken care of and to German Minister formerly in Bolivia. Why will *Frisia* stop at New York?	608
	June 12	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Reports sailing of *Frisia* with German Minister and official party; will touch at New York to discharge passengers and cargo.	609
135	June 16	To the Brazilian Ambassador	Appreciation of friendly cooperation of Brazil in U. S. war policy.	300

Digitized by Google

BRAZIL—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	June 29	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Revocation of Brazil's neutrality decree with respect to Allied powers.	304
	July 12 [Rec'd Aug. 8]	From the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	British conditions regarding shipments of coffee to Great Britain unacceptable to Brazil. Patrol of Brazilian coast.	310
971	July 23 [Rec'd Aug. 11]	From the Ambassador in Brazil	Brazilian Navy will cooperate with U.S. Navy in patrolling South Atlantic.	312
	Aug. 14	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazilian coast patrol and Allied patrol of high seas.	315
	Aug. 24 [Rec'd Aug. 25]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	France secures tonnage from Brazilian company; consideration, purchase of coffee. Suggests negotiations with this company.	319
	Aug. 29	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Proposition to secure interned German vessels from Brazil by cash payment or fair exchange after war.	320
	Sept. 9	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Conference with President Braz on German ship proposition.	323
	Sept. 13	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Urges acceptance of U.S. proposal to take over German merchant vessels.	325
	Sept. 27 [Rec'd Sept. 28]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Probable Brazil will propose that ex-German ships shall be chartered to the United States, France, and Great Britain for their common interest.	331
	Sept. 29	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Suggestion that offer be made first to the United States to charter ex-German ships, in adherence to doctrines of Americanism.	332
	Oct. 3 [Rec'd Oct. 4]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	U.S. and French proposals for extending Brazil's foreign commerce and assisting the cause of the Allies by employing ex-German vessels.	335
	Oct. 12 [Rec'd Oct. 13]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil's plan for use of ex-German ships.	345
	Oct. 15 [Rec'd Oct. 16]	From the Brazilian Ambassador	Brazilian mission to the United States.	346
157	Oct. 23	To the Brazilian Ambassador	Every possible facility will be extended to Brazilian commission.	350
	Oct. 25 [Rec'd Oct. 26]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes the Brazilian President's message to Congress relating to sinking of S.S. *Maçâo* and recommending war with Germany.	351

Digitized by Google

BRAZIL—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Oct. 26	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	France unwilling to withdraw proposal for acquisition of German ships in Brazil.	352
	Oct. 26 [Rec'd Oct. 27]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Quotes Brazilian Senate resolutions declaring war with Germany.	352
	Oct. 30	From President Wilson to President Braz of Brazil (tel.)	Brazil's entrance into war welcomed by the United States and associated nations.	355
	Nov. 3	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	The President suggests that the United States stand aside and let France negotiate for Brazilian ships.	356
	Nov. 14	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Argentina proposes a congress of Latin-Americans rather than a congress of neutrals. Brazil and Uruguay have inquired program.	368
1061	Nov. 21 [Rec'd Jan. 2, 1918]	From the Ambassador in Brazil	Great Britain refuses to relax restrictions on coffee from Brazil. Imports confined to necessities.	397
	Nov. 23 [Rec'd Nov. 24]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil wishes to prevent Latin-American conference or to impose condition that attendance depend upon breaking relations with Germany.	373
	Nov. 29	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Charter to France of German ships seized by Brazil.	377
	Dec. 1	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Instructions to report whether, under French and Brazilian agreement, any North Atlantic trade is intended.	378
	Dec. 1	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Brazil's request for U.S. naval officers and offer to send squadron to Mediterranean. Ambassador recommends invitation be extended to join American squadron.	379
	Dec. 3	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Invitation for Brazilian squadron to join American naval forces; naval officers will be furnished as requested.	379
	Dec. 3 [Rec'd Dec. 4]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Trade arrangement between France and Brazil will benefit France. No provision for use of ships in North Atlantic.	380
	Dec. 18	To the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	Inquires if vessels not chartered by France are available for charter by the United States through Shipping Board.	391
	Dec. 20 [Rec'd Dec. 21]	From the Ambassador in Brazil (tel.)	France secured best ex-German vessels. Remainder not available or desirable for charter to the United States.	392

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BULGARIA

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
[Enclosure]	Jan. 20	From the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Consul General at Sofia	Situation created by Entente refusal to accept peace proposals.	61
196	Jan. 23 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Consul General at Sofia	Transmits Bulgarian note of Jan. 20.	61
107	Feb. 6	To the Consul General at Sofia (tel.)	Instructions to suggest continuance of friendly relations between the United States and Bulgaria.	116
120	Feb. 16 [Rec'd Mar 13]	From the Consul General at Sofia (tel.)	Bulgaria reciprocates friendly feelings of the United States.	172
121	Feb. 18 [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Consul General at Sofia (tel.)	Bulgaria intends to preserve friendly relations with the United States.	137

CHILE

	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile in note to Germany refuses acceptance of blockade measure and reserves rights.	227
	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Quotes in part Chile's note disclosing unity of purpose with the United States in favor of general rights of neutrality.	229
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Chile's unity of purpose with the United States in favor of general rights of neutrality.	229
	Mar. 14	To the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Instructions to report on activities of Argentina regarding mediation by Latin-American powers, also on attitude of Chile.	240
	Mar. 15	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile and Brazil will not join Argentine movement for mediation between the United States and Germany.	241
	Apr. 12	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile will maintain neutrality.	251
	June 14 [Rec'd June 15]	From the Chilean Ambassador	Presents copy of Chile's note to Brazil commending action of latter in repealing neutrality decree.	298
	July 2	To the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Interview with Chilean Ambassador regarding Chile's war policy.	305
156	July 3 [Rec'd Aug. 1]	From the Ambassador in Chile	Possibility of Chile's alignment with Brazil and the United States.	309
	Aug. 4	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Evidence of change in Chilean neutrality policy. U.S. Fleet would be received as friendly visitor.	310

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CHILE—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Aug. 9	From the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Chile wishes to pursue neutral policy until directly wronged. If American Fleet reaches Pacific, would receive it in friendly spirit.	312
	Aug. 13	To the Ambassador in Chile (tel.)	Appreciation of Chile's friendly attitude. Not known when fleet will reach Pacific.	315
	Nov. 10	From the Chilean Ambassador	Copy of Chilean telegram of Nov. 9 quoting message to Argentina inquiring object of proposed congress.	364

CHINA

	Jan. 9	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Minister's approval of President Wilson's peace note of Dec. 18, 1916.	400
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Jan. 9]	From the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Approval of President Wilson's peace note of Dec. 18, 1916.	400
1335	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Minister in China	Position of China with respect to settlement after the war; representation at peace conference; possible courses of procedure for protection of interests.	404
	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China requests assurances on certain points in event of severing relations with Germany.	401
	Feb. 6	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China will probably associate itself with American action if certain assurances are given by the United States.	402
	Feb. 7	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China fearful lest Japan secure mandate to supervise Chinese military organization. Quotes assurances of U.S. assistance, which he proposes to make.	403
	Feb. 8	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China will voice disapproval of submarine warfare in note to Germany; will sever relations if the United States gives assurance of support. Instructions requested.	404
	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China has protested to Germany against measures of blockade; if protest ineffectual, relations will be severed.	407
	Feb. 10	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Instructions to give no further assurances of support to China at present. Matter under consideration.	408
	Feb. 10	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Inability to give assurances of support to China. Warning against isolated action.	408

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CHINA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 12	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Will take no action until further instructed. Suggestion that U.S. leadership could prevent unilateral action harmful to China.	408
1390	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Mar. 12]	From the Minister in China	*Résumé* of steps taken and argument used in urging China to associate itself with policy and action of the United States.	414
	Feb. 17	To the Minister in China (tel.)	China should not do more than break diplomatic relations with Germany until U.S. decision is reached.	410
576	Feb. 26	To the Minister in China	The United States not disposed to urge China to declare war on Germany. Recommends awaiting developments.	411
	Feb. 28 [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Japan bringing strong pressure to bear to force China to join Allies.	412
1407	Mar. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 6]	From the Minister in China	Japanese pressure, internal politics, Allied financial assurances, and failure of the United States to give assistance, all tend to induce China to join the Allies.	424
	Mar. 2	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Informed of China's overtures to join Entente powers in return for certain assistance. Instructions to recommend that China wait.	412
	Mar. 3	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Discussion of China's alignment with either the United States or the Allies. Latter offer inducements.	413
	Mar. 3	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China sees advantage in joining Allies. Early determination of attitude by the United States necessary.	413
1412	Mar. 9 [Rec'd Apr. 16]	From the Minister in China	Events and influences in China prior to break in relations with Germany.	427
	Mar. 12	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Parliament votes break in relations with Germany. American International Corp. causes distrust of the United States.	418
	Mar. 12	To the Minister in China (tel.)	The United States not in position to give practical assurances to China, but will lend influence for its welfare.	419
	Mar. 13	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Instructions to inform China that declaration of war inadvisable; internal discord deprecated.	419
	Mar. 14	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by China.	420
[Enclosure]	Mar. 16	From the Consul General at Canton to the Minister in China	Report on attitude in southern China toward war with Germany.	437

Digitized by Google

CHINA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
41	Mar. 17 [Rec'd Mar. 19]	From the Chinese Minister	Germany willing to discuss safeguarding lives and property of Chinese but refuses to renounce submarine methods. Relations severed.	422
	Mar. 18	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Enumeration of China's desires. Attitude of the United States.	420
	Mar. 21	To the Minister in China (tel.)	U. S. attitude toward China remains unchanged.	422
	Mar. 26	To the Minister in China (tel.)	China's desires will receive consideration under certain conditions enumerated.	422
1429	Mar. 28 [Rec'd May 1]	From the Minister in China	Report of situation in China after break in relations with Germany. Enclosure: Consular report of Mar. 16 from Canton.	433
	Apr. 3	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China wishes to be informed of American action respecting Germany before further decision made as to policy.	423
	Apr. 12	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Advantages to be derived from China's entrance into the war. Inclined to follow American policy.	425
1449	Apr. 13 [Rec'd May 12]	From the Minister in China	Summary of development of diplomatic situation after protest to Germany.	441
	Apr. 14	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Possibility of financial assistance to China through congressional appropriation for loans.	427
	Apr. 17	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Recommends that indication of financial assistance to China be withheld until methods and conditions decided upon.	430
	Apr. 19	To the Minister in China (tel.)	U.S. situation regarding financial assistance to China.	431
	Apr. 23	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Requests to be informed of any statements made to Chinese Minister regarding financial assistance.	431
	Apr. 23	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Chinese Minister was told that China, if at war with Germany, had reason to expect financial assistance under bill pending in Congress. Text of bill quoted.	431
	Apr. 25	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Requests that he be informed upon passage of bill for financial assistance, before signature by the President.	432
	Apr. 27	From the Minister in China (tel.)	China on verge of declaration of war. Inquires if possible to extend financial assistance to equip reserves, etc.	432
	Apr. 27	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Bill for financial assistance already signed by the President. Action delayed because interpretation must be decided by the Department of Justice.	432

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CHINA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1490	May 10 [Rec'd June 6]	From the Minister in China	Diplomatic situation and question whether China is to declare war against Germany. Enclosure: Memorandum of conversation with the Premier.	445
	June 8	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Inquires regarding U.S. cooperation in protection of Mukden Railway zone by foreign troops to exclusion of Chinese troops.	451
	June 9	To the Minister in China (tel.)	The United States declines to change its attitude toward question of excluding Chinese troops from Tientsin.	452
1540	June 22 [Rec'd July 30]	From the Minister in China	Criticism of article published in the *Saturday Evening Post* on action taken by China against Germany.	453
	Aug. 9 [Rec'd Aug. 11]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Suggests mission to China to forestall action adverse to Chinese independence and American interests.	454
	Aug. 11 [Rec'd Aug. 12]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Suggested mission would accord with expectations of China to complete invitation to sever relations with Germany.	455
	Aug. 12 [Rec'd Aug. 13]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Assurances of Allies in connection with impending declaration of war by China. Instructions requested.	455
	Aug. 13	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Character of China's participation in war should be decided after consultation with Allies.	455
	Aug. 14	To the Minister in China (tel.)	Authorization to offer to China, after declaration of war is made, assurances similar to those proposed by the Allies.	456
	Aug. 14 [Rec'd Aug. 15]	From the Minister in China (tel.)	Quotes Chinese note announcing declaration of war with Germany and Austria-Hungary.	456
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Aug. 15]	From the Chinese Foreign Office to the American Legation	Announces declaration of war with Germany and Austria-Hungary.	456
1637	Sept. 27 [Rec'd Oct. 22]	From the Minister in China	Efforts to secure Allied assurance of cooperation in maintaining Chinese sovereignty.	457

COLOMBIA

	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Feb. 10]	From the Chargé in Colombia (tel.)	Approval of Colombian treaty desired. Apprehension lest the United States invade Colombia to protect canal in case of war.	229
	Oct. 19 [Rec'd Oct. 20]	From the Chargé in Colombia (tel.)	Colombian protest against submarine warfare.	347

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COSTA RICA

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 3 [Rec'd Apr. 4]	From the Minister in Costa Rica (tel.)	Costa Rica will observe benevolent neutrality and try to prevent development of hostility against the United States within its territory.	243
	May 2	To the Minister in Costa Rica via Salvador	Guatemala's action in severing relations with Germany and offering support to the United States.	274
	May 24	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	*De facto* Government of Costa Rica would sever relations with Germany in case of U.S. recognition.	287
	Sept. 17 [Rec'd Sept. 18]	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Move of Costa Rican *de facto* Government to sever relations with Germany irrespective of recognition. Safe-conduct for German Chargé requested.	328
	Sept. 21	To the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Safe-conduct will be granted German representative, when requested by neutral state, so far as it concerns U.S. forces.	329
	Sept. 22	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by the Tinoco Government in Costa Rica.	329
	Oct. 19 [Rec'd Oct. 20]	From the Chargé in Costa Rica (tel.)	Safe-conducts for German representative in Costa Rica issued.	348

CUBA

	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Cuba ready to render moral and material support to the United States against Germany.	221
	Feb. 8	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Cuban protest against German note on submarine warfare, opening way for severance of relations.	224
	Apr. 5	From the Cuban Minister	Message from the Foreign Minister stating Cuba identified with the United States in policy; Cuban President will request authorization to declare a state of war with Germany.	244
	Apr. 7 [Rec'd Apr. 8]	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Quotes text of act authorizing the the Cuban President to declare war on Germany.	246
	Apr. 7 [Rec'd Apr. 8]	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Commission to be sent to Washington to confer regarding Cuba's part in war. Precautions taken on land and in harbor.	247
	Apr. 12	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	President Wilson's message to the President of Cuba in appreciation of Cuba's declaration of war against Germany.	250
	Apr. 14	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Gratification at Cuba's desire to cooperate by sending commission to the United States.	254

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CUBA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 29	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Proposal that Cuba requisition German vessels and dispose of them to the United States. Suggested method of procedure.	270
	May 24	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Cuba will not sell German prize vessels but offers use of them to the United States on any terms desired.	286
	June 15	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Arrangements proposed for use by the United States of ex-German vessels.	299
	July 9	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Arrangements for remuneration when Cuba turns over ex-German ships to U.S. Shipping Board.	307
	July 25	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	German interned ships in Cuba to be turned over to him as agent of Shipping Board.	308
	Aug. 21	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Four German steamships, prizes of war, transferred to U.S. Shipping Board.	318
	Oct. 20	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	Formalities of law regarding registry of German merchant vessels seized by Cuba and turned over to the United States.	348
	Dec. 14	To the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	U.S. proposals for chartering German ships seized by Cuba.	386
170	Dec. 21 [Rec'd Dec. 22]	From the Cuban Chargé	Declaration of war on Austria-Hungary by Cuba.	393
	Jan. 15, 1918	From the Minister in Cuba (tel.)	The President seeking legal way to conform with Shipping Board's proposals for chartering ex-German vessels.	400

DENMARK

439	Feb. 6, 1917	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Quotes Denmark's note declining to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	116
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 6]	From the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Denmark declines to follow the the United States in severing relations with Germany.	116
268	Mar. 3	To the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Instructions to report whether Danish Government prohibits entrance and departure of merchant vessels armed for defensive purposes.	550
513	Mar. 21 [Rec'd Mar.22]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	German Socialist leader reported as urging that bill be introduced before Reichstag granting equal suffrage in electing its members.	75
	Mar. 24 [Rec'd Mar.25]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Denmark wishes to preserve its neutrality. Neither British nor French armed vessels have entered its ports.	556

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DENMARK—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
532	Mar. 31 [Rec'd Apr. 1]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Quotes German Foreign Minister's address before the Reichstag in justification of his overtures to Mexico.	192
535	Mar. 31 [Rec'd Apr. 1]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Press report of German Chancellor's speech concerning possibility of war with the United States.	192
537	Apr. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 2]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Austria-Hungary advocates peace conference and opposes an armistice.	76
538	Apr. 2 [Rec'd Apr. 3]	From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)	Substance of message reported sent to Duma by German Socialists congratulating Russian proletariat on political progress.	77

ECUADOR

	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb.14]	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Quotes and comments on Ecuador's reply to U.S. suggestion that neutrals sever relations with Germany.	231
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb.14]	From the Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Reply to U.S. suggestion that neutrals sever relations with Germany.	232
2	Feb. 19	From the Ecuadoran Minister	Presents Ecuador's proposal of an American Congress for agreeing upon joint action to protect neutral rights.	233
	Undated [Rec'd Aug.20]	From the Ecuadoran Legation	Ecuador accepts invitation to conference; continues neutrality.	317
[Enclosure]	Sept. 11	From the Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs	Ecuador favors a congress for promotion of Pan-American understanding.	342
36	Oct. 9	From the Ecuadoran Minister	Presents Foreign Office note and memorandum of Sept. 11.	341
	Oct. 27	To the Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs	Acknowledges Ecuadoran note of Sept. 11 recommending a continental policy for defense of American interests.	352
	Dec. 7	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Ecuador will attend Latin-American congress if all American countries previously reach common agreement.	383
	Dec. 8	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Ecuador.	383
	Dec. 17	From the Minister in Ecuador (tel.)	Ecuador offers its waters and wireless stations to friendly war vessels without restriction.	390

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EGYPT

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 3	To the Agent in Egypt (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*
	Feb. 7	To the Agent in Egypt (tel.)	Germany has intrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	632*n*

FRANCE

1590	Sept. 11, 1916	From the Chargé in France (tel.)	Application for establishment of Serbian Legation in the United States, designating minister under consideration.	674
1740	Sept. 23, 1916	To the Chargé in France (tel.)	A Serbian diplomatic mission under minister proposed will be agreeable to the United States.	674
1902	Dec. 27, 1916	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Inquiry regarding reports that commissions in the Navy are being issued to commanders of French Line vessels.	542
	Jan. 3, 1917	From the Consul General at Paris	Additional list of absolute contraband announced.	492*n*
1785	Jan. 4 [Rec'd Jan. 5]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Commissions in the Navy have not been issued to merchant marine officers.	544
	Jan. 5	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3
	Jan. 6	To the French Ambassador	Questions the purpose of armament on merchant vessels. Case of the French S.S. *Mississippi*.	544
1800	Jan. 9 [Rec'd Jan. 10]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Attack on Norwegian S.S. *Helgoy-*	82
1805	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Jan. 11]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Allies' reply to the President's peace note received, also separate note from Belgium.	5
1806	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Jan. 11]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Quotes Allies' reply to the President's peace note and a separate Belgian note.	6
	Jan. 23	From the Consul General at Marseilles (tel.)	Sinking of the British S.S. *Mohacsfield*.	93
1838	Jan. 27 [Rec'd Jan. 28]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	The President's Senate address endorsed by French Socialist Party and press. Latter holds that peace should come only after victory of Allies.	33
	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*

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FRANCE—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
2000	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Requests safe-conduct and facilities for German representatives and families leaving the United States.	592n
2003	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Requests safe-conduct for German party to sail on the *Frederik VIII*. Inquires if vessel may carry other passengers and cargo.	592n
1854	Feb. 7	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Safe-conduct accorded German Ambassador and party.	592
	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Germany has intrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623n
1862	Feb. 9	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	No objection to other German passengers embarking on the *Frederik VIII* with German official party.	594
1867	Feb. 10	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Danish S.S. *Lars Kruse* with cargo of corn for Belgian relief.	636
	Feb. 20	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Attack upon and escape of British ship *Wallace*.	138
	Feb. 23	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Skrim*	142
	Feb. 23	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Alice*	143
1894	Feb. 28	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	France willing to expedite dispatch of pouches marked "Shipping Documents" if the United States gives assurance that they contain only such papers.	520
	Mar. 1	From the Consul at Havre (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Sjöstad*	155
1901	Mar. 2	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Nyland*	159
1572	Mar. 7	To the Ambassador in France	Quotes inquiries received at U.S. Post Office regarding detention of mail for neutral countries.	521
2060	Mar. 10	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Inquiry regarding interference with commercial mail for Greece.	521n
2064	Mar. 12	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Unable to give guaranties for contents of pouches marked "Shipping Documents."	521
	Mar. 17	From the Consul General at Marseilles (tel.)	Attack on British merchant steamer *Corso*.	178
1948	Mar. 22	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Girda*	182
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 23]	From the Consul at La Rochelle (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Avra*	185

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FRANCE—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1955	Mar. 23 [Rec'd Mar.24]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Ronald*	186
1959	Mar. 24	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Wilfred.*	187
	Mar. 24	From the Counselor for the Department of State to the French Ambassador	Treasury instructions issued to omit name of port of destination from export declarations if country of destination is given.	568
	Mar. 30 [Rec'd Mar.31]	From the Consul General at Marseilles (tel.)	Sinking of British S.S. *Eptalofos*	190
1967	Mar. 30 [Rec'd Mar.31]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Explanation offered for nondelivery of U. S. commercial letters for Greece.	522
1969	Apr. 2 [Rec'd Apr. 3]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	American S.S. *Aztec* torpedoed	203
1974	Apr. 4 [Rec'd Apr. 5]	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Sinking of the American S.S. *Aztec.*	204
2140	Apr. 10	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	French cooperation requested to facilitate departure from the United States of Austro-Hungarian Embassy and consular officers, together with German officials from China.	595*n*
2179	Apr. 19	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Advisable for Liberia to sever relations with Germany if Great Britain and France will give temporary protection.	459*n*
2031	Apr. 20	From the Ambassador in France (tel.)	French safe-conduct granted steamer carrying Austro-Hungarian staff and German consuls from China.	597
[Enclosure]	May 10	From the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy	Deportation of Germans and resumption of trade with Liberia.	466
	May 12 [Rec'd May 17]	From the French Ambassador	Efforts to induce the United States to join Allies in urging Siam to break relations with Germany. Advantages of such move.	444
5452	May 15 [Rec'd May 31]	From the Ambassador in France	Transmits French note of May 10.	466
1853	May 19	To the French Ambassador	Declines to make further suggestions to Siam concerning relations with Germany.	445
5477	May 23 [Rec'd June 8]	From the Ambassador in France	Disposition of mail matter detained in France.	524
5527	June 8 [Rec'd June 20]	From the Ambassador in France	French notification that correspondence marked "Shipping Documents" shall be examined and dispatched to destination.	524

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FRANCE—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Aug. 11 [Rec'd Aug. 14]	From the French Ambassador	Approval of Liberian arrangements for deporting German officials, women, and children.	478
1923	Aug. 17	To the French Ambassador	No objection to Liberian plan for deporting German officials, women, and children.	478
2554	Aug. 18	To the Ambassador in France (tel.)	Uruguay not inclined to give the French and British the freedom of its ports. Instructions to suggest that matter be dropped.	316
	Oct. 5	To the French Embassy	Tendency toward neutrality in Uruguay fomented by failure of Allies to come to treaty agreement.	336
	Oct. 25	From the French Embassy	French acceptance in principle of arbitration treaty with Uruguay; proposals for use by the United States and Allies of German ships in Uruguayan ports.	350*n*

GERMANY

3722	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Inquires what action has been taken by Germany regarding protests against Belgian deportations.	664
	Jan. 5, 1917	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3*n*
3754	Jan. 6	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Instructions to arrange for American inspection of work places of deported Belgians.	668
A 131	Jan. 8	From the German Ambassador	Presents German justification of system of deportation of Belgians.	668
	Jan. 10	From the German Ambassador	Treatment of armed merchant ships as warships. Enclosure: Cipher message on subject for transmission to Berlin.	82
	Jan. 10	To the German Ambassador	Declines to transmit to Germany Ambassador's cipher message on offensive armament of merchant ships.	87
4860	Jan. 10 [Rec'd Jan. 11]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	German policy of submarine attack on all armed ships without warning.	88
[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 11	From the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Trippel.*	88
4865	Jan. 11 [Rec'd Jan. 12]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note of Jan. 11 on sinking of Norwegian steamer *Trippel.*	88

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GERMANY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 11	From the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Sinking of the Norwegian S.S. *Lökken.*	89
4868	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 15]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German counter-reply to Allies' rejection of Central powers' invitation to discuss peace.	12
4871	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 13]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note of Jan. 11 on sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Lökken.*	89
B 473	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 13]	From the German Ambassador	Requests authorization to appoint certain German consular officers to take the place of Bopp and Schack.	580
[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 14	From the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Sinking of the British S.S. *Barbara.*	89
4882	Jan. 15 [Rec'd Jan. 16]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note of Jan. 14.	89
4895	Jan. 17 [Rec'd Jan. 19]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Press summary on armament of merchantmen and German determination to use submarines to fullest extent.	90
4900	Jan. 18 [Rec'd Jan. 19]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Neutral correspondents urged to create sentiment in favor of German reckless submarine warfare.	91
4901	Jan. 18 [Rec'd Jan. 19]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Press summary of debate in the Prussian Lower House on unrestrained submarine warfare.	90
4909	Jan. 19 [Rec'd Jan. 20]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Press reports British S.S. *Yarrowdale* brought in as German prize with neutrals among prisoners on board.	208
4912	Jan. 21 [Rec'd Jan. 23]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Germany warns neutral shipping against arming, and announces that crews taken on armed merchant vessels of enemies will be treated as prisoners of war.	91
3809	Jan. 22	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Inquiry whether any Americans among prisoners on board *Yarrowdale.*	208
2291	Jan. 22	To the German Ambassador	Revocation of exequatur of Consul General Bopp.	580
2292	Jan. 22	To the German Ambassador	Provisional recognition accorded new assignments of German consular officers at San Francisco and Seattle.	581
4925	Jan. 25 [Rec'd Jan. 26]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Inquiry regarding status of negotiations relative to submarine attacks on merchant vessels without warning.	94

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GERMANY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 26	From the German Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Sinking of British S.S. *Trevarrack.*	96
4929	Jan. 26 [Rec'd Jan. 27]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Reported American prisoners are on *Yarrowdale* and German Government undecided what position to take regarding them.	208
239	Jan. 27	From the German Ambassador to the German Foreign Office (tel.)	Quotes President Wilson's offer of peace mediation on basis of Senate address of Jan. 22. Urges delay in resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare.	31
3834	Jan. 27	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	No change of policy regarding armed merchantmen.	95
[Quoted in tel.]	Jan. 28	From the German Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	American citizens were among crews brought in by the *Yarrowdale.*	209
4939	Jan. 29 [Rec'd Jan. 30]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Discusses various reports regarding submarine warfare. Requests summaries of German communications for his information.	95
4948	Jan. 29 [Rec'd Jan. 30]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note of Jan. 26	96
4949	Jan. 30 [Rec'd Jan. 31]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Quotes German note of Jan. 28	209
4951	Jan. 30 [Rec'd Jan. 31]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Discussion of German memorandum on armed merchant vessels.	96
4957	Jan. 30 [Rec'd Jan. 31]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Employment of reckless submarine warfare and blockade of English coast.	97
	Jan. 31	From the German Ambassador	Germany's confidential communication of its terms of peace, and at same time notice of resumption of submarine warfare.	34
	Jan. 31	From the German Ambassador	Germany announces resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare and limits of the war zone. Warning to American shipping.	97
4961	Jan. 31 [Rec'd Feb. 1]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Conversation with Foreign Minister regarding reasons for unrestricted use of submarine, and possibility of war with the United States.	103

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GERMANY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4972	Jan. 31 [Rec'd Feb. 2]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Germany is determined by submarine warfare to compel Great Britain to ask for terms.	37
3851	Feb. 1	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	No reply made to German note declaring armed merchantmen to be warships; notice of submarine blockade of England received.	103
3857	Feb. 2	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Instructions to insist on release of Americans on *Yarrowdale*.	209
2307	Feb. 3	To the German Ambassador	U.S. severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. Correspondence leading to announcement quoted.	106
3860	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Instructions to leave Germany. Directions regarding arrangements to be made. Passports to be handed German Ambassador.	585
4992	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Americans on *Yarrowdale* will be released.	210
4994	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Reports interview with Chancellor and Foreign Minister on attitude of America. Terms upon which Germany would make peace.	114
5002	Feb. 5 [Rec'd Feb. 6]	From the Ambassador in Germany (tel.)	Not permitted to leave Germany until news received of departure of Bernstorff and staff from the United States. *Yarrowdale* prisoners held as reprisal measure.	587
515	Feb. 12 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Ambassador formerly in Germany (tel.)	Arrives at Berne. Quotes proposed agreement between the United States and Germany for reciprocal treatment of citizens and private property. Advises not to sign.	588
[Enclosure]	Mar. 30	Memorandum of the German Government	Treatment of neutral members of crews of enemy merchantmen.	215

GREAT BRITAIN

4216	Dec. 27, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Inquiry regarding reported transfer of western terminus for British steamships, nationalization of merchant vessels, and their protection by disguised cruisers.	543
4224	Dec. 28, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to report on British attempt to control neutral shipping through bunker agreements.	505
4231	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Inquires Hoover's opinion regarding continuance of Belgian deportations notwithstanding U.S. protests.	664

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GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4232	Dec. 29, 1916	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Representations to Great Britain regarding blacklisting of S.S. *Balboa*.	505
	Jan. 1, 1917	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	Additional list of absolute contraband announced.	492
5397	Jan. 2 [Rec'd Jan. 4]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from Hoover	Report on Belgian deportations and suggestion of personal note from President Wilson to the German Emperor along certain lines.	665
5404	Jan. 2 [Rec'd Jan. 3]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Unofficial reply to complaint against blacklisting of ships. Measures meant to discourage European neutral ships from deserting European waters.	506
	Jan. 5	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3
5568	Jan. 5 [Rec'd Jan. 15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	British need for further protection of merchant vessels and uncertainty regarding American attitude thereto.	546
	Jan. 9	From the Consul at Cardiff (tel.)	American S.S. *Sacramento* fired on by submarine off French coast.	81
	Jan. 13	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	Quotes text of amendment to order in council of Mar. 11, 1915, interpreting the term "enemy."	492
	Jan. 16	From the British Ambassador	Copy of British note of Jan. 13 outlining conditions necessary for durable peace.	17
5488	Jan. 17	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The *Balboa* removed from black list.	507
5500	Jan. 19 [Rec'd Jan. 20]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Requirement that shipowner not surrender control of ship to third party without British consent.	507
5544	Jan. 25	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes British notice delimiting an area in the North Sea as dangerous to shipping.	518
4364	Jan. 30	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Entente supervision of neutral shipping reported. Instructions to investigate effect on American shipping and freight rates.	508
5577	Feb. 2	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Reports Entente committee's measures for control of neutral shipping and its probable effect.	508
4385	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British interests in Germany to be turned over to Dutch Minister.	622
	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622

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GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4386	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Suggestion regarding relief work in Belgium. Enclosure: Note from Hoover to members of commission on best shipping routes.	630
5590	Feb. 3 [Rec'd Feb. 4]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from Belgian Relief Commission for Hoover	Shipping difficulties and British Treasury loan to Belgium.	632
	Feb. 4	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	American S.S. *Housatonic* torpedoed.	112
5607	Feb. 5	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Reported British ship *Eavestone* shelled by German submarine. American citizen killed.	114
4396	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Requests safe-conduct and facilities for German representatives and families leaving the United States.	592
4400	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Renewal of application for permit to ship American-owned goods held in Rotterdam.	509
5610	Feb. 6	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Sinking of the *Housatonic* and rescue of crew.	115
	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the British Ambassador	Great Britain will see that relief work goes on provided Germany will allow Belgian relief ships to come to Rotterdam.	633
5612	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission for Hoover	Further German restrictions on trade and its effect on relief work.	633
5615	Feb. 6	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	German submarine *U-45* demanded and obtained lubricating oil of the American S.S. *Westwego*.	115
5616	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British satisfaction at U. S. break in relations with Germany.	119
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of the *California* by submarine without warning.	122
5625	Feb. 7	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Indications of success in dealing with submarines.	121
	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	British S.S. *Turino* torpedoed without warning.	122

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GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Details regarding sinking of the *California:* death roll.	123
279	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 24]	From the Consul at Cork	Discussion of the *Eavestone* sinking and of the submarine campaign off Irish coast.	144
4410	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Requests safe-conduct for German party to sail on the *Frederik VIII.* Inquires if vessel may carry other passengers and cargo.	592
5627	Feb. 7	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	German interests in Great Britain intrusted to Swiss Minister.	622
	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Germany has intrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623
4417	Feb. 8	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Inquires if time opportune for proposal of arbitration in the *Ausable* case.	526
4418	Feb. 8	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to inform Foreign Office that it will be appreciated if examination of vessel conveying German party is conducted at Halifax.	593
4421	Feb. 8	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The President's proposal that the Allied powers give assurances to Austria-Hungary against radical dismemberment.	40
[Quoted in tel.]	Feb. 8	From the British Foreign Office to the American Embassy	Consents to examination at Halifax of ship carrying German party, in deference to U.S. wishes.	593
5643	Feb. 8	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes British note of Feb. 8....	593
5645	Feb. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The right of search is reserved; no objection to steamer with German party aboard carrying other passengers and cargo.	593
5652	Feb. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The future of the Belgian Relief Commission.	634
5658	Feb. 10	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Affidavits of ship's officers confirm reports of sinking of the *California.*	125
	Feb. 10	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of British India liner *Mantola.*	126
5662	Feb. 10	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from Belgian Relief Commission for Hoover	Negotiations between Great Britain and Germany for concessions in shipping regulations.	635

Digitized by Google

GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5665	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British can not assure Austria against dismemberment. Entrance of the United States into war urged for moral effect.	41
	Feb. 12 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of British tanker *Saxonian*.	129
5673	Feb. 12	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Reported that Germany will no longer permit American members of relief commission to operate in Belgium. Recommends that Americans retire.	636
5676	Feb. 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Sinking of British S.S. *Vedamore*.	130
	Feb. 13	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	*Saxonian's* boats picked up, after being shelled.	131
39	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the British Ambassador	British determination to continue Belgian relief work as far as feasible under German restrictions.	637
5689	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb. 15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Sinking of British sailing ship *Ainsdale*.	134
5690	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb. 15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	The *Japanese Prince* torpedoed without warning.	133
	Feb. 15	From the Consul at Swansea (tel.)	British tank steamer *Pinna* attacked by submarine.	135
5694	Feb. 15	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Affidavits indicate submarine torpedoed the *Saxonian* without knowing its nationality.	135
5701	Feb. 15	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes revised British notice delimiting an area in the North Sea as dangerous to shipping.	518
43	Feb. 15	From the British Ambassador	Representations regarding delay in trial of British subjects indicted for recruiting within the United States in alleged violation of neutrality act.	535
5822	Feb. 16 [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits report drawn up by committee on administration of order in council of March, 1915, regarding methods used in dealing with ships and cargoes brought into British ports.	494
1485	Feb. 19	To the British Ambassador	Protest against delimiting of certain areas of high seas for military operations; reservation of rights.	519
	Feb. 19	From the British Ambassador	Certifies to sworn statement made by master of British ship *Oxonian* that gun used only in self-defense.	550
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Dalbeattie*.	138

Digitized by Google

GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
4467	Feb. 20	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instruction to ascertain Allied intention in respect to food importations into Greece.	55
5714	Feb. 20	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Great Britain will now consider a formal peace commission proposal on behalf of Austria-Hungary.	55
5725	Feb. 21	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Great Britain now anxious to detach Austria-Hungary from the Central powers.	56
5732	Feb. 21	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Destruction of French sailing ship *Bayonne.*	141
5736	Feb. 22	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Balfour states enemy submarines make it difficult to send supplies to Greece.	57
	Feb. 22	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	Quotes order of Feb. 16, 1917, supplemental to orders in council of Mar. 11, 1915, and Jan. 10, 1917, for restricting enemy commerce.	493
4476	Feb. 23	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Desires intimation regarding British attitude before making arbitration proposal in the *Ausable* case.	526
	Feb. 24	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	Sinking of British sailing ship *Centurion.*	146
5747	Feb. 24	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes intercepted telegram of German Foreign Minister conveying overtures to Mexico and Japan.	147
303	Feb. 24 [Rec'd Mar. 15]	From the Consul at Cork	Report of destruction of Norwegian bark *Blenheim* and of submarine activity off Irish coast.	175
5748	Feb. 24	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission, for Hoover also	Commission resolved to send vessels to Rotterdam direct, without safe-conduct, requesting the United States to hold Germany responsible.	643
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 26]	From the Vice Consul at Dundee (tel.)	British S.S. *Roanoke* torpedoed without warning; vessel with crew towed to Dundee.	149
	Feb. 26	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Cunarder *Laconia*.....	149
5761	Feb. 26	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British Government contends that German reservist is part of armed forces of enemy and different from reservist of any other army.	527
	Feb. 27	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Reports loss of life in sinking of the *Laconia.*	151
4483	Feb. 27	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Appreciation of information regarding Germany's overtures to Mexico. Matter to be taken up with Carranza.	151

Digitized by Google

GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5767	Feb. 27	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission, for Hoover also	British Government has warned Germany that unless safe-conduct granted, relief ships' cargoes will be unloaded and sold.	646
4485	Feb. 28	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Requests views on advisability of presenting arbitration proposal now.	527
4493	Feb. 28	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to request copy of German code and to decode certain German messages to South American countries.	152
4494	Mar. 1	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to obtain permission to decode original of German overture to Mexico as secured in Washington.	155
	Mar. 1	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Submarine attack on British bark *Galgorm Castle.*	156
	Mar. 1	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Submarine attack on Donaldson freight liner *Tritonian.*	157
	Mar. 1 [Rec'd Mar. 2]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Suggestion that all German code messages be sent to England to to be deciphered, as code experts can not be spared.	157
5789	Mar. 2	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Returns deciphered text of original German overture to Mexico.	158
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 3]	From the Consul at Southampton (tel.)	British S.S. *Belgier* torpedoed by German submarine.	159
	Mar. 3	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian bark *Storenes.*	159
	Mar. 5	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Attack on British schooner *Mayola.*	169
	Mar. 5	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Submarine attack on British S.S. *Drina.*	169
5793	Mar. 5	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Suggests postponement of arbitration proposal in *Ausable* case until British note is received.	528
[Enclosure]	Mar. 5	From the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Requests exact statement of points the United States wishes covered in British ruling on goods at Rotterdam.	511
5901	Mar. 7 [Rec'd Mar. 26]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits British note of Mar. 5	510
5811	Mar. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): for Hoover also	Germany maneuvering to throw blame on relief commission and then dismiss it. No safe route to Rotterdam. Instructions awaited.	650

Digitized by Google

GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5816	Mar. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	General feeling that U.S. delay in sending out ships means submission to German blockade.	170
5819	Mar. 9	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission to Hoover	Advocates withdrawal of American Relief Commission from Belgium because of interruption of service by Germany.	651
	Mar. 10	From the Consul at Swansea (tel.)	Sinking of British bark *Inverlogie*	170
4526	Mar. 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Inquiry regarding interference with commercial mail for Greece.	521
4527	Mar. 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Hoover leaves for London; his view that relief commission should continue efforts until forced to retire.	651
	Mar. 12	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Storstad* bound for Rotterdam for Belgian relief.	171
	Mar. 12	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Cunard nonpassenger liner *Folia*.	172
	Mar. 13	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Further report on sinking of Cunarder *Folia*.	173
	Mar. 14	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	Sinking of S.S. *Algonquin* of New York.	174
	Mar. 14	From the Consul General at London (tel.)	British ship *East Point* torpedoed	175
	Mar. 15 [Rec'd Mar. 16]	From the Consul at Hull (tel.)	Sinking of British S.S. *Lucy Andersen*.	177
	Mar. 15 [Rec'd Mar. 17]	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	Additional details on sinking of American S.S. *Algonquin*.	177
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 18]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of the S.S. *City of Memphis*.	180
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 19]	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	British tanker *Lucilline* torpedoed	181
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 20]	From the Consul at Glasgow (tel.)	Sinking of the *City of Memphis*	181
4566	Mar. 20	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Further representations and suggestions regarding detention of merchandise of American destination.	509
	Mar. 21 [Rec'd Mar. 22]	From the Consul at Plymouth (tel.)	Sinking of the *Vigilancia*	182
[Quoted in tel.]	Mar. 21	From the British Foreign Office to the American Embassy	Directions for further delimitation in North Sea as dangerous area.	520

Digitized by Google

GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 23]	From the Consul at Southampton (tel.)	Sinking of American ship *Illinois*	184
	Mar. 23	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian tanker *Malmanger*.	184
5876	Mar. 23	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes British note of Mar. 21	520
	Mar. 23	From the British Chargé	British request that publication of information regarding sailings of Allied vessels from U.S. ports be withheld until seven days after departure.	567
	Mar. 26	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Attack on British S.S. *Chorley*	188
	Mar. 28	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of British bark *Neath*	189
	Mar. 30	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	British freight liner *Crispin* torpedoed.	189
	Apr. 2	From the Consul at Liverpool (tel.)	Additional data regarding crew of the *Crispin*.	194
	Apr. 4	From the Consul at Cardiff (tel.)	Sinking of the British S.S. *Lincolnshire*.	203
	Apr. 4	From the Consul at Cardiff (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian S.S. *Sandvik*.	203
	Apr. 5	From the Consul at Cork (tel.)	Sinking of Leyland horse transport *Canadian*.	205
	Apr. 5	From the Consul at Hull (tel.)	Sinking of British S.S. *Cannizaro*	206
4916	Apr. 6	To the Ambassador in Great Britain	Inquiry regarding intended disposition by British authorities of detained securities sent to persons in Germany, Austria, and neutral countries.	522
4917	Apr. 6	To the British Ambassador	Reply of Attorney General to British Ambassador's complaint against delay in trial of British subjects for recruiting within the United States.	536
4667	Apr. 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British cooperation requested to facilitate departure from the United States of Austro-Hungarian Embassy and consular officers, together with German officials from China.	595
	Apr. 11 [Rec'd Apr. 26]	From the Consul General at London	Report on shipping detentions at Kirkwall showing decrease in number of arrivals due to submarine peril.	504
5992	Apr. 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Quotes substance of Belgian Relief Commission's protest against destruction of relief ships, to be transmitted through neutral channels to Germany.	660

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GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
5993	Apr. 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Swiss Minister has requested that archives of former German division of Embassy be turned over to him. Requests permission to refuse.	626
4703	Apr. 17	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to refuse to turn over to Swiss Minister the Embassy archives of former German division but to permit records to be copied.	627
4726	Apr. 19	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Advisable for Liberia to sever relations with Germany if Great Britain and France will give temporary protection.	459
1541	Apr. 19	To the British Ambassador	Requests consideration be shown Austro-Hungarian Embassy staff on departure, and presents inquiry relative to restrictions on personal effects.	596
6065	Apr. 23	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	U.S. mail for Greek blockaded areas has been sent to London Post Office. Letter-mail service with Greece soon to be resumed.	523
4747	Apr. 23	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Continuance of British practice of removing enemy reservists from U.S. ships contingent upon mutual agreement for reciprocal action. Case of the *Allaguash*.	528
6077	Apr. 24	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British proposal that Allied representatives advise Liberian break with Germany and give assurance of necessary protection.	460
	Apr. 24	To the British Embassy	Compliance with request that publication of information regarding sailings of Allied vessels be withheld. Precautions in Canal Zone.	569
4753	Apr. 25	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Adequate information has been given in proposal for release of German and Austrian goods in neutral ports.	512
4772	Apr. 30	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	When adequate protection has been given Liberia, the United States will advise break with Germany.	461
	May 2	From the British Embassy	Great Britain does not feel justified in allowing other relief vessels to proceed in view of German outrages.	661
	May 7	From the British Embassy	Permission for Belgian relief ships to proceed to Rotterdam in zone of safety prescribed by German Government.	663
4814	May 10	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	American request for removal of Allied trade restrictions in Liberia.	462

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GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
6208	May 14 [Rec'd May 15]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Outlines conditions under which normal trade will be resumed between Great Britain and Liberia as soon as Germans are deported.	463
6219	May 15	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Liberia desires immediate deportation of Germans.	463
4843	May 16	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to request removal of Allied trade restrictions against Liberia.	464
6249	May 19	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from the Belgian Relief Commission to Hoover	Admiralty refuses to release vessels. Commission protests.	663
6260	May 21	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instance cited where American merchants continue to order goods from Germany. Caution necessary.	512
146	May 21 [Rec'd May 23]	From the British Ambassador	Renewal of permits which had lapsed through delay caused by lack of shipping space.	512
4877	May 25	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Liberia's declaration of war and deportation of Germans should be conditional upon removal of trade restrictions.	465
6299	May 28	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British measures not intended to restrict legitimate Liberian trade but for circumscribing German activities.	466
6318	May 31	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British Government is willing that the United States remove enemy subjects from British ships.	529
[Enclosure]	May 31	From the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Justification of policy of removing enemy subjects from neutral vessels without detaining vessels for adjudication by prize court.	530
6338	June 1 [Rec'd June 12]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits British note of May 31.	529
4918	June 4	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Maintains that retention of published white list and certificates of interest not needed after removal of Germans from Liberia.	468
4939	June 6	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Instructions to request modification of prohibition on importation of Brazilian coffee.	296
[Quoted in tel.]	June 8	From the British Embassy	Conditions under which Liberian trade restrictions will be withdrawn.	469

Digitized by Google

GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
6448	June 13	From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	British concession to Brazil, in matter of coffee exports, sent to Embassy at Washington.	297
[Enclosure]	June 19	From the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Disposition of remittances found in detained mail.	525
6435	June 20 [Rec'd July 6]	From the Ambassador in Great Britain	Transmits British note of June 19.	525
	July 2	From the British Embassy	Proposes to import Brazilian coffee if German requisitioned ships placed at disposal of Great Britain.	304
	July 14 [Rec'd July 18]	From the British Embassy	British withdrawal of restrictions on Liberian trade and protection against German aggression promised, provided Germans are deported and German firms closed.	474
5169	July 18	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Substitute proposal for release of all goods in neutral ports.	514
6917	Aug. 10	From the Ambassador in in Great Britain (tel.)	British Government will consider proposal for release of German goods if paid for and if list of goods is furnished.	515
5317	Aug. 18	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)	Uruguay not inclined to give the French and British freedom of its ports. Instructions to suggest that matter be dropped.	316*n*
	Aug. 19 [Rec'd Aug. 21]	From the British Embassy	Great Britain will sanction importation of portion of Brazilian coffee crop into United Kingdom on condition one-half tonnage of German vessels in Brazil be turned over to Allies.	318
	Sept. 3 [Rec'd Sept. 4]	From the British Embassy	Disposition of German ships taken over by Brazil.	321
	Sept. 26	From the Counselor for the Department of State to the Commercial Adviser of the British Embassy	List forwarded descriptive of goods actually in neutral ports and paid for prior to Apr. 7, 1917, with recommendation for release. Other cases reserved for consideration.	515
325	Sept. 26	From the British Ambassador	Forwards applications for Executive clemency made by Addis and Blair, convicted for infraction of U.S. neutrality laws.	538
	Oct. 5	To the British Embassy	Tendency toward neutrality in Uruguay fomented by failure of Allies to come to treaty agreement.	336

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GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Oct. 25	From the British Embassy	British acceptance in principle of arbitration treaty with Uruguay; proposals for use by the United States and Allies of German ships in Uruguayan ports.	350
	Oct. 29 [Rec'd Oct. 30]	From the Commercial Adviser of the British Embassy to the Counselor for the Department of State	British authorization for release of goods of German origin as recommended by the U.S. Government.	517
	Nov. 27	To the British Ambassador	Sends warrants of pardon for Addis and Blair from the Attorney General.	538
5960	Dec. 5	To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.): from Polk for Colby	Suggests representations to France because no provision made to relieve North Atlantic situation in French-Brazilian trade arrangements.	381
607	Dec. 14	From the British Ambassador	Defense of action of Addis and Blair; criticism of U.S. neutrality laws.	539
1947	Dec. 28	To the British Ambassador	Suggestions regarding U.S. neutrality laws will be referred to Attorney General for consideration.	541

GREECE

[Enclosure]	Dec. 30, 1916	From the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Greek Provisional Government to the American Consul at Saloniki	Request for recognition	53
309	Jan. 8, 1917 [Rec'd Feb.14]	From the Consul at Saloniki	Formation of Provisional Government in Greece. Enclosure: Note of Dec. 30, 1916, from Foreign Minister.	52
219	Jan. 9 [Rec'd Jan.10]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Greek reply to Entente demands insists upon assurances against encroachments and a commission to settle reparations question.	4
221	Jan. 9 [Rec'd Jan.10]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Blockade of Greece not to be raised until conditions of ultimatum fulfilled.	5
222	Jan. 11	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Ultimatum accepted in principle by Greece.	10
154	Jan. 13 [Rec'd Feb.14]	From the Minister in Greece	Official version of disturbances at Athens on Dec. 1, 1916.	47

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GREECE—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
64	Jan. 15 [Rec'd Jan. 16]	From the Greek Chargé	Presents Greek note of appreciation of the President's peace proposal.	16
228	Jan. 16 [Rec'd Jan.17]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Conditions of ultimatum accepted without reservation.	21
230	Jan. 21	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	British Minister considers settlement of Greece's difficulties proceeding satisfactorily; hopes blockade can be raised.	23
237	Feb. 1 [Rec'd Feb. 2]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	The Entente permits necessary foodstuffs for Greece pending the raising of the blockade.	37
	Feb. 3	To the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*
246	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	British Minister sees no prospect of raising blockade.	39
	Feb. 7	To the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Germany has intrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623*n*
251	Feb. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 11]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Greece declines to take united action with the United States in severing relations with Germany.	126
158	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Mar.19]	From the Minister in Greece	Report on political situation, especially on question of Greek neutrality.	70
254	Feb. 15 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Entente consider Greece not acting in good faith regarding execution of terms of ultimatum. Less prospect of raising blockade.	54
284	Feb. 21 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Greek Chargé	Greek representations to Germany reserving rights in matter of submarine warfare.	142
311	Feb. 24	From the Greek Legation	Greece declines to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	143
285	Mar. 30 [Rec'd Mar.31]	From the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Greek Provisional Government at Saloniki requests recognition.	76
247	Apr. 4	To the Minister in Greece (tel.)	Instructions to report status of Provisional Government and other data on Grecian situation.	77

GUATEMALA

	Feb. 7	From the Minister in Guatemala (tel.)	Guatemala disposed to cooperate with United States.	223
[Enclosure]	Apr. 8	From the Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Offer of cooperation in the war.	258

Digitized by Google

GUATEMALA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 18	From the Guatemalan Minister	Offer of support in the war by Guatemala in exchange for assurances against possible consequences. Enclosure: Copy of Foreign Office note of Apr. 8.	257
	Apr. 20 [Rec'd Apr. 25]	From the Guatemalan Minister	Guatemala will accept with gratitude U.S. assistance proffered in support of its attitude regarding the war.	264
	Apr. 21	To the Minister in Guatemala (tel.)	The United States would give to Guatemala full support in action against Germany.	261
	Apr. 27	From the Guatemalan Minister	Presents copies of telegrams to and from the President of Guatemala on severance of relations with Germany and placing of its harbors and railways at disposal of the United States for mutual defense of both countries.	268
	Apr. 27 [Rec'd May 1]	From the Guatemalan Minister	Guatemala severs relations with Germany and offers its ports and railways to the United States for use in common defense.	271
70	Apr. 28	To the Guatemalan Minister	U.S. appreciation of offer of assistance by Guatemala in war with Germany.	269
72	May 1	To the Guatemalan Minister	Assurances of U.S. appreciation and support in action taken for common defense.	272
	July 6	From the Minister in Guatemala (tel.)	Should Guatemala take part in conference, it would take no action which is not in accordance with wishes of the United States.	307
	Sept. 14	From the Guatemalan Special Mission to the United States	Specifies aid needed by Guatemala in order to cooperate with the United States in the war.	326
	Nov. 6	To the Guatemalan Special Mission to the United States	U. S. assurances given the Guatemalan Special Mission.	358

HAITI

	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Minister's note stating Haiti is disposed to adopt such attitude as will be necessary to obtain peace.	223
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Haitian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Haiti is disposed to adopt such attitude as will be necessary to obtain peace.	223

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HAITI—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 26	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Haiti inquires precisely what support the United States would give in event of a declaration of war on Germany.	267
	Apr. 27	To the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	The United States gives assurance of using every effort to prevent Haiti from suffering injury as result of war with Germany.	268
	May 3	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Certain opposition to war might be overcome by assurance of Haiti's admission to peace congress at end of war.	275
	May 4	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	War message of Haiti's President received in National Assembly.	275
	May 5	To the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Necessity for prompt decision regarding alliance with great powers in war.	276
	May 11	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	President of Haiti authorized to protest against submarine warfare and to sever relations with Germany if need be.	279
	May 15	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Haitian representative in Berlin instructed to ask for his passports if no satisfactory response received from Germany regarding protest.	281
	June 2	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Haiti declines to be represented at conference.	293
	June 17 [Rec'd June 18]	From the Minister in Haiti (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Haiti.	301

HONDURAS

	Feb. 5 [Rec'd Feb. 6]	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Honduras gives assurance of sympathy with U.S. action toward Germany. Minister inquires if authorized to guarantee U.S. protection in case of German aggression.	222
	Feb. 8	To the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	The United States not in position to guarantee protection in case of aggression resulting from proposed action against Germany.	224
[Enclosure]	Feb. 16	From the Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Commends action of the United States against Germany.	236
420	Feb. 17 [Rec'd Mar. 6]	From the Minister in Honduras	Transmits Honduran note of Feb. 16.	236
	May 2	To the Minister in Honduras via Salvador	Guatemala's action in severing relations with Germany and offering support to the United States.	274

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HONDURAS—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 7	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Assurance of Honduran cooperation in every way possible without violation of treaty of Washington.	276
	May 10	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Honduras accepts invitation to Latin-American congress with understanding that support of the United States is contemplated.	278
	May 12	To the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	Congress of neutrals not necessary to represent Latin-American feeling, as many nations have declared their policy. Honduran attitude under scrutiny.	279
	May 17	From the Minister in Honduras (tel.)	The President of Honduras decrees adherence to the United States, and diplomatic relations with Germany broken.	284
	May 17 [Rec'd May 31]	From the Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs	Honduras tenders its cooperation with the United States in every possible way.	291
	June 20	To the Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs	Honduran offer of cooperation accepted.	302

ITALY

	Sept. 12, 1916 [Rec'd Sept. 13]	From the Counselor of the Italian Embassy	Case of the Italian S.S. *Attualità*. Requests Department to suggest measures to protect Italian requisitioned ships from attachment in U.S. ports.	675
2977	Oct. 2, 1916 [Rec'd Oct. 4]	From the Italian Ambassador	Again presents case of the *Attualità* detained in U.S. court; claims right of exemption from attachment as a requisitioned vessel of a friendly country.	677
	Oct. 13, 1916	From the Counselor of the Italian Embassy	Reiterates formal protests against the assumption of jurisdiction by U.S. courts over an Italian requisitioned ship and points out impossibility for appeal in time allowed.	678
221	Oct. 26, 1916	To the Italian Ambassador	Summary of the *Attualità* case: not armed public vessel, not entitled to immunity under international law. Suggests application for release under bond.	680
750	Dec. 11, 1916 [Rec'd Dec. 12]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Italy requests the release of the *Attualità;* grain cargo needed.	685
682	Dec. 14, 1916	To the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Calls attention to reasons given in former correspondence why the *Attualità* cannot be released except under bond.	685

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ITALY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
771	Jan. 4, 1917 [Rec'd Jan. 5]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Certain Allied ministers and generals will arrive in Rome tomorrow.	3
	Jan. 5	To the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3
781	Jan. 7	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Reported probable result of conference will be withdrawal of Allied troops from Saloniki.	4
784	Jan. 9	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Form of Allies' joint reply to the President's peace note was decided in conference at Rome. Russia's approval awaited.	4
794	Jan. 17	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Conversation with Foreign Minister on fixing of coal prices, etc. Switzerland reported mobilizing for defense.	22
800	Jan. 21	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	British note to the President criticized at the Vatican and proposed partition of Europe condemned.	22
802	Jan. 22	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	The President's Senate address favorably received by Foreign Minister.	29
803	Jan. 23 [Rec'd Jan. 24]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Foreign Minister inquires regarding the President's plan for peace preservation.	30
	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the Consul General at Rome (tel.)	Reported destruction of schooner *Lyman M. Law* and landing of crew at Sardinia.	131
848	Feb. 20	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Sinking of schooner *Lyman M. Law.*	139
872	Mar. 16 [Rec'd Mar. 17]	From the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Quotation from Foreign Minister's speech commenting on President Wilson's Senate address.	69
	Apr. 5	From the Consul General at Genoa (tel.)	Sinking of the American S. S. *Missourian.*	205
1359	May 12 [Rec'd May 14]	From the Italian Ambassador	Reserves rights of his Government regarding forced sale of the *Attualità.* Transfer of flag of Italian steamers prohibited.	686
278	May 29	To the Italian Ambassador	The *Attualità* case tried on its merits by court of competent jurisdiction, vessel found at fault in collision, and amount of damage referred to commissioner.	687
922	Oct. 1	To the Ambassador in Italy (tel.)	Instructions to make representations to Italy of Uruguay's desire for arbitration treaties.	333
	Oct. 5	To the Italian Embassy	Tendency toward neutrality in Uruguay fomented by failure of Allies to come to treaty agreement.	336

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JAPAN

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 5	To the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3
	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*
	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)	Germany has entrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623*n*
	Feb. 13	From the Japanese Ambassador	China is advised by Japan to take attitude similar to that of the United States regarding severance of relations with Germany.	409
	Mar. 3 [Rec'd Mar. 4]	From the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)	Japan denies receipt from Mexico of German proposals of alliance.	160
	June 27	From the Chargé in Japan (tel.)	Discussions in the Diet on approval of entrance of the United States into the war; retention by Japan of territory taken from Germany.	452

LIBERIA

	Feb. 6	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberia, ready to break relations with Germany, offers the United States facilities for naval and military operations, relying upon latter for protection.	458
	Apr. 4 [Rec'd Apr. 5]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberian request for protection against dangers resulting from a breach with Germany.	459
	Apr. 20 [Rec'd Apr. 21]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberia advised against making public its change of policy until protection secured against German attack.	460
	May 3	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Instructions to advise Liberian break with Germany when Great Britain and France have furnished protection requested.	461
	May 6	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Arrival of British war vessel at Monrovia.	461
	May 7 [Rec'd May 8]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Agreed that, following severance of relations with Germany, all Germans should leave Liberia. Inquires regarding arrangements for departure.	461
	May 9 [Rec'd May 10]	From the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore	Announcement of Liberia's severance of relations with Germany.	462
	May 11	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Instructions will be sent after conclusion of consultation with British Government.	463

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LIBERIA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 15	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	General Receiver of Customs voices disapproval of Liberia's severance of relations with Germany without guaranty of future protection.	464
	May 16	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Instructions to suggest that Liberia take no further action against Germany until advised by the United States. Trade guaranties requested of Great Britain.	464
	May 17	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Citizens of Liberia endorse Government's action concerning Germany and express confidence in the United States.	465
99	May 18 [Rec'd July 7]	From the Minister in Liberia	Transmits copy of Liberian note severing relations with Germany.	472
	June 2	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Arrival of British war vessel. Delay in program of deporting Germans, furthering German intrigue to divide Cabinet.	467
	June 2	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Pending negotiations regarding resumption of trade, Liberia not advised to declare war or to remove Germans. Inquiry regarding action of German Receiver in Monrovia.	468
	June 7	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	French and British proposal for deporting Germans; Liberian reply making certain conditions, relying on U.S. advice.	469
	June 11	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Quotes British memorandum stating conditions under which Liberian trade restrictions will be removed. Inquires attitude of Liberia.	469
	June 15 [Rec'd June 16]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Outlines steps Liberia is prepared to take in compliance with British terms in order that trade restrictions may be removed.	470
	June 30	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Proclamation of the President of Liberia regarding German property and deportations.	470
	July 1 [Rec'd July 2]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Liberia will fix time for German deportation as soon as assurances of protection given.	471
	July 6 [Rec'd July 7]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	German protest to Liberia against deportation or internment of German subjects.	471
	July 11	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Great Britain requires Liberia to fix date for deportation of Germans.	473
	July 13	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Suggestion that Liberia defer deportation action awaiting British reply regarding guaranties to Liberia.	474

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LIBERIA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	July 13	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Great Britain and France advise declaration of war by Liberia, guaranteeing protection and removal of trade restrictions. U.S. advice desired.	474
	July 18	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	U.S. advice that Liberia sever relations with Germany and deport Germans.	475
[Enclosure]	July 21	From the American Minister to the Liberian Secretary of State	Endorsement of British and French note of July 21, guaranteeing to Liberia lifting of trade restrictions and granting protection.	490
	July 23 [Rec'd July 24]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Draft convention between Liberia, France, and Great Britain submitted with request for instructions regarding signing.	475
[Quoted in letter]	July 23	From the Assistant Secretary of State to the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore	British assurance of protection and U.S. approval of action taken by Liberia against Germany.	483
	July 24	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Inquires if the United States should merely acquiesce in convention by signature in postscript rather than as signatory with other powers.	476
	July 28	To the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Disapproves of Liberian convention with Great Britain and France unless limited to duration of the war.	476
	Aug. 5 [Rec'd Aug. 6]	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	Declaration of war against Germany and deportation of Germans.	477
122	Aug. 10 [Rec'd Sept. 14]	From the Minister in Liberia	Convention between Liberia, Great Britain, and France not consummated.	485
124	Aug. 11 [Rec'd Sept. 14]	From the Minister in Liberia	Transmits copy of Liberian reply to German protest against deportation of Germans resident in Liberia, sent through the Spanish Consul.	486
[Enclosure]	Aug. 13	From the Liberian Secretary of State to the American Minister, the French Chargé, and the British Acting Consul General	Acceptance of guaranties	491
128	Aug. 14 [Rec'd Sept. 14]	From the Minister in Liberia.	Transmits French and British joint note and American endorsement of July 21; also Liberian reply of Aug. 13.	
	Aug. 28 [Rec'd Aug. 29]	From the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore	*Résumé* of negotiations leading up to Liberia's declaration of war with Germany. Quotes Department's letter of July 23.	479

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LIBERIA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Aug. 30	To the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore	Acknowledges receipt of communication regarding severance of relations between Liberia and Germany.	484
	Oct. 12	From the Minister in Liberia (tel.)	German women and German Receiver in Liberia embarked on Spanish vessel for Germany.	491

MEXICO

	Feb. 12	From the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in charge of Mexican interests	Carranza's note to neutral nations tendering cooperation in endeavor to terminate war.	44
	Feb. 17	To the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in charge of Mexican interests	Acknowledges receipt of Carranza's note to neutral nations tendering cooperation in endeavor to end the war.	54
10	Feb. 26	To the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Instructions to disclose to Carranza U.S. knowledge of German overtures and to suggest that statement of Mexico's position be published.	234
9	Feb. 26 [Rec'd Feb. 27]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Foreign Minister denies knowledge of German overtures.	235
13	Mar. 10 [Rec'd Mar. 11]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Carranza denies having received proposal of alliance with Germany; suggests peace conference at Washington.	238
	Mar. 16	To the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in charge of Mexican interests	The United States is in a position which precludes it from participating in Carranza's offer of mediation to belligerents. Declines to suspend commercial relations with them.	67
26	Mar. 17 [Rec'd Mar. 18]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Offer of Mexico's good offices to restore relations between the United States and Germany.	241
54	Apr. 3	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Ecuador and Colombia apparently only American republics supporting Mexican peace propaganda.	243
77	Apr. 10 [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Office note lamenting U.S. difficulties with Germany and promising to omit no effort to bring about peace.	249
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From the Mexican Foreign Office to the American Embassy	Mexico laments U.S. difficulties with Germany and will omit no effort to bring about peace.	249

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MEXICO—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
95	Apr. 15 [Rec'd Apr. 16]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Mexico will observe strict neutrality.	255
123	Apr. 21	To the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Germany's violations of international law prevent U. S. acceptance of Mexico's good offices in mediation.	261
124	Apr. 21	To the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Instructions to discuss with Mexico the menace arising from activities of German subjects in Mexico.	262
133	Apr. 25 [Rec'd Apr. 26]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Discussion with Carranza of Latin-American mediation and war situation as affecting Mexican attitude toward the United States.	265
520	Oct. 20 [Rec'd Oct. 21]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Resolution introduced into Mexican Senate declaring benevolent neutrality toward Entente nations necessary for life of nation.	349
552	Nov. 8 [Rec'd Nov. 9]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Mexico to be represented at Latin-American conference.	364
600	Dec. 3 [Rec'd Dec. 4]	From the Ambassador in Mexico (tel.)	Personnel of Mexican delegation to Buenos Aires conference.	380
634	Dec. 19 [Rec'd Dec. 20]	From the Chargé in Mexico (tel.)	Mexican Senate defeated resolution declaring benevolent neutrality toward Entente nations necessary for life of nation.	392

MOROCCO

	Feb. 3	To the Agent in Morocco (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*
	Feb. 7	To the Agent in Morocco (tel.)	Germany has entrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623*n*

NETHERLANDS

610	Jan. 8 [Rec'd Jan. 22]	From the Minister in the Netherlands	Transmits press statement of attitude of the Netherlands regarding the President's peace note.	23
712	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Quotes in part Netherland note refusing to follow example of the United States in severing relations with Germany.	123
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Netherland Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé	The Netherlands will not follow the example of the United States in severing relations with Germany.	123

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NETHERLANDS—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 14	From the Netherland Minister	Netherland offer to take over work of American Commission for Relief in Belgium.	637
716	Feb. 14	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.): from Whitlock	Requests that no final action on Belgian situation be taken pending negotiations.	639
732	Feb. 25	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.): from Whitlock	It is his purpose to inform the German authorities that he will leave Belgium if former privileges not restored.	644
737	Feb. 28	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Press summary of German Chancellor's address to Reichstag on U.S. break in relations.	153
744	Mar. 4 [Rec'd Mar. 5]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	German correspondence with the Netherlands on subject of reorganization of the Belgian Relief Commission.	648
431	Mar. 8	To the Minister in the Netherlands (tel.)	Instructions to report whether Netherland Government prohibits entrance and departure of merchant vessels armed for defensive purposes.	550*n*
758	Mar. 10	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Armed merchantmen of belligerents not permitted to enter Dutch waters. No decision regarding armed neutral vessels.	552
760	Mar. 10	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Reports Belgian-Dutch frontier closed, Whitlock without diplomatic position or funds.	652
	Mar. 13	From the Vice Consul at Rotterdam (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian freight S.S. *Thode Fagesund.*	173
765	Mar. 13	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Summary of political situation in Germany.	173
438	Mar. 13	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Inquires attitude of Government regarding entrance into Dutch ports of U.S. vessels armed for self-defense.	553
772	Mar. 15	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	German Chancellor has protested against criticism of Reichstag heard in House of Lords, and suggested reform of internal policy after the war.	66
779	Mar. 16 [Rec'd Mar. 17]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	German Chancellor definitely committed to more democratic government.	69
	Mar. 16	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Will distinction be drawn between treatment of merchant vessels privately armed and those on which armed guards are placed by the U.S. Government?	553
790	Mar. 20	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Socialist press appeals for free suffrage in Prussia.	73
444	Mar. 20	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Inquires about communication with Whitlock.	653

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NETHERLANDS—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 20	From the Vice Consul at Rotterdam (tel.)	Sinking of Norwegian freight-steamship *Davanger*.	181
792	Mar. 21	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Sealed communications with Brussels only through Spanish pouch, but Spanish courier service not yet resumed across Belgian-Dutch frontier.	654
	Mar. 22	From the Vice Consul at Rotterdam (tel.)	Sinking of Dutch tank-steamship *La Campine* owned by American company.	183
	Mar. 22	From the Consul at Amsterdam (tel.)	Standard Oil ship *Healdton* torpedoed.	183
[Quoted in tel.]	Mar. 22	From the Netherland Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Chargé	Refuses to permit entrance into Dutch ports of war vessels or armed merchant ships according to Royal decree.	555
798	Mar. 23	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Quotes Foreign Office note of Mar. 22.	555
	Mar. 23	From the Consul at Amsterdam (tel.)	Additional details on sinking of the *Healdton*.	185
	Mar. 23	To the Netherland Minister	Accepts proposal that relief work in Belgium be transferred to Netherland subjects.	655
815	Mar. 29	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	It is reported American relief commission and officials in Belgium will be detained for period to prevent spread of military information.	658
462	Mar. 31	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Inquires if armed neutral vessels may enter Dutch ports as ships of commerce.	556
879	Apr. 18 [Rec'd May15]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands	Transmits German memorandum of Mar. 30 regarding treatment of neutral members of crews of enemy merchantmen.	215
979	June 11	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Preferential shipments go forward. Suggests that Department press immediately for shipping permits.	513
1019	June 27	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Reports disposition of certain goods stored in Rotterdam and apparent oversight in dealing with other shipments.	513
1026	June 30 [Rec'd July 1]	From the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	Germany will withdraw permission for Americans to work at Spanish Embassy, Berlin, if German employees at Swiss Legation, Washington, dismissed.	614
585	July 3	To the Chargé in the Netherlands (tel.)	No alternative than to request Swiss Legation at Washington to dismiss former German Embassy employees.	614

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NICARAGUA

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
[Enclosure]	Feb. 5	From the Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Expresses regret over U.S. break in relations with Germany and the hope that rights of neutrals will be respected.	237
339	Feb. 9 [Rec'd Mar. 6]	From the Minister in Nicaragua	Transmits Nicaraguan note of Feb. 5.	237
	Apr. 18	From the Minister in Nicaragua (tel.)	Nicaragua expresses sympathy for the United States in conflict and applauds the President's magnanimity.	259
	May 2	To the Minister in Nicaragua via Salvador (tel.)	Guatemala's action in severing relations with Germany and offering support to the United States.	274
	May 10	From the Minister in Nicaragua (tel.)	Inquires what points Department wishes embodied in decree concerning Nicaragua's attitude toward Germany.	278
	May 11	To the Minister in Nicaragua (tel.)	U. S. desire that Nicaragua take action regarding Germany similar to that taken by Guatemala.	278
	May 19 [Rec'd May 26]	From the Nicaraguan Chargé	Nicaragua severs relations with Germany and offers support to the United States.	289
36	June 2	To the Nicaraguan Chargé	Appreciation of Nicaragua's action in severing relations with Germany and offering support to the U.S. cause.	292

NORWAY

115	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Norway will limit its action against Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare to a joint protest with other Scandinavian countries.	118
[Quoted in tel.]	Feb. 7	From the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Norway declines to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	130
119	Feb. 13	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Quotes Norwegian note of Feb. 7	130
86	Mar. 3	To the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Instructions to report whether Norwegian Government prohibits entrance and departure of merchant vessels armed for defensive purposes.	550n
132	Mar. 6	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Armed merchant vessels subject to examination by naval authorities in Norwegian ports.	551

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NORWAY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 16	To the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Will distinction be drawn between treatment of merchant vessels privately armed and those on which armed guards are placed by the U.S. Government?	553*n*
166	Apr. 28	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Quotes Norway as reserving to itself right to decide in each case when belligerent armed merchant vessels may enter its ports.	557
[Quoted in tel.]	Oct. 9	From the Norwegian Foreign Office	Civilian character of gun crews of merchant vessels.	558
338	Oct. 10 [Rec'd Oct. 11]	From the Minister in Norway (tel.)	Transmits Norwegian *note verbale* of Oct. 9.	557

PANAMA

	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Panama's offer of cooperation with the United States. Precautions taken in Canal Zone to prevent possible injury to the canal.	221
	Feb. 8	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes in part Panama's note giving assurance of cooperation in defense of the canal should armed force be necessary.	225
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 8]	From the Panaman Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Gives assurance of cooperation in defense of the canal should armed force be necessary.	225
1266	Feb. 23 [Rec'd Mar. 14]	From the Minister in Panama	Panama refuses to follow Mexico's suggestion that neutral governments discontinue sending munitions and supplies to belligerents.	240
	Feb. 24	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Panaman Assembly authorizes cooperation with the United States in event of war with Germany.	233
18	Mar. 31	To the Panaman Minister	Reply to inquiry whether Italian armed merchant vessels are admitted to U.S. ports.	556
	Apr. 6 [Rec'd Apr. 7]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Exequaturs of German consuls in Panama will be canceled and proclamation of alliance with the United States will be issued.	245
	Apr. 7 [Rec'd Apr. 8]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Panaman proclamation of alliance and cooperation with the United States in war with Germany.	245
	Apr. 9	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Inquires if Panaman proclamation is declaration of war against Germany.	247

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PANAMA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 9 [Rec'd Apr. 10]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes extract from Panaman proclamation in which Panama and Germany defined as belligerents.	248
	Apr. 10 [Rec'd Apr. 11]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Officially confirmed that proclamation construed as declaration of war.	248
	Apr. 12	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Satisfaction expressed at action of Panama in allying itself with the United States.	250
	Apr. 19	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Suggests that Panaman Minister be given full powers as commissioner to cooperate on war matters.	259
	Apr. 30 [Rec'd May 1]	From the Panaman Minister	Authorization of Panaman commission for discussion of war measures for protection of the canal.	271
	May 9 [Rec'd May 10]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Requests suggestion regarding reply Panama should make to invitation to congress of American nations.	277
	May 11	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Reports reply of Central American countries to invitation to Latin-American congress.	278
1384	May 11 [Rec'd May 25]	From the Minister in Panama	Reports conference relating to measures for proper defense of Panama and the Canal Zone.	287
	May 12	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	The United States desires that Panama refuse to participate in conference.	280
	May 14	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Costa Rica accepts invitation to Latin-American conference.	281
	May 15	To the Panaman Minister	Acknowledgment of note concerning appointment of Panaman commission to discuss protection of Panama and the canal.	281
	May 22 [Rec'd May 23]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes Panaman reply to Argentina refusing to attend conference of American nations.	286
	May 25	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes Nicaragua's message to Argentina accepting invitation to conference, though adopting policy in accord with that of the United States.	289
	Oct. 29	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Quotes Argentine message to Panama setting date for Latin-American congress.	354
	Oct. 31	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Salvador accepts and Honduras refuses invitation to conference.	356
	Nov. 1	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Nicaragua, with simple acknowledgment, requests program of discussions of conference.	356
	Nov. 7 [Rec'd Nov. 8]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Ratification by National Assembly of all steps of belligerency taken in Panama.	363

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PANAMA—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
1660	Nov. 9 [Rec'd Nov. 24]	From the Minister in Panama	National Assembly approves the President's steps in proclaiming war with Germany. Bill introduced expanding the President's power, first submitted to Canal Zone authorities.	374
	Nov. 10	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Guatemala declines to participate in conference.	364
	Nov. 13	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Not necessary that Panama make formal declaration of war.	366
1695	Nov. 27 [Rec'd Dec. 15]	From the Minister in Panama	Panama refuses second invitation to be represented at Latin-American congress.	387
449	Dec. 5	To the Minister in Panama	Approval of action in submitting the Panaman war measure to Canal Zone authorities.	380
	Dec. 7	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Costa Rica declines to take part in conference.	383
	Dec. 10 [Rec'd Dec. 11]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	At his informal suggestion National Assembly passed resolution declaring war on Germany.	385
	Dec. 13	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Inquires why suggestion that Panama declare war on Austria-Hungary was made without instructions. Wording of decree requested.	385
	Dec. 16 [Rec'd Dec. 17]	From the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Reasons for suggesting that Panama declare war with Austria-Hungary. Text of decree quoted.	389
	Dec. 20	To the Minister in Panama (tel.)	Approves action in suggesting that Panama declare war with Austria-Hungary.	392

PARAGUAY

	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay may abstain from formally expressing its attitude toward Germany but is in full sympathy with U.S. position.	226
	Feb. 15 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay's suggestion that attitude of neutral American states be determined in convention.	232
	Apr. 14 [Rec'd Apr. 15]	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay sympathizes with the United States in its action against Germany.	254
	June 11	From the Minister in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay does not favor convention of neutral American states.	297
	Nov. 7 [Rec'd Nov. 8]	From the Chargé in Paraguay (tel.)	Failure of united action by American republics; Paraguay considers that each government should follow own course in dealing with Germany.	363
	Nov. 22 [Rec'd Nov. 23]	From the Chargé in Paraguay (tel.)	Paraguay's conditional acceptance of invitation to conference.	372

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PERSIA

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 15	From the Persian Minister	Persia endorses the President's peace move and hopes the United States will assist in maintaining Persia's rights in the peace conference.	14
	Jan. 17	To the Persian Minister	Acknowledges receipt of Persian note endorsing the President's peace proposals to belligerents.	21

PERU

	Jan. 19	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peru's note expressing wish that the peace initiative of President Wilson may produce results.	220
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Jan. 19]	From the Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Expresses wish that the peace initiative of President Wilson may produce results.	220
[Quoted in tel.]	Feb. 9	From the Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Appreciation of the President's stand on blockade and hope that war with Germany may be averted.	230
	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peru's note of Feb. 9-----	230
	Feb. 12	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes from Peru's reply to Germany refusing to accept principles of blockade with reservation of rights. *Lorton* case cited.	231
	Mar. 14	To the Minister in Peru via Chile	Instructions to report on activities of Argentina regarding mediation by Latin-American powers, also on attitude of Peru.	240
	Mar. 24	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Peru discredits mediation proposition, favoring united action for insisting on neutrality and observance by belligerents of neutral rights.	242
[Quoted in tel.]	Apr. 11	From the Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Deplores necessity for U.S. action against Germany.	253
	Apr. 13	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peru's note of Apr. 11----	253
	July 29	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes message of President of Peru to Congress, adhering to U.S. policies and commending President Wilson's ideals.	308

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PERU—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Undated [Rec'd Aug. 9]	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Quotes Peruvian Senate resolution of sympathy with President Wilson's declarations.	311
	Aug. 9 [Rec'd Aug. 10]	From the Peruvian Legation	Peru's refusal to submit to prize court question of sinking of bark *Lorton* by German submarine.	312
	Sept. 6	From the Minister in Peru (tel.)	Peru's foreign policy; probable break with Germany over sinking of the *Lorton*.	321
	Sept. 10	From the Consul General at Lima (tel.)	Peru demands of Germany full compensation for sinking of the *Lorton*.	324
	Sept. 26	From the Consul General at Lima (tel.)	Peru threatens severance of diplomatic relations if the *Lorton* case not settled.	331
	Oct. 6	From the Consul General at Lima (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Peru.	340
	Oct. 8	From the Peruvian Minister	Copy of Peru's telegram of Oct. 6 announcing severance of relations with Germany.	340
	Nov. 14	From the Peruvian Legation	Peruvian plan for the congress to consider severance of relations with Germany.	367
	Nov. 28	From the Peruvian Chargé	Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Uruguay accept Peruvian plan.	377

PORTUGAL

	Feb. 3	To the Minister in Portugal (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*
	Feb. 7	To the Minister in Portugal (tel.)	Germany has entrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623*n*

ROUMANIA

	Feb. 3	To the Minister in Roumania (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*
	Feb. 7	To the Minister in Roumania (tel.)	Germany has entrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623*n*

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RUSSIA

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 5	To the Ambassador in Russia (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3
	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Russia (tel.)	Instructions to suspend activities in behalf of Germany until the country taking over German interests is indicated.	622*n*
	Feb. 7	To the Ambassador in Russia (tel.)	Germany has intrusted its interests in the United States and all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where Sweden has charge.	623*n*
1278	Mar. 23	To the Ambassador in Russia (tel.)	Instructions to continue to care for Austro-Hungarian interests in Russia.	626

SALVADOR

	Feb. 27	From the Minister in Salvador (tel.)	Salvador will observe scrupulous neutrality.	235
	Apr. 12	From the Salvadoran Minister	Salvador will maintain neutrality. Presents sympathy and good wishes to the United States.	251
	May 2	To the Minister in Salvador (tel.)	Guatemala's action in severing relations with Germany and offering support to the United States.	274
	Sept. 25	To the Minister in Salvador (tel.)	Inquires meaning of Salvador's declaration of friendly neutrality toward the United States and Italy.	330
249	Oct. 5 [Rec'd Oct. 20]	From the Minister in Salvador	Salvador offers the use of its ports and waters to the United States for naval purposes and for armed merchantmen.	347
	Nov. 17	To the Minister in Salvador (tel.)	Inquiry regarding privilege accorded U.S. vessels in Salvadoran waters.	370
	Nov. 22	From the Chargé in Salvador (tel.)	Salvador concedes to U.S. naval vessels same privileges enjoyed by Salvadoran vessels in its ports.	371

SERBIA

	Jan. 26	Remarks of the Serbian Minister upon reception by President Wilson	Letters of credence presented	674
	Jan. 26	President Wilson's reply to the Serbian Minister	Acceptance of letters of credence	675

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SIAM

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb.15]	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Quotes reply of Siam to peace note maintaining neutrality until its interests demand action.	410
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb.15]	From the Siamese Foreign Office to the American Embassy	Siam will maintain neutrality until its interests demand action.	410
	Apr. 28 [Rec'd Apr.29]	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Quotes Russian appeal to Siam to take action against Germany.	433
	July 22	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Siam's declaration of war against Germany and Austria.	453
	July 31	To the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Instructions to expedite the deal of American International Corp. to purchase from Siam the seized German steamers.	454
	Aug. 5 [Rec'd Aug. 6]	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Siam requests permission for German and Austrian Chargés to pass through Panama Canal in returning to Europe.	609
	Aug. 7	From the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Siam will accept final decision of Allies for disposition of seized German steamers.	454
	Aug. 8	To the Chargé in Siam (tel.)	Refuses permission for German and Austrian Chargés to travel through Panama Canal.	610

SPAIN

318	Jan. 26 [Rec'd Jan.27]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Cooperation of Spain in peace move can be secured by according to that country special consideration.	30
322	Jan. 31 [Rec'd Feb. 1]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain inquires U.S. attitude regarding blockade by Germany and destruction of neutral vessels without warning.	102
209	Feb. 3	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Requests representation of U.S. interests in Germany by Spain.	610
327	Feb. 4 [Rec'd Feb. 5]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain accedes to request to represent U.S. interests in Germany.	610
210	Feb. 4	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Inquires if Spain will take over U.S. interests in Austria-Hungary in event of severance of relations.	618
213	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Arrangements made for protection of German representatives *en route* to Germany.	591
215	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	The United States desires to entrust its interests in Germany to officers of Spanish birth.	610
328	Feb. 5	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain will assume charge of American interests in Austria-Hungary in event of severance of relations.	618

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SPAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
331	Feb. 6	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Transmits copy of Spain's protest to Germany against unrestricted submarine warfare.	117
[Enclosure]	Feb. 6	From the Spanish Foreign Office to the American Embassy	Maintenance of neutrality	117*n*
330	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	The King declares Spain will remain neutral in order to represent belligerents at various capitals in interest of humanity.	120
222	Feb. 6	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Complete arrangements made for departure of German diplomatic and consular staffs. Protective measures taken only against German interned vessels.	587
551	Feb. 7 [Rec'd Mar. 9]	From the Ambassador in Spain	Encloses Spanish note maintaining neutrality.	117*n*
350	Feb. 13	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Reports Spanish Ambassador, Berlin, in charge of American interests.	611
355	Feb. 17	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Officially reported that nonbelligerents on *Yarrowdale* will be liberated.	211
269	Feb. 20	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Formal demand upon Germany through Spanish Ambassador at Berlin for release of *Yarrowdale* prisoners.	211
	Feb. 20	From the Spanish Ambassador	Spanish consuls at Honolulu and in Porto Rico intrusted with protection of German interests.	613
	Feb. 21	From the Consul General at Barcelona (tel.)	Sinking of Swedish S.S. *Skogland.*	141
370	Feb. 25	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Official notice that *Yarrowdale* prisoners were released on 16th.	211
285	Feb. 26	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spain is requested to notify Germany of sailing date of former Ambassador Gerard.	591
291	Feb. 27	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Reported infectious disease prevents release of *Yarrowdale* prisoners. Instructions to request that Spanish representative be sent to investigate.	211
303	Mar. 3	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Instructions to report whether Spanish Government prohibits entrance and departure of merchant vessels armed for defensive purposes.	550*n*
388	Mar. 4	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	No restrictions on armed merchant vessels in Spanish ports.	551
399	Mar. 7 [Rec'd Mar. 8]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spanish Embassy doctor visits *Yarrowdale* prisoners and states conditions are as reported by German authorities.	212

Digitized by Google

SPAIN—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
403	Mar. 10	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Compliance with request for Spanish personnel in caring for U. S. interests.	611
408	Mar. 12	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Release of American prisoners on the *Yarrowdale*.	213
	Mar. 16	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Will distinction be drawn between treatment of merchant vessels privately armed and those on which armed guards are placed by the U.S. Government?	553*n*
328	Mar. 16	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Protest against sinking by German submarine of Norwegian S.S. *Storstad* carrying corn for Belgian relief.	652
423	Mar. 18 [Rec'd Mar. 19]	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Merchant vessels armed for defense permitted in Spanish ports without distinction as to neutral or belligerent ownership.	554
349	Mar. 24	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.): for Berlin	Request for release of Americans if any brought in as prisoners on the *Moewe*.	214
376	Mar. 31	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Instructions to urge Foreign Office to secure information regarding American prisoners on the *Moewe* and obtain their release.	214
396	Apr. 9	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Instructions to inform Foreign Office that U. S. interests turned over to Spanish Ambassador in Vienna.	619
469	Apr. 11	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spanish Embassy, Vienna, has taken charge of American interests in Austria-Hungary. Similar instructions given regarding British and Japanese interests.	619
481	Apr. 16	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	German reply to request for release of *Moewe* prisoners.	214
435	Apr. 26	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Instructions to request investigation of internment camp of the *Moewe* prisoners.	215
	Apr. 27	From the Spanish Ambassador	Representation of Turkey in the United States by Spain.	621
	May 1	To the Spanish Ambassador	Acknowledges notice of Turkey's representation in the United States by Spain.	621
520	May 4	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	German explanation of sinking of the *Storstad*.	662
480	May 21	To the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Red Cross reports on American prisoners in Germany. Instructions to request Spanish investigation and report.	218
569	May 23	From the Ambassador in Spain (tel.)	Spanish Ambassador's report on American prisoners in Germany.	218
	May 26	From the Spanish Ambassador	Spanish Consul at Honolulu will take charge of Austro-Hungarian interests in the Islands.	620

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SWEDEN

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
171	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Quotes Sweden's note declining to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	124
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Sweden declines to follow the United States in severing relations with Germany.	124
130	Feb. 19	To the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Inquiry regarding conference of neutrals to be held in Stockholm for discussion of matters arising after the war.	54
192	Feb. 21	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Conference of European neutral countries to be held at Stockholm. Informed the United States has declined to attend.	56
137	Mar. 3	To the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Instructions to report whether Swedish Government prohibits entrance and departure of merchant vessels armed for defensive purposes.	550*n*
208	Mar. 6	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Government's attitude undetermined regarding port restrictions on defensively armed merchant ships.	551
	Mar. 16	To the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Will distinction be drawn between treatment of merchant vessels privately armed and those on which armed guards are placed by the U.S. Government?	553*n*
231	Mar. 17 [Rec'd Mar.18]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Armed British merchant vessels permitted in Norwegian ports.	554
241	Mar. 19 [Rec'd Mar.21]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Swedish press reports stormy budget debate in German Parliament, Socialists protesting against war policies.	74
246	Mar. 21 [Rec'd Mar.22]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	Verbal permission to admit armed U.S. merchant vessels to Swedish ports. No definite regulations.	554
250	Mar. 23 [Rec'd Mar.24]	From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)	German press states that provisions are scarce; severer rationing is needed; holds that America, by arming merchant vessels, resorts to armed force.	75
	Apr. 10	From the Swedish Minister	Announces that he has assumed charge of Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States.	619
	Apr. 23	To the Swedish Minister	Acknowledges receipt of notice that he has assumed charge of Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States.	619
	May 7 [Rec'd May 9]	From the Swedish Minister	Conveys thanks of Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate for courtesies and facilities accorded him and party by American authorities.	598
	Oct. 29 [Rec'd Oct.31]	From the Swedish Minister	Representation of Austria-Hungary in Hawaiian Islands transferred to Swedish Consulate at San Francisco.	620

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SWITZERLAND

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 6 [Rec'd Feb. 7]	From the Swiss Minister	Notification that German interests in the United States and the Philippines are in the charge of Swiss representatives.	612
342	Feb. 9	To the Swiss Minister	No objection to German interests being represented by Switzerland.	612
501	Feb. 10 [Rec'd Feb. 11]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Quotes Swiss note declining to unite with the United States in severing relations with Germany, and declaring intention of preserving neutrality.	127
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 11]	From the Chief of the Swiss Political Department to the American Minister	Switzerland declines to unite with the United States in severing relations with Germany. Will preserve neutrality.	127
	Feb. 11	From the Swiss Minister	Germany willing to negotiate with the United States provided English blockade is maintained.	126
505	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Quotes Swiss protest to Germany and Austria-Hungary against blockade; reservation of rights.	128
	Feb. 12	To the Swiss Minister	No negotiations possible with Germany until proclamation of unrestricted submarine warfare is withdrawn.	129
	Feb. 12	From the Swiss Minister	Transmits German message that release of Americans on *Yarrowdale* conditional upon freedom from seizure of German vessels in U.S. waters.	210
346	Feb. 13	To the Swiss Minister	Inquiry regarding disposition of German interests at places where there are no Swiss consular officers.	623
526	Feb. 13 [Rec'd Feb. 14]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.): from Herter, formerly in Belgium	Reports suspension of prerogatives of American Minister and restriction on activities of relief commission.	638
545	Feb. 19 [Rec'd Feb. 20]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Swiss criticism of Minister at Washington for activities in German overtures to the United States. Germany's published statement.	136
	Feb. 21	From the Swiss Minister	Attention called to seizure of German merchant ships at Honolulu, Manila, and Colón, and looting by Government guards.	563
I 3	Feb. 28 [Rec'd Mar. 1]	From the Swiss Minister	German proposal that court proceedings be deferred in case of Bopp and Schack until after reestablishment of diplomatic relations.	581
589	Mar. 1	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Press reports of statements of various party leaders in German Reichstag on war conditions.	156

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SWITZERLAND—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
XVI 2	Mar. 2	From the Swiss Minister	Transmits German note explaining delay in release of *Yarrowdale* prisoners and promising release at end of quarantine.	212
603	Mar. 3 [Rec'd Mar. 4]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	German comments on publication in the United States of German overtures to Mexico and Japan.	160
396	Mar. 3	To the Swiss Minister	Refusal to free Bopp and Schack; representations made regarding assumption that U. S. courts would experience difficulty in affording them fair trial.	583
607	Mar. 4	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Autonomy of Flanders considered by Germany.	64
XII 2	Mar. 5 [Rec'd Mar. 7]	From the Swiss Minister	Swiss Legation in the United States authorized by Germany to continue to issue safe-conducts for Belgian relief ships. Route designated.	649
635	Mar. 10 [Rec'd Mar. 11]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Press reports speech in German Reichstag deploring scarcity of food and demanding equal distribution.	64
403	Mar. 10	To the Swiss Minister	Reply to charge of looting of German vessels by Government guards in ports of Honolulu, Manila, and Colón.	564
636	Mar. 12	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Arrival at Zürich of Americans from *Yarrowdale*.	213
I 4 h	Mar. 14 [Rec'd Mar. 16]	From the Swiss Minister	Arrangements made for German representation in certain places where there are no Swiss consuls.	624
	Undated [Rec'd Mar. 23]	From the Swiss Minister	German notice of extension of submarine blockade of Arctic Ocean.	183
678	Mar. 23	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Return of the *Moewe* to German port with prisoners. Suggests representations through Spanish diplomatic channels.	213
IV. 4	Mar. 24 [Rec'd Mar. 26]	From the Swiss Minister	German notice of further extension of submarine blockade of Arctic Ocean.	187
	Mar. 29	From the Assistant Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Swiss Legation	German refugee merchant vessels at Honolulu now under their German crews, subject to supervision by U.S. customs officials.	565
711	Apr. 1 [Rec'd Apr. 2]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Informed that members of American Legation and consulates and relief commission will leave Belgium at once, several members of latter remaining to wind up affairs.	658

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SWITZERLAND—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Apr. 6	From the Swiss Minister	Denmark offers to protect German archives in Danish West Indies, recently ceded to the United States.	613
460	Apr. 30	To the Swiss Minister	Regarding treatment of German Ambassador and party at Halifax, complaint should be made to Great Britain and France.	594
XVIII	May 2 [Rec'd May 4]	From the Swiss Minister	Points out that Belgian relief ships must avoid German blockade zone; safe-conducts contain this stipulation.	661
866	May 4 [Rec'd May 5]	From the Minister in Switzerland (tel.)	Arrival from Belgium of remaining American delegates of relief commission. Passports refused private American citizens in Belgium.	662
1 b 13	June 4 [Rec'd June 5]	From the Swiss Minister	Representation of Austria-Hungary in the Philippines by Switzerland.	620
	July 17	To the Swiss Legation	Requests that the necessity for transferring German representation in certain places be again pointed out to Germany.	627
I d Allg. 3	Aug. 14	From the Swiss Chargé	Arrangements for transfer of German representation to neutral powers in certain places where there are no Swiss consuls.	628
XI 20	Oct. 17	From the Swiss Minister	German offer of bail for release of Bopp and Schack pending trial. Status of trial requested.	584
I b 15	Oct. 30	From the Swiss Minister	Swiss Consulate at San Francisco temporarily in charge of German interests in Hawaiian Islands.	614
	Oct. 31	To the Swiss Legation	History of indictment and trial of Bopp and Schack. Bail refused.	584*n*
IV 14	Oct. 31	From the Swiss Minister	Swiss Consul requests authorization to administer German affairs without license under Trading with the Enemy Act.	615
IV 14	Dec. 4 [Rec'd Dec. 6]	From the Swiss Minister	Premises formerly occupied by German Consulate leased in name of Swiss Consul. Appreciation of Department's action in matter.	616
L d 7	Apr. 25, 1918 [Rec'd Apr. 27]	From the Swiss Minister	Spanish Vice Consul at Panama to assume protection of German interests in Canal Zone, subject to approval of powers concerned.	617
	Aug. 24, 1918	To the Swiss Chargé	Agrees to proposal that Spanish Vice Consul at Panama assume protection of German interests in Canal Zone.	617

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TURKEY

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 5, 1917	To the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Instructions to deny press report that the President will send second peace note to the powers.	3*n*
2393	Jan. 8 [Rec'd Jan. 10]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Germany reported preparing for submarine blockade of British coast, resolved to sink all ships without warning.	81
2400	Jan. 12 [Rec'd Jan. 16]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Interview with German Ambassador on intended deportation of Greeks; German lack of influence in Turkey; confidential communication of German peace terms; Great Britain's attitude.	15
[Enclosure]	Jan. 19	From the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Recapitulation of Turkey's attitude following Entente response to Central powers' invitation to discuss peace.	58
420	Jan. 22 [Rec'd Feb. 23]	From the Ambassador in Turkey	Transmits Foreign Minister's note of Jan. 19.	58
3328	Feb. 5	To the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Desire to maintain friendly relations with Turkey.	113
2475	Feb. 8 [Rec'd Feb. 25]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany as affecting Turkey's policy.	148
2479	Feb. 11 [Rec'd Feb. 15]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Relations between the United States and Turkey remain normal.	134
3467	Mar. 31	To the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Instructions to be followed in case Turkey decides to sever relations with the United States.	191
2587	Apr. 2 [Rec'd Apr. 6]	From the Ambassador in Turkey (tel.)	Speculation regarding Turkey's attitude toward the United States. Suggested diplomatic representations should relations be broken.	206
[Enclosure]	Apr. 10	From the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy	Invites departure of U.S.S. *Scorpion* from Turkish port.	603
[Enclosure]	Apr. 20	From the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador	Announces severance of relations with the United States.	603
912	Apr. 23 [Rec'd June 20]	From the Chargé in Turkey	Plans for departure of Embassy staff. Enclosures: Turkish notes of Apr. 10 and Apr. 20.	598
	June 10 [Rec'd June 28]	From the Ambassador formerly in Turkey	Reports details of severance of relations with Turkey and departure of Embassy staff.	604

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UNITED STATES

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Dec. 20, 1916	To the diplomatic representatives in all neutral countries (tel.)	Instructions to deliver to Government to which accredited the President's suggestion to belligerent governments that they communicate their terms of peace.	219
	Dec. 21, 1916	From the Secretary of the Treasury	Suggests that special authorization from Washington for clearance of vessels be dispensed with, except under unusual circumstances.	541
	Jan. 3, 1917	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Case of the French S.S. *L'Erdre*. Question whether naval men in the pay of their governments form part of complement of merchant vessels.	543
	Jan. 9	To the Secretary of the Treasury	There will be no modification of regulations regarding clearance of armed merchant vessels.	545
	Jan. 11	From the Assistant Attorney General to the Counselor for the Department of State	Conviction of the German consular officers, Bopp and Schack, and three others for violation of American neutrality laws.	579
	Jan. 15	To Ambassadors in belligerent countries (tel.)	Text of President Wilson's address to the Senate on bases of a durable peace, for communication, when notified, to Foreign Offices and press.	24*n*
	Jan. 22	Address of the President of the United States to the Senate	Bases of a durable peace	24
2519A	Jan. 24	Executive order	Text of amendments to rules governing the granting and issuing of passports in the United States.	573
	Feb. 3	To the diplomatic representatives in neutral countries (tel.)	Instructions to notify Government to which accredited of U.S. severance of relations with Germany, suggesting similar action by neutral powers.	108
	Feb. 3	Address of the President of the United States to Congress	*Résumé* of events leading to severance of relations with Germany.	109
[Quoted in letter]	Feb. 7	From the Secretary of War to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands (tel.)	Suggestions relative to treatment of German vessels and their crews.	562
	Feb. 10	From the Counselor for the Department of State	Swiss Minister offers good offices to prevent war between the United States and Germany.	125

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UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 10	To the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	Inquiry regarding reported seizure of German refugee boats in Hawaiian waters.	558
	Feb. 10	From the Assistant Secretary of State to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury	British and French request that publication of manifests of ships' sailings be discontinued.	566
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 12]	From the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	German ships placed under guard, crews interned, and vessels cleaned.	558
	Feb. 12	To the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	Advises against seizure of German vessels and internment of crews; action should be limited to legal procedure for violation of law.	559
	Feb. 12 [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to the Assistant Secretary of State	Practice of publishing manifests of particular vessels will be discontinued; total export figures only will be given.	566
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 13]	From the Governor of the Hawaiian Islands (tel.)	Compliance with U.S. policy regarding war-bound vessels; transactions reported to the departments concerned.	559
	Feb. 14 [Rec'd Feb. 16]	From the Secretary of Agriculture	Temporary suspension of information service relative to publication of arrival and departure of vessels.	567
	Feb. 15	From the Attorney General	Instructions sent to U.S. attorneys at various points regarding measures to be taken against crews of German and Austrian ships.	560
[Quoted in letter]	Feb. 15	From the Secretary of War to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands (tel.)	Inquires status of German vessels and their crews.	562
[Quoted in letter]	Feb. 16	From the Governor General of the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War (tel.)	Treatment of German vessels and their crews.	562
	Feb. 16	From the Secretary of War	Forwards correspondence with Governor General of Philippine Islands regarding treatment of German vessels and their crews.	562
[Enclosure]	Feb. 17	From the collector of customs at Norfolk to the Secretary of the Treasury	Sinking of submarine by British S.S. *Oxonian.*	548

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UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Feb. 19	From the Secretary of the Treasury	Forwards letter of Feb. 17 from collector of customs at Norfolk.	548
	Feb. 19	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Authorizes the clearance of the *Oxonian* on assurance from the British Consul that its armament is for defense only.	549
	Feb. 20	To the Secretary of the Treasury	British S.S. *Missouri*. Collector should require consul to file assurance in each instance before granting clearance to a vessel carrying armament.	550
	Feb. 21	Memorandum of the Secretary of State	Swiss Minister explains that German overtures originated in Washington with approval of German Ambassador.	139
	Feb. 24	From the Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	British Government has issued safe-conduct to ships via northern route.	643
	Feb. 26	To the diplomatic representatives in all countries except Liberia and Morocco (tel.)	Quotes extract from the President's address of Feb. 26 to Congress requesting authority to protect American life and property at sea.	149
507	Feb. 28	To all diplomatic representatives and consular officers (including consular agents)	Instructions amplifying the rules regarding proposed return to the United States of naturalized citizens against whom the presumption of expatriation has arisen.	576
	Mar. 6	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Collectors should report on use made of armament on merchant vessels if for purposes other than practice.	551
	Mar. 12	To all foreign embassies and legations at Washington	Announces the arming of U.S. merchant ships.	171*n*
	Mar. 12	To the Secretary of the Treasury	Plan to obviate delay at certain ports, caused by requirement for special authorization for clearance of armed merchant vessels.	552
	Mar. 14	To the Secretary of the Interior	Compliance with Spanish Consul's request that no American may board German steamer at Honolulu without giving notice to Spanish Consulate.	565
	Mar. 20	From the Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	Quotes London office report of further attacks on commission ships sailing under German safe-conducts. Protests made.	653

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UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Mar. 24	Statement given to the press by the Department of State	Situation in German-occupied territory causes withdrawal of American Minister and relief workers from Belgium.	656
	Mar. 27	From the Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	London office desires that commissioners delay departure from Belgium in order to instruct new delegates in the work.	657
	Mar. 27	To the Commission for Relief in Belgium (tel.)	Members of commission should leave Belgium at once.	657
	Mar. 29	To the Secretary of Agriculture	Withholding publication by Weather Bureau and leading newspapers of information regarding sailings of vessels.	568
	Apr. 2	To the diplomatic representatives in all countries (tel.)	*Résumé* of President's address to Congress advising declaration of war; joint resolution of Congress declaring war with Germany.	194
	Apr. 2	Address of the President	Text of address before joint session of the two Houses of Congress advising war with Germany.	195
1364	Apr. 6	Proclamation	Proclaims existence of war between the United States and Germany.	207
	Apr. 6	To the diplomatic representatives in all countries except Russia (tel.)	Notification of state of war between the United States and Germany.	244
	Apr. 21 and 24	Memoranda of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Assurances of all proper assistance to Haiti in case of decision to break relations with Germany and declare war.	266
28517 Op–23	Apr. 27	From the Secretary of the Navy	The Navy Department requests to be informed whenever a change of relations between the United States and any foreign government occurs.	268
	May 2	To the Secretary of the Navy	No action taken on Costa Rican offer of use of its harbors by the United States, as *de facto* Government not recognized.	274
	May 17	Memorandum of the Counselor for the Department of State	Brazil proposes to support the United States in war in exchange for trade guaranties and agreement regarding protection.	283

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UNITED STATES—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	May 25	To the diplomatic representatives in Central and South America, except Argentina, Mexico, Panama, Cuba, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic (tel.)	Instructions to bring to attention of Governments to which accredited U.S. attitude toward the conference.	289
	June 20	Memorandum of the Acting Chief of the Division of Western European Affairs of the Department of State	Swiss Legation notified that all Germans attached to Legation or consulates must depart or resign.	613
	Oct. 25	From the Attorney General	History of indictment and trial of Bopp and Schack. Bail refused.	584
	Oct. 30	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Peru is informed that the United States can express no opinion on matter of proposed American congress.	354
	Nov. 19	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Colombia declines to attend the conference of American states.	370
	Nov. 21	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Discussion of conference with Brazilian Ambassador; advisable to take no further steps until opinion received from Argentina regarding Peruvian plan.	371
	Nov. 26	Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State	Discussion with Peruvian Chargé regarding conference to be called by Argentina.	376
	Nov. 27	To the War Trade Board	Steps to be taken to prevent interference (under Trading with the Enemy Act) with Swiss Consulate in administration of German affairs.	615

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URUGUAY

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Jan. 12	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguay's reply in sympathy with the President's peace note.	219
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Jan. 12]	From the Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Replies in sympathetic tone to the President's peace note.	220
	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguay's note recognizing justice of the President's sentiments; also note of protest to Germany.	228
[Quoted in tel.]	Undated [Rec'd Feb. 9]	From the Uruguayan Foreign Office to the American Legation	Recognizes justice of the President's sentiments; quotes Uruguayan note of protest to Germany.	228
	Mar. 14	To the Minister in Uruguay via Chile	Instructions to report on activities of Argentina regarding mediation by Latin-American powers, also on attitude of Uruguay.	240
	Mar. 20	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	No organized effort to bring about mediation by Latin-American republics; plan not favored by Uruguay.	242
	Apr. 14 [Rec'd Apr. 15]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay approves U.S. action against Germany but will observe neutrality.	254
	Apr. 16	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay expresses sympathy for Brazil in severing relations with Germany.	256
	June 1	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay declares that the U.S. Fleet would be received as a friend in port of Montevideo.	292
	June 9 [Rec'd June 10]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay supports Brazil's policy on grounds of American solidarity. Suggests that American Fleet in its ports will have good effect.	296
	June 11	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Inquires regarding extent of invitation to use Uruguay's ports.	296
	Undated [Rec'd June 15]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguay's reply to Brazil's declaration of neutrality, sympathizing with its aspirations toward continental solidarity.	299
	June 15 [Rec'd June 16]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Ports and waters of Uruguay open to American naval forces.	300
	Undated [Rec'd June 19]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Text of Executive order revoking Uruguay's neutrality decree.	301
	June 20	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Acceptance of Uruguay's ports for use of U.S. naval vessels.	302
109	July 6	To the Uruguayan Minister	Appreciation of action of Uruguay in revoking neutrality decree.	307

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URUGUAY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
258	July 16 [Rec'd Aug. 13]	From the Minister in Uruguay	Reception at Montevideo of American squadron of Atlantic Fleet under command of Admiral Caperton.	314
	Sept. 14	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	German ships in port placed under police control.	327
	Oct. 2 [Rec'd Oct. 3]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay will maintain neutrality and join conference of neutrals unless Allies give consideration to its proposals.	334
	Oct. 3 [Rec'd Oct. 4]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Believed British acceptance of treaty terms with Uruguay to be effected by transfer of German vessels to U.S. custody.	334
	Oct. 4	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Requests permission to suggest that American squadron in Rio de Janeiro be moved temporarily to Montevideo.	336
	Oct. 6	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Informed Italy willing to negotiate arbitration treaty with Uruguay.	338
	Oct. 7	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Severance of relations with Germany by Uruguay.	340
	Undated [Rec'd Oct. 8]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Quotes Uruguayan decree breaking relations with Germany.	341
	Oct. 10	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Second visit of U.S. squadron to Montevideo.	344
[Enclosure]	Oct. 15	From the Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Minister	Announces revocation of neutrality decree with respect to Allies upon principles of American solidarity.	369
	Undated [Rec'd Oct. 16]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Revocation by Uruguay of decrees of neutrality as affecting the Allies.	346
288	Oct. 17 [Rec'd Nov. 17]	From the Minister in Uruguay	Transmits copy of Uruguayan note of Oct. 15.	369
	Oct. 20	From President Viera of Uruguay to President Wilson (tel.)	Uruguay's appreciation of sentiments of solidarity expressed by friendly visit of U.S. squadron.	347
	Oct. 22	From President Wilson to President Viera of Uruguay (tel.)	U.S. relations with Uruguay may result in greater continental unity of purpose and policy.	349
	Oct. 29	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Inquires the status of negotiations between England, France, and Uruguay regarding acquisition of ex-German ships.	354
	Nov. 3 [Rec'd Nov. 4]	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Misunderstanding of U.S. position regarding French arbitration treaty with Uruguay.	356

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URUGUAY—Continued

No.	Date	From and to whom	Subject	Page
	Nov. 5	From the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Negotiations for agreement regarding use of ex-German ships in Uruguay; U.S. and British proposals.	357
	Nov. 15	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	The United States could not urge France to sign arbitration treaty with Uruguay more radical than the U.S. treaty.	369
	Nov. 23	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Peruvian plan for congress approved by the United States.	372
	Dec. 1	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	U.S. proposal to Uruguay regarding charter of ex-German vessels.	378
	Dec. 11	To the Minister in Uruguay (tel.)	Disposition of ex-German ships in Uruguay discussed. Charter to Emergency Fleet Corp. desired by the United States.	384
	Dec. 15 [Rec'd Dec. 16]	From the Chargé in Uruguay (tel.)	Uruguay makes arrangements with England and France for use of six German vessels. Others open to bids for charter.	389
	Jan. 3, 1918 [Rec'd Jan. 4]	From the Chargé in Uruguay (tel.)	Notification of time when bids for chartering of German vessels may be made.	399

VENEZUELA

	Mar. 7, 1917 [Rec'd Mar. 12]	From the Venezuelan Minister	While Venezuela maintains strict neutrality, it sympathizes with U.S. move to enforce respect for neutral rights.	239
	May 8	From the Venezuelan Minister	Presents extract from message of Provisional President of Venezuela to the National Congress declaring policy of neutrality.	277
	May 17	From the Venezuelan Minister	Presents copy of Venezuelan note to Argentina declining to attend conference.	283
355	Nov. 10 [Rec'd Nov. 12]	From the Venezuelan Minister	Presents copy of reply to Argentina in which Venezuela declines to attend conference.	365

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PART I

THE CONTINUATION AND FURTHER SPREAD OF THE WAR—EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE

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PART I

THE CONTINUATION AND FURTHER SPREAD OF THE WAR—EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE

THE WAR PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Reply of the Allied Governments, January 10, 1917, to the President's Suggestion of December 18, 1916,[1] that the Belligerents Communicate Their Terms of Peace—Counter-Replies of the Central Powers to the Rejection by the Allied Powers of Their Invitation of December 12, 1916,[2] to Discuss Peace

File No. 763.72119/316a

The Secretary of State to the Diplomatic Representatives in Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan[3]

[Circular telegram]

WASHINGTON, *January 5, 1917.*

Press this morning publishes report that President will send second note to powers in effort to advance peace movement. You may say that this report is utterly false and without foundation and that the President has not in contemplation sending a second note.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3107

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *January 4, 1917.*
[*Received January 5, 9.45 p. m.*]

771. Noon press report confirmed that British and French Prime Ministers, French War and Munition Ministers, and General Robertson, Lord Milner, and Russian General Palitsyn will arrive Rome to-morrow, Friday morning. General Cadorna also here.

NELSON PAGE

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[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[3] The same, on the same date, to the Ambassadors in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, except that the second sentence begins, "If inquiry made you may reply," instead of "You may say" (File No. 763.72119/325a).

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File No. 763.72/3114

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *January 7, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 7.30 p. m.*]

781. I hear but can not confirm that conference will probably result in withdrawal of Allied troops from Saloniki; also that Italian representatives favor stating objects of conflict more definitely than others.

NELSON PAGE

File No. 763.72119/327

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *January 9, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 4.10 p. m.*]

784. Your circular January 5 given Minister for Foreign Affairs. I learn that form of Allies' joint reply to President's note decided in conference here and will be sent by Briand as soon as Russia approves final draft. Tone will be wholly friendly though I do not understand note will contain details of objects of war. Report that Italy has delayed sending answer denied.

NELSON PAGE

File No. 763.72/3121

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *January 9, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received January 10, 8 a. m.*]

219. My telegram No. 210 [*211*], December 30.[1] Greek Government has submitted preliminary reply conciliatory in tone but indefinite. Memorandum insists upon necessity of effective assurances against encroachments, provisions for mixed commissions of inquiry associated with question of reparation. Since establishment blockade Provisional Government has seized several islands.

DROPPERS

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 127.

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File No. 763.72/3119

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *January 9, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[Received January 10, 10.30 a. m.]

221. Italian Minister informs me conditions imposed upon Greek Government in note of December 31 must be accepted by Greece in principle in 48 hours and 15 days for execution. Blockade raised not until all conditions fulfilled. Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs urges literal acceptance otherwise sad day for Greece.

DROPPERS

File No. 763.72119/354

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *January 10, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received January 11, 8.20 a. m.]

1805. At 2.30 this afternoon M. Briand, President of the Council, handed me at the Foreign Office the reply of the Allied Governments to the President's suggestion contained in your circular telegram of December 18.[1] Baron Beyens, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was present and in the name of his Government handed me a separate note stating that while the Belgian Government had joined in the reply of the Allies yet, because of the peculiar situation of Belgium in this war and because of the aid given her by American citizens and the sympathy they have shown in her great distress, the Government of the King was desirous of setting forth that situation and proclaiming its gratitude to the United States in a separate communication.

M. Briand stated that in view of the President's communication having been published as well as the answer thereto of the Central powers, the public in France and the Allied countries is in an expectant frame of mind eager to know the answer of their Governments which is daily awaited; that for this reason as well as the impossibility of keeping confidential in so many countries a communication of this importance it has not been found feasible to conform

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

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in this regard to the President's wishes as much as he would be pleased to do so. It is the desire and intention therefore to publish it on Friday morning the 12th, he feeling sure that this delay will give the President time to take full cognizance of the communication before it is made public and will show the desire of the Allies to give deference as far as it has been possible to his wishes in this respect. Both Ministers were very cordial in their declarations voicing their appreciation of the President's motives.

Translation of the two notes will follow in separate telegrams by sections.

SHARP

File No. 763.72119/3701/2

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *January 10, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received January 11, 8.20 a. m.*]

1806. My 1805. Translation of French note as follows:

The Allied Governments have received the note which was delivered to them in the name of the Government of the United States on the 19th of December, 1916. They have studied it with the care imposed upon them both by the exact realization which they have of the gravity of the hour and by the sincere friendship which attaches them to the American people.

In general way they wish to declare that they pay tribute to the elevation of the sentiment with which the American note is inspired and that they associate themselves with all their hopes with the project for the creation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the advantages for the cause of humanity and civilization which the institution of international agreements, destined to avoid violent conflicts between nations, would present; agreements which must imply the sanctions necessary to insure their execution and thus to prevent an apparent security from only facilitating new aggressions. But a discussion of future arrangements destined to insure an enduring peace presupposes a satisfactory settlement of the actual conflict; the Allies have as profound a desire as the Government of the United States to terminate as soon as possible a war for which the Central Empires are responsible and which inflicts such cruel sufferings upon humanity. But they believe that it is impossible at the present moment to attain a peace which will assure them reparation, restitution, and such guaranties to which they are entitled by the aggression for which the responsibility rests with the Central powers and of which the principle itself tended to ruin the security of Europe; a peace which would on the other hand permit the establishment of the future of European nations on a solid basis. The Allied nations are conscious that

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they are not fighting for selfish interests, but above all to safeguard the independence of peoples, of right, and of humanity.

The Allies are fully aware of the losses and suffering which the war causes to neutrals as well as to belligerents and they deplore them; but they do not hold themselves responsible for them, having in no way either willed or provoked this war, and they strive to reduce these damages in the measure compatible with the inexorable exigencies of their defense against the violence and the wiles of the enemy.

It is with satisfaction therefore that they take note of the declaration that the American communication is in no wise associated in its origin with that of the Central powers transmitted on the 18th of December by the Government of the United States. They did not doubt moreover the resolution of that Government to avoid even the appearance of a support, even moral, of the authors responsible for the war.

The Allied Governments believe that they must protest in the most friendly but in the most specific manner against the assimilation established in the American note between the two groups of belligerents; this assimilation, based upon public declarations by the Central powers, is in direct opposition to the evidence, both as regards responsibility for the past and as concerns guaranties for the future; President Wilson in mentioning it certainly had no intention of associating himself with it.

If there is an historical fact established at the present date, it is the wilful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. Germany proved by her declaration of war, by the immediate violation of Belgium and Luxemburg, and by her manner of conducting the war, her simulating contempt for all principles of humanity and all respect for small states; as the conflict developed the attitude of the Central powers and their allies has been a continual defiance of humanity and civilization. Is it necessary to recall the horrors which accompanied the invasion of Belgium and of Serbia, the atrocious régime imposed upon the invaded countries, the massacre of hundreds of thousands of inoffensive Armenians, the barbarities perpetrated against the populations of Syria, the raids of Zeppelins on open towns, the destruction by submarines of passenger steamers and of merchantmen even under neutral flags, the cruel treatment inflicted upon prisoners of war, the juridical murders of Miss Cavell, of Captain Fryatt, the deportation and the reduction to slavery of civil populations, etc.? The execution of such a series of crimes perpetrated without any regard for universal reprobation fully explains to President Wilson the protest of the Allies.

They consider that the note which they sent to the United States in reply to the German note will be a response to the questions put by the American Government, and according to the exact words of the latter, constitute "a public declaration as to the conditions upon which the war could be terminated."

President Wilson desires more: he desires that the belligerent powers openly affirm the objects which they seek by continuing the war; the Allies experience no difficulty in replying to this request.

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Their objects in the war are well known; they have been formulated on many occasions by the chiefs of their divers governments. Their objects in the war will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensations and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations. But the civilized world knows that they imply in all necessity and in the first instance the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, of Russia, and of Roumania with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable régime and founded as much upon respect of nationalities and full security and liberty, economic development, which all nations, great or small, possess, as upon territorial conventions and international agreements suitable to guarantee territorial and maritime frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations, the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Roumanians and of Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire decidedly [foreign] to western civilization. The intentions of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia regarding Poland have been clearly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies. It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism, it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligation with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

United in the pursuits of this supreme object the Allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which they are convinced not only their own safety and prosperity depend but also the future of civilization itself.

Copy of Belgian note as follows:

The Government of the King, which has associated itself with the answer handed by the President of the French Council to the American Ambassador on behalf of all, is particularly desirous of paying tribute to the sentiment of humanity which prompted the President of the United States to send his note to the belligerent powers and it highly esteems the friendship expressed for Belgium through his kindly intermediation. It desires as much as Mr. Woodrow Wilson to see the present war ended as early as possible.

But the President seems to believe that the statesmen of the two opposing camps pursue the same objects of war. The example of Belgium unfortunately demonstrates that this is in no wise the fact. Belgium has never, like the Central powers, aimed at conquests. The barbarous fashion in which the German Government has treated, and is still treating, the Belgian nation, does not permit the supposition that Germany will preoccupy herself with guaranteeing in the future the rights of the weak nations which she has not ceased to

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trample under foot since the war, let loose by her, began to desolate Europe. On the other hand, the Government of the King has noted with pleasure and with confidence the assurances that the United States is impatient to cooperate in the measures which will be taken after the conclusion of peace, to protect and guarantee the small nations against violence and oppression.

Previous to the German ultimatum, Belgium only aspired to live upon good terms with all her neighbors; she practiced with scrupulous loyalty towards each one of them the duties imposed by her neutrality. In the same manner she has been rewarded by Germany for the confidence she placed in her, through which, from one day to the other, without any plausible reason, her neutrality was violated; and the Chancellor of the Empire when announcing to the Reichstag this violation of right and of treaties, was obliged to recognize the iniquity of such an act and predetermine that it would be repaired. But the Germans, after the occupation of Belgian territory, have displayed no better observance of the rules of international law or the stipulations of the Hague convention. They have, by taxation, as heavy as it is arbitrary, drained the resources of the country; they have intentionally ruined its industries, destroyed whole cities, put to death and imprisoned a considerable number of inhabitants. Even now, while they are loudly proclaiming their desire to put an end to the horrors of war, they increase the rigors of the occupation by deporting into servitude Belgian workers by the thousands.

If there is a country which has the right to say that it has taken up arms to defend its existence, it is assuredly Belgium. Compelled to fight or to submit to shame, she passionately desires that an end be brought to the unprecedented sufferings of her population. But she could only accept a peace which would assure her, as well as equitable reparation, security and guaranties for the future.

The American people, since the beginning of the war, has manifested for the oppressed Belgian nation its most ardent sympathy. It is an American committee, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which, in close union with the Government of the King and the national committee, displays an untiring devotion and marvelous activity in revictualing Belgium. The Government of the King is happy to avail itself of this opportunity to express its profound gratitude to the Commission for Relief as well as to the generous Americans eager to relieve the misery of the Belgian population. Finally, nowhere more than in the United States have the abductions and deportations of Belgian civilians provoked such a spontaneous movement of protestation and indignant reproof.

These facts, entirely to the honor of the American nation, allow the Government of the King to entertain the legitimate hope that at the time of the definitive settlement of this long war, the voice of the Entente powers will find in the United States a unanimous echo to claim in favor of the Belgian nation, innocent victim of German ambition and covetousness, the rank and the place which its irreproachable past, the valor of its soldiers, its fidelity to honor, and its remarkable faculties for work assign to it among the civilized nations.

SHARP

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File No. 763.72/3126

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *January 11, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 5 p. m.]

222. Ultimatum referred to in my 221, January 9, 10 p. m., accepted in principle, Greek Government absolutely guaranteed against aggression on the part of Provisional Government both by land and sea.

DROPPERS

File No. 763.72119/368

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *January 12, 1917.*
[Received January 14, 9.30 a. m.]

1635. Department's circular, 2d.[1] Following note from Minister Foreign Affairs left at Embassy near midnight, 11th instant, after it had been given to press and broadcast:[2]

The Imperial and Royal Government had on the 5th instant the honor to receive through the obliging medium of the Government of the United States of America the reply of the states at war with it to its note of December 12, in which the Imperial and Royal Government in concert with its allies declared its readiness to enter upon peace negotiations. Jointly with the allied powers the Imperial and Royal Government did not fail to subject the reply of the enemy governments to a thorough examination which brought the following result.

Under pretense that the proposal of the four allied powers lacked sincerity and importance the enemy governments decline to accede to the proposal. The form they gave to their communication makes it impossible to return an answer addressed to them. The Imperial and Royal Government nevertheless wishes to disclose its views to the neutral powers.

The reply of the enemy governments shuns every discussion of the means to bring the war to an end. It confines itself to reverting to the facts anterior to the war, to the alleged strength of their military situation, and to the motives for the peace proposal as supposed by them.

The Imperial and Royal Government has no present intention to launch into a renewed discussion of the antecedents of the war, for it is convinced that a straightforward, impartial judgment has already and irrefutably established, in the eyes of all mankind, on which side lies the responsibility for the war. With particular

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[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 139.
[2] Telegraphed in French text.

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reference to Austria-Hungary's ultimatum to Serbia, the Monarchy has given in the years that preceded that step sufficient evidence of her forbearance in the face of the tendencies and hostile and aggressive doings of Serbia which were growing worse and worse up to the time when the infamous Sarajevo assassination put any further leniency out of the question.

Likewise any discussion of the point of determining on which side the advantage lay in regard to the military situation seems idle, as the answer to that question may unhesitatingly be left with public opinion throughout the world. Besides a comparison of the ends sought by the two groups in the present conflagration implies the solution of that question. While Austria-Hungary and its allies from the beginning of the war, never aimed at territorial conquest but rather at their defense, the contrary stands true for the enemy states which, to mention but a few of the objects they harbor in this war, crave the annihilation and spoliation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine, as also the partition of Turkey, and the curtailment of Bulgaria. The four allied powers therefore may consider they have achieved the purely defensive ends they seek in that war while their adversaries are more and more removed from the accomplishment of their designs.

If the enemy governments term "stratagem" the proposal of the four allied powers which is said to lack sincerity and importance, it is clear that we have here but an absolutely arbitrary assertion of a biased judgment incapable of proof so long as the peace negotiations have not begun and consequently our peace terms are not known.

The Imperial and Royal Government and the governments of the allied powers acted in perfect sincerity and good faith when they proposed peace negotiations for they had to reckon with the contingency of their explicit proposal to make their terms known immediately upon the opening of the negotiations being accepted. On the contrary the adversaries were those who, without offering any counter proposal, declined to acquaint themselves with the contents of the proposal of the four allied powers. If the adversaries demand above all the restoration of invaded rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities and of the free existence of small states, it will suffice to call to mind the tragic fate of the Irish and Finnish peoples, the obliteration of the freedom and independence of the Boer Republics, the subjection of North Africa by Great Britain, France, and Italy, and, lastly, the violence brought to bear on Greece for which there is no precedent in history.

The Imperial and Royal Government lays down as a fact that in concert with the allied powers it had declared its readiness to bring the war to an end by means of an oral exchange of views with the enemy governments and that on the decision of the adversaries alone depended the opening of the way to peace. Before God and mankind it disclaims responsibility for a continuance of the war. Calm, strong, and confident of their right, Austria-Hungary and its allies will carry on the struggle until they gain a peace that will secure the existence, honor, and free development of their peoples and at the same time enable the states of Europe to cooperate in the grand work of civilization on the basis of wholly equal rights.

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The Imperial and Royal Government has the honor to apply for your excellency's obliging good offices with a request that you will kindly forward the foregoing to the Government of the United States of America.

Be pleased to accept [etc.] Czernin

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72119/369

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 12, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received January 15, 9.15 a. m.*]

4868. Note received to-day from Foreign Office in German and French text. I therefore send French text which follows:

[Translation]

Through the medium of the Government of the United States, the Royal Government of Spain, and the Swiss Federal Government, the Imperial and Royal Government has received its adversaries' reply to the note of December 12 in which Germany, in accord with its allies, proposed an early opening of peace negotiations. The adversaries reject the proposal under pretense that it is insincere and meaningless. The form in which they put their refusal excludes any idea of a reply.

The Imperial Government nevertheless wishes to make known to the governments of the neutral powers its view of the situation. The Central powers have no occasion to revert to the discussions as to the origin of the World War. It is for history to pass judgment on the monstrous responsibility for the conflict. Its verdict will not any more leave out of consideration the encircling policy of Great Britain, the revengeful policy of France, the yearning of Russia for Constantinople, than the provocation from Serbia, the Sarajevo assassination, and the general Russian mobilization which meant war with Germany.

Germany and its allies having been compelled to take up arms in the defense of their freedom and existence consider they have accomplished that end of their efforts. On the other hand, the enemy powers have drifted farther and farther away from the achievement of their plans, which, according to the statements of their responsible statesmen, aimed, among other things, at the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine and of several Prussian provinces, the humiliation and curtailment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the partition of Turkey, and the mutilation of Bulgaria. Such demands give at least a strange sound to the pretension of sanction, repatriation, and guaranty in the mouths of our adversaries.

Our adversaries call the peace proposal of the four allied powers a war maneuver. Germany and its allies must enter the most emphatic protest against so false an interpretation of the motives for their step which they have openly disclosed. They were convinced that a just peace, acceptable to all the belligerents, is feasible; that it can be attained through an immediate oral exchange of views and that

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therefore further bloodshed is indefensible. The fact that they have unreservedly shown their readiness to make known their peace proposals as soon as the negotiations were opened disposes of any doubt as to their sincerity. The adversaries who were given the opportunity to examine the value of that offer neither attempted to do so nor offered counter proposals. Instead, they declare any peace to be impossible as long as they are not assured reparation for invaded rights and freedoms, acknowledgment of the principle of nationalities and the free existence of small states. The sincerity which our adversaries will not acknowledge in the four allied powers' proposal can hardly be conceded to those demands by the world when it recalls the fate of the Irish people, the obliteration of the freedom and independence of the South African Republics, the conquest of North Africa by Great Britain, France, and Italy, the oppression of foreign nationalities by Russia, and, lastly, the act unprecedented in history which is constituted by the violence brought to bear on Greece.

Likewise it ill becomes those powers to complain of alleged violations of international law by the four allied powers, as they themselves have since the beginning of the war trampled the law under foot and torn the treaties upon which the law rests. In the early weeks following the opening of hostilities Great Britain disowned its adhesion to the Declaration of London and yet the text had been acknowledged by its own delegates to be conformable to the law of nations, and, as such, valid. In the course of the war it also violated in the most grave manner the Declaration of Paris, so that its arbitrary measures have created in the conduct of maritime warfare the state of illegality that now exists. The attempt to overcome Germany by starvation and the pressure exercised on the neutrals in the interest of Great Britain are at equally flagrant variance with the rules of international law and the laws of humanity. Another infringement of the law of nations that can not be reconciled with the principles of civilization is the use of colored troops, as also is the transfer of war [*sic*] in violation of existing treaties the effect of which can not but destroy the prestige of the white race in those countries. The inhuman treatment of prisoners, especially in Africa and Russia, the deportation of the civilian population of East Prussia, of Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia, and Bukovina are as many further proofs of the manner in which our adversaries understand the respect of law and civilization.

Our adversaries close their note of December 30 with a statement laying stress on the peculiar situation in Belgium. The Imperial Government is unable to admit that the Belgian Government always observed the duties imposed upon it by its neutrality toward Great Britain. Belgium applied in a military sense to that power and to France thus violating the spirit of the treaties intended to guarantee its independence and neutrality. Twice did the Imperial Government declare to the Belgian Government that it was not coming to Belgium as an enemy and begged it to spare its country the horrors of war. It offered in that case to guarantee in their entirety the territory and independence of the kingdom of Belgium and to make good all damages that the passing of German troops might cause. It is known that in 1887 the British Royal Government had resolved not to oppose a claim to the right of way in Belgium under those conditions. The Belgian Government refused the reiterated offer of

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the Imperial Government. The responsibility for the fate that befell Belgium rests upon its Government and the powers which drew it into that attitude. The Imperial Government repeatedly repelled as groundless the charges brought against the conduct of the war in Belgium and against the measures there taken in the interest of military safety. It again enters an energetic protest against those calumnies.

Germany and its allies have made a genuine attempt with a view to bringing the war to an end and opening the way for an understanding among the belligerents. The Imperial Government lays down as a fact that the question as to whether or not that way would be entered, leading to peace, solely depended on the decision of its adversary. The enemy governments declined to do so; upon them rests the whole responsibility for further bloodshed. The four allied powers in their calm conviction that they are in the right will carry on the struggle until they win a peace that will guarantee to their peoples honor, existence, and free development, and at the same time insure for all the states in the European continent the beneficent possibility of cooperating in mutual esteem and on a perfectly equal footing toward the solution of the great problems of civilization.

GERARD

File No. 763.72119/380

The Persian Minister (Mehdi Khan) to the Secretary of State[1]

WASHINGTON, *January 15, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY: His Imperial Majesty's Government has instructed me to communicate to your excellency that it experienced the utmost pleasure upon receipt of the President's note of December 18, 1916, regarding peace terms, transmitted through the United States plenipotentiary at Teheran, and to express to you the hope that a step so benevolent and humane will meet with the success it deserves.

I am further instructed to say that, notwithstanding we declared ourselves neutral, a large part of our country has been disturbed and devastated by the fighting of the belligerents within our boundaries. In view of this fact, you can not doubt that we heartily welcome and endorse the move the President has made.

Furthermore, inasmuch as His Majesty's Government understands from the President's note that he desires the preservation of the integrity and freedom of the powers and the weaker nations, and in view of the firm friendship which has always existed between our two countries, it ardently hopes that the Government of the United States will assist our oppressed nation to maintain its integrity and rights not only for the present but whenever a peace conference shall take place.

[File copy not signed]

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[1] Note in the margin of MS: "Handed me by the Persian Min. Jan'y 15/17—R[obert] L[ansing]."

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File No. 763.72115/2774

The Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CONSTANTINOPLE, *January 12, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received January 16, 10 a. m.*]

2400. My 2395, January 9, 2 p. m.[1] At interview with German Ambassador he stated he also was informed of intended Greek deportation, German Consul at Samsun having reported that Russians had furnished deserters from Turkish Army with Japanese rifles and ammunition found on captives, and that deserters had been sheltered by Greek inhabitants, their relatives or friends. While German Ambassador thought a deportation might be justified as war measure, he had used his influence to prevent same fearing that deportation carried out by Turks meant great hardship and also loss of life. He says German influence with Turkish officials is exceedingly small, if any, that Turks resent German interference, German advice is not followed but contrary action usually taken. Although there are German officials in many Turkish departments, these officials complain to him that their advice is rarely followed and promises to follow such advice are usually broken. He expressed willingness to cooperate to prevent deportation of women and children. I told German Ambassador that should Greek massacres follow Armenian massacres they would create great indignation among neutral nations and Germany would be held responsible for destruction of the Christians in Turkey. Ambassador stated Germany realizes this and desires to prevent action producing such results. Respectfully suggest, if Department desires, that if pressure be brought upon German Government either in Berlin or Washington it may be effective.

German Ambassador who has just returned from Berlin further states that Germany is perfectly willing to confidentially state her peace terms; that Germany willing to give up Belgium retaining certain rights of travel on the Meuse; that Holland, Denmark, and Belgium should remain as neutral or buffer states for England; that French coast land be retained by France in its entirety so that she remain an important and absolutely independent power; that Russian territory be restored; that Serbia and Roumania be treated properly; and that Belgium be indemnified although her conduct as neutral was not correct.

He stated that Germany learned from secret British sources that England's hesitation in stating her peace terms was that her maximum terms as fixed with her allies, such as the cession of Constan-

[1] Not printed.

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tinople to Russia, parts of Syria to France or Italy, heavy indemnities to Belgium, and cession Alsace-Lorraine to France, were not feasible, while her minimum terms which could satisfy her alone would lead to serious disagreement with her allies. He also stated that German information from England was that if America brought pressure to bear upon England, England would confidentially state her peace terms out of respect and fear of the President and out of respect for growing peace party in England.

As the German Ambassador voluntarily visited me immediately after his return from Berlin probably these statements were made to me with some authority and for possible communication and suggestion. I send them for what they may be worth.

ELKUS

File No. 763.72119/378

The Greek Chargé (Vouros) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. 64 WASHINGTON, *January 15, 1917.*
[*Received January 16.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: Pursuant to the orders I have just received from my Government, I have the honor to communicate herein below to your excellency the answer of the Royal Government to the communication of the peace proposal which the Government of the United States was pleased to forward to it through its representative at Athens.

The note bore date of January 8.

The Royal Government acquainted itself with the most lively interest with the step which the President of the United States of America has just taken with a view to the termination of a long and cruel war that is raging among men. Very sensible to the communication that has been made to it, the Royal Government highly appreciates the generous impulse as well as the thoroughly humane and profoundly politic spirit which prompted the suggestion.

Coming from the learned statesman who presides over the destinies of the great American Republic and looking to a peace honorable for all as well as to the strengthening of beneficent stability in international relations, it constitutes a memorable page in history. The remarks therein made about the sufferings of neutral nations by reason of the colossal conflict and also about the guaranties which would be equally desired by the two belligerent parties for the rights and privileges of every state have particularly struck a sympathetic echo in the Greek soul. Indeed there is no country that has had so much to suffer from that war as Greece, although it kept aloof from it.

Owing to exceptionally tragic circumstances it has been less able than the other neutral countries to esceape a direct and pernicious

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action of the hostilities between the belligerents. Its geographical situation contributed to weakening its power to resist violations of its neutrality and sovereignty to which it had to submit for the sake of self-conservation.

At this very moment, deprived of its fleet and nearly disarmed, our country, pestered by a sham revolt which is taking advantage of foreign occupation, is hemmed in through a strict blockade which cuts off all communications with neutrals and exposes to starvation the whole population, including absolutely harmless persons, old men, women, who under the elemental principles of the law of nations should be spared, even though Greece were a belligerent. Yet Greece is still endeavoring to remain neutral by every possible means. Nothing more need be said to show how any initiative conducive to peace, apart from humane considerations of a general character, is apt to serve Greece's vital interests.

The Royal Government would certainly have hastened to the front rank of those who acceded to the noble motion of the President of the United States of America in order to endeavor as far as it lay in its power to have it crowned with success, if it had not been excluded from communication with one of the belligerents while with the others, it had to wait for a settlement of the grievous difficulties which now bear upon the situation of Greece.

But the Royal Government with the full intensity of its soul watches the invaluable effort of the President of the United States of America, desiring its earliest possible success, and forms the most sincere wishes that it will succeed. Having from the very first days of the European war had in mind the establishment of a contact among the neutrals for the safeguard of their common interests, it is glad of the opportunity now offered to have an early exchange of views should it be deemed opportune and declares itself ready to join, when the time comes, in any action aiming at the consolidation of a stable state of peace by which the rights of all the states will be secured and their sovereignty and independence guaranteed.

Be pleased [etc.] A. VOUROS

File No. 763.72119/394

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Secretary of State

[A copy of the following note from the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the British Ambassador at Washington was left by the Ambassador at the Department of State on January 16.]

LONDON, *January 13, 1917.*

SIR: In sending you a translation of the Allied note I desire to make the following observations which you should bring to the notice of the United States Government.

I gather from the general tenour of the President's note that while he is animated by an intense desire that peace should come soon and

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that when it comes it should be lasting, he does not for the moment at least concern himself with the terms on which it should be arranged. His Majesty's Government entirely share the President's ideas; but they feel strongly that the durability of peace must largely depend on its character and that no stable system of international relations can be built on foundations which are essentially and hopelessly defective.

This becomes clearly apparent if we consider the main conditions which rendered possible the calamities from which the world is now suffering. These were the existence of great powers consumed with the lust of domination in the midst of a community of nations ill prepared for defence, plentifully supplied indeed with international laws, but with no machinery for enforcing them and weakened by the fact that neither the boundaries of the various states nor their internal constitution harmonised with the aspirations of their constituent races or secured to them just and equal treatment.

That this last evil would be greatly mitigated if the Allies secured the changes in the map of Europe outlined in their joint note is manifest, and I need not labour the point.

It has been argued indeed that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe forms no proper or logical part of this general scheme. The maintenance of the Turkish Empire was, during many generations, regarded by statesmen of world-wide authority as essential to the maintenance of European peace. Why, is it asked, should the cause of peace be now associated with a complete reversal of this traditional policy?

The answer is that circumstances have completely changed. It is unnecessary to consider now whether the creation of a reformed Turkey mediating between hostile races in the Near East was a scheme which, had the Sultan been sincere and the powers united, could ever have been realised. It certainly can not be realised now. The Turkey of "Union and Progress" is at least as barbarous and is far more aggressive than the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In the hands of Germany it has ceased even in appearance to be bulwark of peace and is openly used as an instrument of conquest. Under German officers Turkish soldiers are now fighting in lands from which they had long been expelled and a Turkish Government controlled, subsidized and supported by Germany has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries. Evidently the interests of peace and the claims of nationality alike require that Turkish rule over alien races shall if possible be brought to an end; and we may hope that the expulsion of Turkey from Europe will contribute as much

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to the cause of peace as the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, of *Italia Irredenta* to Italy, or any of the other territorial changes indicated in the Allied note.

Evidently however such territorial rearrangements, though they may diminish the occasions of war, provide no sufficient security against its recurrence. If Germany, or rather those in Germany who mould its opinions and control its destinies, again set out to domineer the world, they may find that by the new order of things the adventure is made more difficult, but hardly that it is made impossible. They may still have ready to their hand a political system organised through and through on a military basis; they may still accumulate vast stores of military equipment; they may still persist in their methods of attack, so that their more pacific neighbours will be struck down before they can prepare themselves for defence. If so, Europe when the war is over will be far poorer in men, in money and in mutual good will than it was when the war began, but it will not be safer: and the hopes for the future of the world entertained by the President will be as far as ever from fulfilment.

There are those who think that for this disease international treaties and international laws may provide a sufficient cure. But such persons have ill learned the lessons so clearly taught by recent history. While other nations, notably the United States of America and Britain, were striving by treaties of arbitration to make sure that no chance quarrel should mar the peace they desired to make perpetual, Germany stood aloof. Her historians and philosophers preached the splendours of war: power was proclaimed as the true end of the state; and the General Staff forged with untiring industry the weapons by which at the appointed moment power might be achieved. These facts proved clearly enough that treaty arrangements for maintaining peace were not likely to find much favour at Berlin: they did not prove that such treaties once made would be utterly ineffectual. This became evident only when war had broken out; though the demonstration, when it came, was overwhelming. So long as Germany remains the Germany which without a shadow of justification overran and barbarously ill-treated a country it was pledged to defend, no state can regard its rights as secure if they have no better protection than a solemn treaty.

The case is made worse by the reflection that these methods of calculated brutality were designed by the Central powers not merely to crush to the dust those with whom they were at war, but to intimidate those with whom they were still at peace. Belgium was not only a victim: it was an example. Neutrals were intended to note the outrages which accompanied its conquest, the reign of terror

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which followed on its occupation, the deportation of a portion of its population, the cruel oppression of the remainder. And lest the nations happily protected either by British fleets or by their own from German armies should suppose themselves safe from German methods, the submarine has (within its limits) assiduously imitated the barbarous practices of the sister service. The war staffs of the Central powers are well content to horrify the world if at the same time they can terrorize it.

If then the Central powers succeed, it will be to methods like these that they will owe their success. How can any reform of international relations be based on a peace thus obtained? Such a peace would represent the triumph of all the forces which make war certain and make it brutal. It would advertise the futility of all the methods on which civilization relies to eliminate the occasions of international dispute and to mitigate their ferocity. Germany and Austria made the present war inevitable by attacking the rights of one small state, and they gained their initial triumphs by violating the treaty guaranties of the territories of another. Are small states going to find in them their future protectors or in treaties made by them a bulwark against aggression? Terrorism by land and sea will have proved itself the instrument of victory. Are the victors likely to abandon it on the appeal of neutrals? If existing treaties are no more than scraps of paper, can fresh treaties help us? If the violation of the most fundamental canons of international law be crowned with success, will it not be in vain that the assembled nations labour to improve their code? None will profit by their rules but powers who break them. It is those who keep them that will suffer.

Though therefore the people of this country share to the full the desire of the President for peace, they do not believe peace can be durable if it be not based on the success of the Allied cause. For a durable peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled. The first is that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened. The second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples. The third is that behind international law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor. These conditions may be difficult of fulfilment. But we believe them to be in general harmony with the President's ideas and we are confident that none of them can be satisfied, even imperfectly, unless peace be secured on the general lines indicated

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(so far as Europe is concerned) in the joint note. Therefore it is that this country has made, is making and is prepared to make sacrifices of blood and treasure unparalleled in its history. It bears these heavy burdens not merely that it may thus fulfil its treaty obligations nor yet that it may secure a barren triumph of one group of nations over another. It bears them because it firmly believes that on the success of the Allies depend the prospects of peaceful civilization and of those international reforms which the best thinkers of the New World, as of the Old, dare to hope may follow on the cessation of our present calamities.

I am [etc.] ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

File No. 763.72/3136

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *January 16, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received January 17, 8.40 a. m.*]

228. Your 186.[1] Conditions ultimatum mentioned in my 211 [2] accepted without reservation to-day. Two main difficulties liberation political prisoners to be effected at once and internal control decided as Entente demand. Danger from reservists possible but unlikely.

DROPPERS

File No. 763.72119/380

The Secretary of State to the Persian Minister (Mehdi Khan)

NOTE VERBALE

The Secretary of State of the United States has been gratified to receive the unsigned communication dated January 15, 1917, which the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Persia at Washington placed in his hands on that day,[3] whereby he is informed of the endorsement given by the Persian Government to the President's note of December 18, 1916, to the warring nations.

The Secretary of State has made due note of this information as well as of the wish of His Imperial Majesty's Government stated in the communication that the Government of the United States will give its assistance in the maintenance of the integrity and rights of Persia whenever a peace conference shall take place.

WASHINGTON, *January 17, 1917.*

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[1] Not printed.
[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 127.
[3] *Ante*, p. 14.

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File No. 763.72/3139

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *January 17, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 6.20 p. m.*]

794. In informal conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day I reprobated anti-American campaign of press, also governmental action fixing price of coal at figure prohibitive of American shipment. He stated fixed prices necessary for continuance of war; said England recognized it as a condition for furnishing coal, wheat and steel; also that unless prices were kept down people would rise and war could not continue.

I mentioned rumor that he had given form to Allies' answer. This he neither denied nor affirmed but rather accepted it. He said that he supposed President would now request Germany to define her aims, evidently hopes so.

Switzerland reported mobilizing to show what can do if neutrality violated.

NELSON PAGE

File No. 763.72/3149

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *January 21, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 5 p. m.*]

800. Learn good authority Balfour note to President much criticised Vatican where it is said cruelties by Turks not true reason Allies wish their expulsion from Europe; allege France promised Constantinople to Russia in 1913 and confirmed promise after Poincaré's election, and England agreed thereto autumn 1914 before commission any cruelties. Great criticism still made of partition of Europe desired by England. They say reuniting under Russia whole of Poland, the Dardanelles, Kurdistan, Armenia, Romanized Nia [*Bukovina?*] and Galicia, which they allege England has dictated Russia shall have, will almost bring Cossacks to gates of Vienna and Berlin, and with enlarged Serbia under her orders will impose Russian hegemony on all Europe and give her preponderating influence on Orient. This they affirm incompatible with European civilization, liberty, and independence, so that new war against Russia not merely possible but probably directly [imminent when] present conflict past.

NELSON PAGE

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File No. 763.72/3150

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *January 21, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 8 p. m.*]

230. British Minister considers settlement proceeding satisfactorily. Principal differences now as to minor points. He hopes blockade will be raised in a week.

DROPPERS

File No. 763.72119/388

The Minister in the Netherlands (Van Dyke) to the Secretary of State

No. 610 THE HAGUE, *January 8, 1917.*
[*Received January 22.*]

SIR: Referring to my despatch No. 603, of December 30,[1] in regard to the President's note of December 18, suggesting to both parties of the belligerents that they might make a clear statement of the terms on which each side would be willing to consider the question of peace, I have the honour to enclose an extract from the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* in relation to this subject. I give an English translation of this extract herewith:

Mr. Van Best, a member of the House of Representatives, sent in on December 27 the following questions in regard to measures for the promotion of peace:

(1) Is it known to the Foreign Minister that the President of the United States of America has delivered a note for the promotion of peace to the belligerent nations?
(2) Is it known to the Minister that the Swiss Government has been informed of the sending of this note?
(3) Is it known to the Minister that the Swiss Government has sent a note expressing sympathy therewith to the belligerents?
(4) Can the Minister inform us whether the Netherland Government has taken steps in connection with the above-named circumstances for the promotion of peace, and in case it has not done so, can the Minister explain why it was not done?

The answer of Mr. Loudon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent in on the 5th of January, reads as follows:

(1) to the first question: Yes.
(2) to the second question: No.
(3) to the third question: Yes.
(4) to the fourth question: The Netherland Government has taken no steps for the promotion of peace in connection with the above-mentioned circum-

[1] Not printed.

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stances. It has refrained from doing so because it was convinced that such steps on its part under the present conditions, would not be of any service to the end in view.

I have [etc.] HENRY VAN DYKE

The President's Address to the Senate, January 22, on the Bases of a Durable Peace—Confidential Communication by the German Government of its Terms of Peace

File No. 763.72119/405a

Address of the President of the United States to the Senate, January 22, 1917 [1]

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The Central powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

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[1] The text of this address was telegraphed to the Ambassadors in belligerent countries Jan. 15 for communication, when notified, to the Foreign Offices and the press.

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It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honourable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They can not in honour withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candour and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.

No covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever

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they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last, only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations

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and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this can not be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and

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cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe, and the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candour and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of

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the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

File No. 763.72119/415

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *January 22, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[Received 10 p. m.]

802. Pursuant to instructions have just handed text of President's Senate address to Minister for Foreign Affairs, who thinks it idealistic and difficult to put in practical operation. It seemed not unfavorably received. He thinks it will cause great stir. Have handed copies Serbian and Montenegrin representatives. Will release newspapers.

NELSON PAGE

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File No. 763.72119/424

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *January 23, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received January 24, 8.05 p. m.*]

803. Minister for Foreign Affairs expresses interest in knowing what particular plan President [proposes] for peace preservation league. Swiss Minister declares address "finest noblest diplomatic document read by him during long diplomatic life."

NELSON PAGE

File No. 763.72119/405½

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *January 26, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received January 27, 8.10 a. m.*]

318. For the President's personal and immediate information:

Called this morning on the Minister of State to pay respects on my return, accompanied by Counselor of Embassy. Minister introduced subject of President's so-called peace note and address to Senate of January 22. He said that tone of Spain's reply to note would have been different if it had been delivered to Spanish Government before delivery to belligerent nations, and especially if Spain had been previously consulted. This reply by no means intended to close door to future cooperation looking towards peace. On the contrary he expressed desire to cooperate with the United States. The Minister said that Spain looks upon herself and United States as leading neutrals, and that Spain occupies distinctly different position from any other European neutral, and that as such feels herself in a position to cooperate with the United States as no other neutral can. He also referred to exceptional position of the King of Spain among European rulers and his great personal influence. Minister stated with some emphasis that address to Senate had made excellent impression in Spain, much better than peace note. As the result of conference to-day and other information secured since my return, I am convinced, and Counselor of Embassy concurs, that the cordial cooperation of Spain looking to peace can be secured if the United States Government sees fit to confer with the Spanish Government through such channels as it may select, and in advance of any further public communication with belligerents or other neutrals. I am specially convinced that the Spanish Government feels that its position and position of its King justify a consideration on the part of

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the United States distinct from that accorded to any other neutral, and that working on this basis its cordial cooperation can be relied upon.

WILLARD

File No. 763.72119/426

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *January 25, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received January 27, 8.30 a. m.]

1662. In reply to interpellation in Hungarian Parliament yesterday regarding President's peace address to Senate, Minister President of Hungary, Count Tisza, said, "We are ready to greet with sympathy all endeavors to bring about peace and are therefore inclined to continue interchange of ideas with Government of the United States in concord with our allies." He draws attention to fact that Central powers declared to enter into negotiations and in due time to propose such conditions as in their opinion would be acceptable to opponents as basis of lasting peace. However, conditions of opponents mean dismemberment of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Ottoman Empire. As long as opponents do not radically change their intentions there will be lasting difference between their standpoint and that of the President of the United States. Count Tisza refers to principle of nationality and President's words, "every people must have guaranties of free existence, religious liberty, individual and social development," and states that this demand is nowhere fulfilled so much as in the two halves of this monarchy.

PENFIELD

The German Ambassador (Bernstorff) to the German Foreign Office [1]

[Telegram—Translation]

WASHINGTON, *January 27, 1917.*

No. 239. In connection with No. 120 and No. 238. House asked me of his own accord and on Wilson's behalf to call upon him and gave me the following message from the President, stating it to

[1] This telegram was transmitted for the Ambassador by the Department of State in the German code. The translation here printed, of the text made public in the report of the committee of inquiry appointed by the German National Constituent Assembly, appears in *Official German Documents Relating to the World War*, issued by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2 vols., New York, Oxford University Press, 1923), vol. II, pp. 1047–1048.

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be official: Wilson offers in the first place, in confidence, peace mediation based on his message to the Senate, that is, without interfering in the matter of the territorial conditions of peace. He said that Wilson did not consider as confidential his request, simultaneously addressed to us, for a disclosure of our peace conditions.

House related to me in detail the following line of reasoning of the President: That our enemies had publicly announced their peace conditions, which were impossible of acceptance; that, in direct opposition to this, the President had thereupon announced his program; that from now on we too were under the moral obligation of disclosing our peace conditions, because, otherwise, our intentions with regard to peace would not be looked upon as genuine; that after your excellency had informed Mr. Wilson that our peace conditions were of a moderate nature and that we were willing to enter upon the second peace conference, the President was of the opinion that his message to the Senate was in accordance with our views; that Wilson hoped that we would disclose peace conditions to him which could be made public both here and in Germany, in order that they could become openly known throughout the entire world; that if we would only trust him, he was convinced that he would be able to bring about both peace conferences; that he would be particularly pleased if at the same time your excellency would be willing to state that we were prepared to enter upon the conferences on the basis of his message to the Senate; that the reason for our announcement could be explained by the fact that Wilson had now asked us directly for our peace conditions. The President was of the opinion that the Entente note to him was a bluff and, for this reason, need not be taken into consideration; that he hoped with reason to be able to bring about peace conferences and, indeed, at such an early date that unnecessary bloodshed in the spring offensive could be avoided. To what extent your excellency is willing or is able to meet Wilson can not be judged from this side.

In the meantime, I urgently beg leave to make the following suggestion: If the U-boat war is commenced forthwith, the President will look upon this as a slap in the face, and war with the United States will be unavoidable. The war party on this side will gain the upper hand, and we shall not be able, in my opinion, to tell when the war will end, since the resources of the United States are, in spite of all statements to the contrary, very great. On the other hand, if we meet Wilson's proposition and if, in spite of that fact, these plans are brought to naught by the obstinacy of our opponents, it will be a very difficult thing for the President to undertake a war against us, even if we were then to start the unrestricted U-boat warfare. Thus, at the present, all we need is a brief delay

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in order to improve our diplomatic position. In any event, my view of the situation is that at this time we can get a better peace by means of conferences than if the United States should join our enemies.

Since cablegrams invariably take more than a few days, I ask to be informed by return wireless if telegraphic despatch 157 is not to be carried out on the 1st of February.

BERNSTORFF

File No. 763.72119/433

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *January 27, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received January 28, 4 p. m.*]

1838. The deputies of the Socialist Party met yesterday and passed a resolution approving the admirable address of President Wilson to the Senate. The resolution briefly states in substance that the conception of peace founded upon the free will of the people and not upon the force of arms must be or become the charta of the civilized world, that the President's note now confers a big and immense prestige to this affirmation of justice, inheritance of the French Revolution and tradition of their international congresses especially at a time when it becomes more than ever necessary that the democrats of all nations should rise up against imperialist ambitions and their sanguinary and ruinous consequences. The Socialist group insistently request the French Government to affirm clearly its agreement with the lofty words of reason of the President. To prepare and hasten the just and early end of the war, to insure the future of pacific civilization, the group request the representatives of all belligerent nations to bring pressure to bear upon their labors in order to make a loyal attempt to carry out the noble experiment offered to humanity by the chief of the great American republic.

This group comprises between 80 and 90 members of the Chamber, and its former leader was the noted orator Jaures who was assassinated a few days before the beginning of the war. A senator and a writer on one of the most widely read French papers tell me this morning that the action, accounts of which have been widely published in the press, of this group of Socialists will have great effect in developing sentiment in favor of the President's message. Many professional men in and out of French Government circles have also told me that the message had their hearty approval. The general attitude of the French press has been to endorse its principles as

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wholly representative of those of the French Republic. Quite generally, however, the position is taken by these writers that peace should only come after victory to the Allies.

SHARP

File No. 763.72119/435

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *January 27, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received January 29, 8 a. m.*]

1666. My telegram 1662, January 25, 7 p. m. I have received following letter from Minister President, Count Tisza, dated Budapest, January 25:

May I draw your attention in a quite private and confidential way to my declaration made in the House of Commons yesterday concerning the address of President Wilson. Its two essential points are:

> First, that the conditions of peace as sketched in the answer of our enemies involve the mutilation and humiliation of Germany and the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and of Turkey; they are equivalent to a war of destruction, compel us to fight for existence with the utmost energy and are in flagrant contradiction with the views of President Wilson about the peace to be concluded.
>
> Secondly, that the ideal of the free development of all nations in states having their national character cannot be realized in countries with a mixed population. Especially in the southeast of Europe no other solution would approach this ideal so near as the political system of the dual monarchy.

You would render a great service to the mutual good understanding between our countries and the cause of peace if you could bring these facts nearer to the minds of the responsible statesmen and the public of the United States.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72119/451½

The German Ambassador (Bernstorff) to Colonel House

WASHINGTON, *January 31, 1917.*

MY DEAR COLONEL HOUSE: I have received a telegram from Berlin, according to which I am to express to the President the thanks of the Imperial Government for his communication made through you. The Imperial Government has complete confidence in the President and hopes that he will reciprocate such confidence. As

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proof I am to inform you in confidence that the Imperial Government will be very glad to accept the services kindly offered by the President for the purpose of bringing about a peace conference between the belligerents. My Government, however, is not prepared to publish any peace terms at present, because our enemies have published such terms which aim at the dishonor and destruction of Germany and her allies. My Government considers that as long as our enemies openly proclaim such terms, it would show weakness, which does not exist, on our part if we publish our terms and we would in so doing only prolong the war. However, to show President Wilson our confidence, my Government through me desires to inform him personally of the terms under which we would have been prepared to enter into negotiations, if our enemies had accepted our offer of December 12.[1]

Restitution of the part of Upper Alsace occupied by the French;
Gaining of a frontier which would protect Germany and Poland economically and strategically against Russia;
Restitution of colonies in form of an agreement which would give Germany colonies adequate to her population and economic interest;
Restitution of those parts of France occupied by Germany under reservation of strategical and economic changes of the frontier and financial compensations;
Restoration of Belgium under special guaranty for the safety of Germany which would have to be decided on by negotiations with Belgium;
Economic and financial mutual compensation on the basis of the exchange of territories conquered and to be restituted at the conclusion of peace;
Compensation for the German business concerns and private persons who suffered by the war; abandonment of all economic agreements and measures which would form an obstacle to normal commerce and intercourse after the conclusion of peace, and instead of such agreements reasonable treaties of commerce;
The freedom of the seas.

The peace terms of our allies run on the same lines.

My Government further agrees, after the war has terminated, to enter into the proposed second international conference on the basis of the President's message to the Senate.

My Government would have been glad to postpone the submarine blockade, if they had been able to do so. This, however, was quite impossible on account of the preparations which could not be canceled. My Government believes that the submarine blockade will terminate the war very quickly. In the meantime my Government will do everything possible to safeguard American interests and

[1] See *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 94.

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begs the President to continue his efforts to bring about peace, and my Government will terminate the submarine blockade as soon as it is evident that the efforts of the President will lead to a peace acceptable to Germany.

The motives of my Government for beginning the submarine blockade are the following: After bluntly refusing Germany's peace offer the Entente powers stated in their note addressed to the American Government[1] that they are determined to continue the war in order to deprive Germany of German provinces in the West and the East, to destroy Austria-Hungary, and to annihilate Turkey. In waging war with such aims, the Entente Allies are violating all rules of international law, as they prevent the legitimate trade of neutrals with the Central powers, and of the neutrals among themselves. Germany has, so far, not made unrestricted use of the weapon which she possesses in her submarines. Since the Entente powers, however, have made it impossible to come to an understanding based upon equality of rights of all nations as proposed by the Central powers, and have instead declared only such a peace to be possible which shall be dictated by the Entente Allies and shall result in the destruction and the humiliation of the Central powers, Germany is unable further to forego the full use of her submarines.

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central powers and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente Allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.[2]

I am always at your disposal if I can be of any service.

Yours very sincerely,

J. BERNSTORFF

P. S. I could not get the translation of the official answer to the President's message ready in time to send it to you. I was in such a hurry to give you the above most important news; namely, that the blockade will be terminated, if a conference can be brought about on reasonable terms.

[The German Government's note of January 31, 1917, delivered by the German Ambassador on that date, transmitting memoranda regarding the establishment of a new zone of naval warfare, is in the form of a reply to the President's address of January 22, as is also the Austro-Hungarian Government's note of January 31, re-

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

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ceived by telegraph from the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary, February 3, 8.15 a. m., *post*, pages 97, 104.]

File No. 763.72/3178

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 31, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received February 2, 8.15 a. m.*]

4972. Zimmermann gave me reckless submarine note and memorandum and maps at six to-day. He said that Bernstorff had been told to give Germany's terms in confidence to the President and told to urge the President to make peace, that Germany was compelled to take this step, and that he hoped that the President will stay quiet for two months in which time he was sure they could by submarine war compel England to ask for terms, that Lloyd George was a wild man and was now the real head of the Entente, that if peace was not made there would be an exhausted Europe and that then we would be confronted by Japan and other yellow races. He then read me the Chancellor's speech made to-day to the principal committee of the Reichstag. He said that he hoped I would work for peace between America and Germany.

I did not say anything except that his documents seemed to be drawn by a lawyer, that of course I did not know exactly what would happen, and that I always worked for peace.

GERARD

File No. 763.72/3181

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *February 1, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received February 2, 8.15 a. m.*]

237. Greek Government announce concession of Entente that indispensable victuals may be introduced pending the raising blockade. Entente allege large store rifles not yet accounted for. Salute to flags Monday last.

DROPPERS

[See telegram No. 4994, February 4, 1917 (received February 5, 8.30 p. m.), from the Ambassador in Germany, *post*, page 114, for the following statement of peace terms reported as made to the Ambassador by the Chancellor:

Germany to give up Belgium but retaining so-called guaranties such as railroads, forts, a garrison, ports, commercial control, etc.; a

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slice of France through rectification of frontier; will only give back a small part of Serbia, and Bulgaria can do as she likes with Roumania and everybody must pay indemnities to Germany, etc.

The Ambassador adds: "If Bernstorff has given President any other terms he is fooling him, but do not quote me to Bernstorff."]

File No. 763.72/3243

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 5, 1917, midnight.*
[*Received February 7, 10 a. m.*]

1683. Following addressed to Secretary of State at the request of Minister for Foreign Affairs:

The Imperial and Royal Ambassador, Count Tarnowski, has conveyed to me the kind words which you were good enough to express to him concerning Austria-Hungary and I hasten to transmit to you on that account my very best thanks.[1]

I need not say I, too, would be very pleased if the diplomatic relations between us and the United States could be maintained intact. But in order to obtain that result I must above all once again ask the Government of the United States to take into consideration the position in which we are placed.

We have declared—openly and honestly—that we only wage a war of defense, that is, that we are ready to negotiate honorable conditions of peace, a peace without victory. These proposals we are still determined to maintain. The basis, according to which there should be neither victor nor loser, was suggested by Mr. Wilson himself and it is now up to the Entente to accommodate themselves to that basis as we did. As long as the Entente will not give up the program published in their last note, a program which aims at the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, it is impossible for us to talk about peace, and we are forced to defend ourselves with every means at our disposal.

A technical modification of the submarine war is impossible. First of all an exchange of views with our allies would be necessary to that purpose. Moreover—and this is the chief reason—the numerous submarines which have left their ports can not be reached by any orders.

The point of the question is, it seems to me, that Mr. Wilson who proposed a peace without victory should now feel morally obliged to use his influence with the powers of the Entente to make them accept that basis as we accepted it. The President has all the qualities to achieve this—on account of his high position, the personal esteem he enjoys all through Europe and on account of the possibility for the

[1] See telegram to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary, No. 1526, Feb. 4, *post*, p. 112.

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United States, by cutting off the requisites of war, to induce the powers of the Entente to conform themselves to Mr. Wilson's point of view.

I trust that the President of the United States will continue the work of peace he began in a spirit of impartiality and I sincerely hope that he will induce the powers of the Entente to accept, like us, the American point of view, that there should be neither victor nor loser and that the peace concluded should be an honorable one for both sides—a lasting one for the whole world.

Should the President follow this line of conduct not only the terror of the submarine war, but war in general would come to a sudden end and Mr. Wilson's name will shine with everlasting letters in the history of mankind.

I beg to request you kindly to bring the above as well as the answer you might send me to the notice of Ambassador Count Tarnowski.

Czernin

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72/3242

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 6, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received February 7, 10 a. m.]

1688. In connection with my 1683, February 5, 12 noon, transmitting Count Czernin's views to you, beg to submit following facts as illustrating Monarchy's desperate situation and consequent desire for peace:

Long period of freezing weather with interruption of traffic is accentuating scarcity of food. Economic life of Austria-Hungary seems paralyzed. Intelligent persons assure me Monarchy has food for but two or three months. Nearly every street in Vienna has bread line and misery and destitution visible everywhere. People all classes praying for peace.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72/3253

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *February 7, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received February 8, 3.55 a. m.]

246. British Minister informs me attitude of reservists still unsatisfactory and while a few cargoes provisions will be imported, no prospect of raising blockade just now.

DROPPERS

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The President's Proposal to the Allied Powers of Assurances to Austria-Hungary against Radical Dismemberment, February 8—Proposals of the de facto Mexican Government for Termination of the War, February 12—Intercession of the United States in Behalf of Greece

File No. 763.72119/483A

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 8, 1917, midnight.*

4421. The President directs that you lay the following before the leading members of the British Government in strictest confidence and begs that you will press the points it contains with all the earnestness and directness you would use were they your own personal views. He speaks of the leading members of the Government rather than of the Foreign Office because he does not intend this as in any sense an official but only as a personal message and wishes you to ascertain informally what he might expect should he make the proposals here foreshadowed officially to the Foreign Office.

The President knows that peace is intensely desired by the Teutonic powers, and much more by Austria than by any of her allies because the situation is becoming for many reasons much graver for her than for the others. He is trying to avoid breaking with Austria in order to keep the channels of official intercourse with her open so that he may use her for peace. The chief if not the only obstacle is the threat apparently contained in the peace terms recently stated by the Entente Allies that in case they succeeded they would insist upon a virtual dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austria needs only to be reassured on that point, and that chiefly with regard to the older units of the Empire. It is the President's view that the large measure of autonomy already secured to those older units is a sufficient guaranty of peace and stability in that part of Europe so far as national and racial influences are concerned and that what Austria regards as the necessities of her development, opportunity, and security to the south of her can be adequately and satisfactorily secured to her by rights of way to the sea given by the common guaranty of the concert which must in any case be arranged if the future peace of the world is to be assured. He does not doubt that Austria can be satisfied without depriving the several Balkan states of their political autonomy and territorial integrity.

The effort of this Government will be constantly for peace even should it become itself involved, although those efforts would not in the least weaken or slacken its vigorous action in such a case. The President still believes and has reason to believe that, were it possible for him to give the necessary assurances to the Government of Austria, which fears radical dismemberment and which thinks that

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it is now fighting for its very existence, he could in a very short time force the acceptance of peace upon terms which would follow the general lines of his recent address to the Senate regarding the sort of peace the United States would be willing to join in guaranteeing. He is urgently desirous that the Entente Governments should make it possible for him to present such terms and press them for acceptance. The present enthusiastic support which the people of the United States are giving his foreign policy is being given, it is very evident, because they expect him to use the force and influence of the United States, if he must use force, not to prolong the war, but to insist upon those rights of his own and other peoples which he regards and they regard as the bases and the only bases of peace.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3290

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 10, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[Received February 11, 3.30 p. m.]

1700. German Kaiser expected to come to Vienna to-night for two days' conference with Emperor. Newspapers forbidden to announce visit.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72119/488

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 11, 1917, noon.*
[Received February 12, 12.10 a. m.]

5665. Your 4421, February 8, midnight. I immediately sought the Prime Minister with whom I had an interview yesterday afternoon. I reminded him of the purely personal and private nature of our conferences and told him that I now had a most important subject to put before him at the President's command in this personal and private way.

I first told him the general substance of your telegram. He welcomed it and before I could mention details he answered every question I had prepared to ask him. The following is the substance of and in part the phraseology of his talk.

He knew that Austria was very eager for peace. She really never wanted war and surely there is no animosity between the British and the Austrians. The new Emperor was especially

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weary of a war that he had not made but had inherited. Besides Austria was obliged to stop in any event. If the Teutonic powers won she would be a vassal of Germany which would be worse for her than an Entente victory. Austria is now generalshipped and managed by Germany. Her very armies are commanded by Germans. She suffers most from economic pressure. "I know she wants to quit."

Lord Grey said to me months ago when I first asked for the safe-conduct of the new Austrian Ambassador: "We no longer consider that Austria exists except as a convenient German fiction, for Germany dictates her policies, changes her Cabinet and commands her armies."

Mr. George continued: "Of course the Austrian Emperor wishes as far as possible to save his Empire. We have no objection to his retaining Hungary and Bohemia. We have no policy of sheer dismemberment but we must stand by the nationals of our allies, such as the Roumanians, the Slavs, the Serbians, and the Italians. Their just demands must be met by the principle of nationality."

But neither the British Government nor its allies could under straitened [present?] circumstances lose Italy as an ally. The blockade of Germany might be broken on the Austrian side. German troops and German officers who now hold the Austrian armies together could be released to strengthen the German line in more important places. Present military, submarine, and economic conditions [make it undesirable that we should?] even receive a formal offer of peace from Austria. The time for that has passed and has not yet come again. Present conditions must first change. The premeditated [premature?] retirement of Austria from the war might bring especial disadvantages to the Entente. Austrians released from the army would go to Germany and be added to German productive power. Austria is now an increasing military and economic burden to Germany and Germany will probably give in sooner with the load of Austria on her back than if Austria were out of the war.

The Prime Minister repeated that the British had not the slightest animosity to the Austrians whose future freedom in fact they wished to safeguard. The present question is purely a question of military expediency regarding the war as a whole and the removal from Germany of the burden of Austria now would add to the strength of Germany. "For these and other reasons," the Prime Minister continued, "we cannot now even receive formally any peace offer from Austria nor authorize any discussion of peace with her on our behalf. We must look at the war as a whole, but if the President should see fit, acting for himself, to receive specific and concrete proposals from Austria, and should be able and willing to transmit

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them to me through you in private confidence, I should, at the earliest moment, inform you when the time had come for us formally to receive and consider [them]. I shall be willing and in fact very glad to have such proposals proceed on the principles laid down in the President's recent speech to the Senate. Free access to the sea may present difficulties but I should try to remove them."

After the foregoing general declarations by the Prime Minister I put to him *seriatim* the several questions and propositions contained in your telegram:

1. *Question:* If the President should transmit officially to the British Government a specific and concrete proposal of peace from Austria what might he expect under present conditions?

Answer: The British Government could not now receive it without risk of weakening the Entente's military and economic pressure and position.

2. *Question:* Would the Entente Governments consent that assurance be conveyed by the President to the Austrian Government that the older units of the Empire will not be taken from it?

Answer: The British Government could not under present conditions authorize any [assurance] to Austria. The British Government sees no reason to dismember Austria by removing Hungary and Bohemia but the peoples of the Entente Governments, such as Slavs, Roumanians, Serbs, and Italians, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina, must by the principle of nationality be freed from Austrian control, but the British Government can not now authorize any representations on its behalf.

3. *Question:* Could Austria have a guaranty of free access to the sea if she should lose her Adriatic coast line?

Answer: This principle is not objectionable but there may be practical difficulties which, however, it may be possible to overcome when the time to discuss this subject arrives.

A necessary inference from the whole conversation is that the only proposal for peace that the British Government would officially receive under existing conditions is a *bona fide* proposal officially made by Germany [*Austria?*] at least as specific and concrete as the terms that the Entente powers set forth in their note to the President. Nothing else will be officially received until the issue of the submarine campaign and of the forthcoming great battle in France is decided. The Prime Minister then spoke with warmth and admiration of the President substantially as follows:

We want him to come into the war not so much for help with the war as for help with peace. My reason is not mainly the military nor naval nor economic nor financial pressure that the American Government and people might exert in their own way against Germany; grateful as this would be I have a far loftier reason. American participation is necessary for the complete expression of the moral judgment of the world on the most important

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subject ever presented to the civilized nations. For America's sake, for our own sake, for the sake of free government, and for the sake of democracy, military despotism must now be ended forever. The President's presence at the peace conference is necessary for the proper organization of the world which must follow peace. I mean that he himself must be there in person. If he sits in the conference that makes peace he will exert the greatest influence that any man has ever exerted in expressing the moral value of free government. Most of the present belligerents will have suffered so heavily that their judgment also may have suffered and most of those that win will want some concrete gain, old wrongs righted, or boundaries changed. Even Great Britain, who wants nothing for herself, will be prevented from returning the German colonies. South Africa and Australia will not permit the giving back of lands that would make them neighbors to German subjects and give Germany secret submarine bases throughout the whole world. The United States wants nothing but justice and an ordered freedom and guaranties of these for the future. Nobody therefore can have so commanding a voice as the President. Convey to him this deep conviction of mine. He must help make peace if the peace made at that conference is to be worth keeping. American participation in the war would enable him to be there and the mere moral effect of this participation would shorten the war, might even end it very quickly.

The present Government is unique in English history. The Cabinet, which is constantly in session, now consists of only five men, the Prime Minister, Curzon, Milner, Bonar Law, and Henderson. . . . The Prime Minister, by public consent, is nearer to a dictator than any man in England since Cromwell. For reasons, therefore, not only of good form but also of principle I was obliged to ask his consent to speak to any other member of the Government. . . . He replied, "No. Speak to no one else for the present. I will take a few into my confidence and tell you whenever there [may] be anything to tell."

I met Minister Balfour at dinner last night and from a remark he made to me I suspect the Prime Minister had told him of this conversation of a few hours before.

PAGE

File No. 763.72119/468

The Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in Charge of Mexican Interests (De Negri) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *February 12, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transcribe to your excellency the following note, which the Secretary of Foreign Relations of my country has been pleased to write to me:

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Querétaro, February 11, 1917.

Señor Ramón P. De Negri, Washington, D. C.: Please transcribe to the most excellent the Minister of Foreign Relations of that country the following note:

By direction of Citizen Venustiano Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, in charge of the executive power of the Mexican nation, I have the honor of addressing to your excellency the following note, which the above-named high mandatory has seen fit to send to the neutral countries:

It is more than two years since the most gigantic armed conflict recorded in history broke out in the old continent, sowing death, desolation, and destitution in the belligerent nations. The tragic contest has deeply wounded the sentiments of humanity of all the peoples that are not engaged in the struggle, and their standing unmoved before so great a disaster would be contrary to both justice and humaneness. A deep-seated sentiment of human solidarity then constrains the Mexican Government to tender its modest cooperation in endeavoring to bring the strife to an end. On the other hand, the conflagration in Europe has reached such proportions that the situation of the countries which remained neutral has grown more and more trying, bringing them, as it has, to the verge of being involved in that war; and several nations which, at the outset, took no part in the conflict, have found themselves irresistibly drawn into it.

Those countries which at present are still preserving their neutrality in the world and truly desire to keep out of the conflict must combine their efforts toward bringing about the earliest possible termination of the European war, or at least so circumscribing it as to remove the possibility of further complications and thus bring into sight an early ending.

The present European conflict affects the whole world, like a great conflagration, a severe plague, which ought to have been isolated and confined some time ago so as to shorten its life and prevent its spreading. Far from doing this, the trade of all the neutral countries in the world, and that of America in particular, bears a heavy responsibility before history, because all the neutral nations—some more, some less—have lent their quota of money, provisions, ammunition, or fuel, and in this way have kept up and prolonged the great conflagration.

Reasons of high human morality and of national self-conservation place the neutral peoples under the obligation of desisting from that course and of refusing to lend any longer that quota which made it possible to carry on the war for two years and more.

To that end the Government of Mexico, within the bounds of the strictest respect due to the sovereignty of the warring countries, inspired by the highest humanitarian sentiments, and also actuated by the sentiment of self-conservation and defense, takes the liberty of proposing to your excellency's Government, as it is proposing to all the other neutral governments, that the groups of contending powers be invited, in common accord and on the basis of absolutely perfect equality on either side, to bring this war to an end either by their own effort or by availing themselves of the good offices of friendly mediation of all the countries which would jointly extend

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that invitation. If within a reasonable term peace could not be restored by this means, the neutral countries would then take the necessary measures to reduce the conflagration to its narrowest limit, by refusing any kind of implements to the belligerents and suspending commercial relations with the warring nations until the said conflagration shall have been smothered.

The Mexican Government is not unconscious of its somewhat departing from the principles of international law which have heretofore regulated the relations between neutrals and belligerents when it offers its propositions; but it must be admitted that the present war is a conflict without a precedent in the history of mankind that demands supreme efforts and novel remedies that are not to be found among the narrow and somewhat selfish rules of international law as accepted until now. Mexico believes that, confronted by a catastrophe of such large proportions the like of which never was seen, by a war in which political, social, military, and economic factors that could never be foreseen have been brought into play, it can not go astray in proposing that the remedies to be applied to the conflict be also new, extraordinary, and commensurate with the circumstances.

The Government of Mexico understands that no neutral nation, no matter how mighty, could singly take a step of this character, and that the measure can only be brought to a successful issue through the cooperation of the neutral governments wielding the greatest international influence with the belligerent nations.

It is specially incumbent on the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile in America; Spain, Sweden, and Norway in Europe, as being more influential and freer to arrive at a decision toward the belligerents, to father an initiative which is none the less worthy of thorough study and earnest consideration for its coming from a nation which is supposed to be weakened at present and therefore incapable of any effective international effort.

The Government of Mexico cherishes the hope that if this idea is accepted and put into practice it may serve as a precedent and basis for a new shaping of international law that would give neutrals the opportunity to assist in preventing and mending future international wars while most strictly [respecting] the sovereignty of the belligerents.

Countries thereafter finding themselves on the brink of war, would earnestly ponder before launching into a conflict in which they would be entirely thrown on their own resources, and so would exhaust every means in which to avoid it or shorten its duration if it proved unavoidable.

I avail myself [etc.]. Gen. Candido Aguilar, Minister of Foreign Relations of Mexico.

I have the honor to transcribe the foregoing to your excellency, having thus carried out my Government's instructions.

I take [etc.] R. P. De Negri

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File No. 868.00/94

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

Greek Series
No. 154

ATHENS, *January 13, 1917.*
[*Received February 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith the original and English translation of a document sent to me by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in a covering despatch dated December 18, 1916.[1] This is the official version of the disturbances which occurred at Athens on December 1, 1916, and contains a number of statements, about which I think that some doubts may be expressed.

In the first paragraphs the point is made that the demand for the surrender of Greek war material to the French Admiral was firmly resisted by the Greek Government. This statement is correct so far as the official reply is concerned, which was made by the Greek Government toward the end of November. But this affair has a long and complicated history. During the month of October a French deputy, M. Benazet by name, had had various friendly interviews with the King and it was understood between them that as an offset to the surrender of the Rupel fortresses to Bulgaria the Greek Government would place at the disposal of the Entente forces in Macedonia a quantity of arms and ammunition. The King in so many words promised this and agreed to the wording of a telegram, which was transmitted by both to Paris, clearly indicating his wish to make these deliveries. Later on, when it was discovered that this act was unpopular, the Greek Government began to bargain as to what amounts and under what conditions the deliveries should be made.

On the day before the conflict of December 1, Admiral du Fournet was in conversation with the King and he states positively that they came to an understanding as to his bringing up marines from the French and British ships; these preliminary measures were taken in the expectation that they would render opposition to the surrender of the war material useless. No real conflict was thought of by the Admiral, as is shown by the fact that the marines were furnished for the most part with blank cartridges. At Roufos, halfway between Piraeus and Athens, the Greek soldiers and officers fraternized with the foreign detachments, offering each other cigarettes. A contingent of British marines was dispatched from Phaleron to an abandoned powder magazine near the cemetery at the northeast-

[1] Covering despatch not enclosed.

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ern extremity of the city. These men sat down to eat their lunch and were in blissful ignorance of any coming danger. They also exchanged some pleasantries with some Greek soldiers in the neighborhood and were just finishing their lunch, when they heard firing. This probably came from the hill of Philopappos, where a somewhat larger contingent of French marines had been stationed. At once the firing began at all three places, I am informed, simultaneously. The French and British were hopelessly outnumbered. At the powder magazine aforesaid, a machine gun was brought into play by the Greek soldiers and the British either retired into the magazine or marched back to Phaleron. The results of these engagements were, as near as I can ascertain, as follows:

	Killed		Wounded	
	Officers	Men	Officers	Men
British	0	8	0	30
French	4	51	0	150
Greek	4	25	4	55

The conclusion at which I arrive is, therefore, that the Greek Government is technically correct in stating that it refused to surrender the arms, but that Admiral du Fournet, thinking that he had the King's acquiescence, ordered the British and French marines on the morning of December 1 to occupy certain places in the city, where they, entirely innocent of any hostile intent, were fired upon by a very large number of Greeks, who were mostly of the "reservist" class, i. e., not on active service, and had hastily been armed the day before by the Government. The statement that the British or French fired first, as stated in the Greek official version, is not tenable.

A guard of French marines had been stationed for some weeks previously in the Zappeion Park Building, not far from the Stadium. These men were also fired upon by the Greek soldiers and took refuge inside the building. A machine gun placed on a hill opposite was worked murderously against them for some time, giving the building a scarred appearance, as though it had withstood a regular siege. This French force withdrew at night by arrangement between the King and the Entente Ministers.

It seems to me quite clear from the orders given by the French Admiral, as quoted in this Greek version, that there was no armed opposition expected. The Admiral thought that pleasant words and good manners would carry the day and found out only too late that the warnings conveyed by outside parties were truer than his own

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unsuspecting optimism. The fact that blank cartridges for the most part were furnished to the landing parties goes to prove the same view.

As to the contention of the Greek official version that the Venizelists took advantage of the conflict to incite a panic and subvert public order, this is a question of great importance, which requires a separate discussion.

I have [etc.] GARRETT DROPPERS

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Greek Government's official version of the disturbances of December 1, 1916

After yielding to the successive demands made by the Entente, the Royal Government, out of consideration for public opinion and the sentiment of the army, sent in two notes a categorical refusal to the last demand of the French Admiral regarding the surrender of arms. It was even signified that the Admiral's insistence and the idea of imposing this demand by force would inevitably provoke a conflict. Nevertheless the Admiral ordered the carrying out of the expedition against the capital, the object of which was, according to the orders seized on a French transport waggon, to occupy several points in the city, barracks, and arms factories, in order to threaten the capital and oblige the Royal Government to agree to the requirements made.

The Royal Government always hoped that the Admiral, in view of our firm resolution to resist every attempt to seize by force the arms and guns demanded, would take into consideration the results of such action. That is why it gave strict orders to the troops to avoid all provocation, enjoining upon them not to be the first to make use of their arms.

Already for some days the Allied aeroplanes had been flying about the palace. Automobiles containing foreigners had been perceived making reconnaissances about the barracks, the stadium, and sundry important points of the city. Maps had been made by the Allies, upon which were marked in different colours the public buildings of the capital, the barracks, and the royal palace in particular being noted. A plan of the town well drawn in squares was to serve for the fire of the fleet and indications of sundry movements, which were to be effected in the centre of the city, had been distributed to the troops.

The morning of December 1 about 3,000 men had disembarked at the Piraeus and marched in three columns upon Athens. They advanced methodically, driving in or taking prisoners our outposts and

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seized the powder factory and the engineers' barracks. Towards 10 a. m. one of our small detachments, which was withdrawing from the powder factory, was assailed by the French. At 11.15 another small detachment, which was at the observatory, was likewise attacked. On the hill of Philopappos 70 Greek soldiers were suddenly surrounded by three companies. The Greek soldiers were resting, when they saw themselves attacked by the French troops without having time to defend themselves. Four Greek soldiers were killed by French officers, five others were wounded.

About the same time 400 Allied troops occupied the powder magazine near the cemetery, capturing the five men of the guard. At the first shots, heard from a distance, the Allied troops were the first to open fire with rifles and machine guns upon the Greek detachment of 70 men, which was opposite the powder magazine. Finding itself under the fire of the Allies, our detachment was obliged to defend itself by the bayonet and dispersed the foreign detachment, of which 180 men succeeded in shutting themselves up in the magazine. Meanwhile the firing spread around the Zappion, behind which was a Greek detachment, posted there for the defence of the royal palace. This detachment had a field gun. About 2 p. m. this Greek detachment, perceiving that the Allied troops shut up in the Zappion were preparing to make a sortie and fearing that they were going to attack the royal palace, gave orders to fire one cannon shot to intimidate the aggressors. A fusillade commenced, but the fire was arrested immediately, thanks to the intervention of the commanders of the two detachments.

About 5 o'clock the sound of shots revived a general fusillade in the Zappion sector. The Green commander, again suspecting an attack of the Allied troops against the palace, ordered a few rounds of cannon. Fortunately, strict orders were immediately given and the fusillade ceased. During this interval Allied warships fired about 50 projectiles of large and small calibre, most of which fell about the palace. Several houses were damaged and we had some civilian victims to deplore.

Towards evening the order to cease firing was given on both sides. By an agreement between His Majesty the King, the Royal Government and the Ministers of the Entente, it was decided that the Allied troops should retire to their ships while the Royal Government accepted to deliver six mountain batteries, instead of the ten demanded in the Admiral's note.

While these engagements were taking place, Venizelist agents, wishing to take advantage of these circumstances for the premeditated purpose of abolishing the existing order of things, endeavoured to in-

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spire a panic in the city by firing shots from the windows and balconies of several houses. This movement was quickly repressed and the judicial authorities were instructed to take measures in the matter.

Our losses in officers and men are important. There were 4 officers and 26 soldiers killed, and 4 officers and 58 soldiers wounded, without counting the losses incurred in the suppression of the sedition.

Complying with the orders given by the military authorities, our soldiers avoided as much as possible coming to blows with the Allies. Our troops showed the greatest discipline, because although driven from the posts which they occupied, they abstained from making use of their arms and did so only when forced to defend themselves against the fire of the Allies.

It is strictly proved that our soldiers obeyed entirely the orders they received, which were to maintain a passive attitude and not to attack first in any case. The capture of our soldiers, the occupation of our posts, the free passage of the foreign detachments proceeding to the Zappion, the residence of our troops amongst the Allied troops, are proofs that no act of treachery was committed by our soldiers, who could easily have dispersed the foreign troops during their approach to the Capital.

Orders given by the French Admiral and seized among the papers of landing parties, concerning the "demonstration" at Athens, say literally that "force must not be employed except after a summons to retire shall have been made to the troops," and further along: "Firing shall not commence, unless we should be clearly menaced." These orders prove once again that a simple menace on the part of our troops was sufficient to provoke the fire of the Allies. The order of the commander of the landing parties also provided that "the detachment must establish itself, if necessary by force, in the positions, the occupation of which by our troops constitutes a menace against Athens."

We note that the landing troops were supplied with 96 ball cartridges and a certain number of blank cartridges per man, the latter probably being intended to intimidate the Greek troops, but which unfortunately could not help provoking a conflict.

The descent of the Allied troops upon Athens certainly could not have been made with a friendly purpose. The installation of these troops amidst our own and the orders given to them, which did not exclude the employment of armed force, brought about inevitably this sad incident, which our military authorities sought to avoid by every means, recommending the Greek troops to abstain from firing first and to show themselves excessively conciliatory toward the foreign troops.

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File No. 868.00/95

The Consul at Saloniki (Kehl) to the Secretary of State

No. 309 SALONIKI, *January 8, 1917.*
[*Received February 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to append a copy of a communication from Mr. N. Politis, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Greek Provisional Government, wherein he solicits the recognition of his Government by the Government of the United States. I verbally informed the Minister that the American Legation at Athens is the competent channel through which a communication of this nature should be submitted. Mr. Politis replied that he had already addressed Minister Droppers in regard to this matter, but had not received an answer. He doubted whether his communication had reached Athens, and therefore would appreciate it if I would make his wishes known to the United States Government.

The supreme authority of the Provisional Government is vested in a triumvirate composed of ex-Prime Minister E. K. Venizelos, General P. Danglis, and Vice Admiral P. Kondouriotis. The Cabinet of the Government is composed of twelve ministers. Governmental and municipal affairs of Saloniki are conducted by adherents of the revolutionary party. Royalists have been removed from every public office in Saloniki and vicinity.

Unlike a *de facto* government which by its own strength has expelled the regularly constituted authorities from power and replaced them with its own functionaries—or where a portion of the inhabitants of a country separate themselves from the parent state and possess the power to establish an independent government—this *de facto* or Provisional Government was created by the will and power of the Entente Governments. Without this aid the revolutionary movement would have been short and ineffective.

The *de facto* government installed at Saloniki is of undefined jurisdiction and power. As to jurisdiction, most of the larger islands of the Kingdom have adhered, in a manner, to the revolutionary movement. Macedonia and Epirus are not in full sympathy with the government here. To the southwest of Saloniki, on the Chalkis Peninsula, the Royalists were too strong for the Revolutionists, who required the assistance of French infantry to save the situation. As to the sovereign power of the local government, it is limited to that which suits the convenience of the armies of the Allies operating in Greece.

The Provisional Government, to use their own appellation, has been recognized as such by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Egypt. Great Britain has appointed Lord Granville, lately counselor of the Legation at Athens, as its diplomatic agent

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to the Provisional Government; France has nominated Robert J. D. de Billy, counselor of the Embassy at Rome, in the same capacity; and the Russian Government has signified its intention of also appointing a diplomatic representative.

The Provisional Government, with an army of less than 3,000 bayonets in the field, declared war on Germany and Bulgaria, and thereby admitted itself into the ranks of the belligerents. The Entente military forces in Greece will not permit the Royal Government to exercise its sovereign right of maintaining law and order throughout the Kingdom. The Allies contend that they have full and just cause for their attitude towards the King. In view of this unique and abnormal situation and in view of the circumstances under which the Provisional Government was created, its right to recognition by a neutral government is considerably impaired.

As a matter of form, this Consulate has recognized the Provisional Government, and feels that such semiofficial recognition is ample under existing conditions.

I have [etc.] JOHN E. KEHL

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Greek Provisional Government (Politis) to the American Consul at Saloniki (Kehl)

SALONIKI, *December 17/30, 1916.*

Mr. CONSUL: Referring to our conversation of this morning, I have the honor to confirm, that during the past ten days the Governments of England, France, and Russia have successively conceded to the Provisional Government the right of representation at their capitals, and that in consequence the Provisional Government has proceeded with the nomination of agents to England, France, Russia, and Egypt.

I beg you to have the kindness to make known to the Government of the United States, and express to it, in my name, a desire to know its attitude towards the Provisional Government from an international point of view.

As I have already had the honor to inform Mr. Droppers under date of November 13/26, No. 477, I presume that the Government of the United States, conforming with the practice regularly followed by it on analogous occasions, has already tacitly recognized the Provisional Government as a government *de facto*.

I hope that, following the action which you are kindly requested to take, you will inform me as to this interpretation and advise me of the decision which your Government makes, especially in view of an eventual representation of the Provisional Government in the United States.

Please accept [etc.] N. POLITIS

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File No. 763.72/3336

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *February 15, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received February 16, 2.50 a. m.]

254. Entente Ministers satisfied that Greek Government not in good faith in regard to execution of terms of ultimatum, prospects of raising blockade worse than last week.

DROPPERS

File No. 763.72119/468

The Secretary of State to the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in Charge of Mexican Interests (De Negri)

WASHINGTON, *February 17, 1917.*

SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, in which you transcribe, for my information, a note which General Venustiano Carranza has addressed to the neutral nations, tendering the cooperation of the *de facto* Government of Mexico in endeavoring to bring the war in Europe to an end.

In reply, I beg to say that General Carranza's note will receive the attentive consideration of the Government of the United States.

I may add that, in accordance with the request contained in your letter of February 13,[1] copies of General Carranza's note were to-day forwarded, by telegraph, to the American diplomatic representatives in Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, for delivery to the Foreign Offices of those countries, with the understanding that the attitude of the Government of the United States is not to be prejudiced by the lending of this Government's good offices in accommodating the *de facto* Government in this matter.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72/3355a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 19, 1917, 4 p. m.*

130. Department understands that Swedish Government has invited the neutrals to participate in a conference in Stockholm through their diplomatic representatives at that capital to discuss

[1] Not printed.

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matters of interest to neutrals arising after the war. Please report to the Department upon this matter and keep Department advised of future developments.

LANSING

File No. 868.50/2

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 20, 1917, 7 p. m.*

4467. The Greek Chargé d'Affaires in Washington has left at the Department translations of telegrams from his Government to the effect that the poor classes in Greece have begun to live on herbs, that epidemics of enteritis and dysenteria are rapidly spreading in the country, and that deaths have occurred, all as a result of starvation. The Greek Government states that "notwithstanding the complete execution of the Allies' ultimatum no relaxation has been brought in the *blocus*." The food that the Greek Government is anxious to import into Greece comes wholly from the United States.

Please take the matter up orally and unofficially with the Foreign Office, and endeavor to ascertain the intention of the Allied Governments in respect to the importation in future of foodstuffs into Greece.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/8266

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 20, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received 11 a. m.*]

5714. Since my 5665, February 11,[1] I have seen the Prime Minister three times. He has discussed the subject with some of his associates as he promised me that he would and modified his first views and recommendations. He has just told me and authorized me to telegraph you that if you formally submit a peace commission proposal on behalf of Austria-Hungary his Government will be glad to receive it formally and to consider it on its merits, on condition that every precaution be taken to insure the utmost secrecy, as if the Germans realize it they will stop. I reminded him of what he had said about his willingness not to disrupt the Austro-Hungarian Empire by the

[1] *Ante*, p. 41.

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loss of its older units Hungary and Bohemia. He repeated what I reported in my above-mentioned telegram on that subject.

PAGE

File No. 763.72119/8267

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 21, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 6.45 p. m.*]

5725. My 5714, February 20. There are two facts that might have been and perhaps ought to have been emphasized more strongly in that telegram: One is the Prime Minister's fear of publicity. I assured him that extraordinary precautions would be taken. The other fact is the earnestness with which any proposal officially received will be considered.

The Prime Minister's first mood has been completely changed; it was shared and urged as nearly as I can find out chiefly by Curzon, but the Navy in particular and presumably the Army are anxious to cause the possible detachment of Austria-Hungary and their pressure I believe changed the Prime Minister's first view.

If this can be accomplished, they will expect a very much earlier end of the war. Your efforts will be fully and generously appreciated.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3364

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, *February 21, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 8 p. m.*]

192. Your 130. Foreign Office informs me Sweden through Legation at Washington invited the United States 17th October to join Scandinavian countries, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland in conference. Secretary of State after conferring with the President declined with thanks the 1st of last December. Preliminary meeting of Ministers accredited to Sweden by countries mentioned expected to take place in near future at Stockholm to discuss treatment of submarines and aeroplanes, destruction of neutral prizes, blacklist, and economic relations after the war. Conference will avoid mediation and taking sides with any belligerent. The United States is not expected to participate.

MORRIS

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File No. 868.50/3

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 22, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[Received 4.55 p. m.]

5736. Your 4467, February 20, 7 p. m., was immediately made known personally to Mr. Balfour. He remarked that one difficulty in the way of supplies reaching Greece was the enemy submarines in the Mediterranean. He said that other aspects of the subject were receiving Government attention.

PAGE

The Offer to Austria-Hungary, February 22, of Limited Assurances against Dismemberment in the Event of a Request for Early Peace—Refusal of the Austro-Hungarian Government to Consider a Separate Peace—Reply of the United States to the Proposals of the de facto Mexican Government—Reports of the Constitutional Struggle in Germany—Request of the Greek Provisional Government at Saloniki for Recognition

File No. 763.72119/10094a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 22, 1917, 5 p. m.*

1566. When there is opportunity for you to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs alone you may say to him, provided the occasion seems suitable, that you have received information from the highest authority which convinces you that in arranging terms of peace the Allied Governments have no desire or purpose to disrupt the Austro-Hungarian Empire by the separation of Hungary and Bohemia from Austria unless a continuance of the war causes a change of conditions; that undoubtedly a definite assurance of this might be obtained through this Government if the Austrian Government, indicating a desire for an early peace, wished that you should act secretly to that end; and that you would be pleased to convey to this Government any comments, suggestions or proposals in regard to this subject which the Austrian Government may be pleased to make, it being understood that whatever exchanges may take place will be treated in the strictest confidence.

You should make it perfectly clear to the Minister of Foreign Affairs before making the foregoing statement that you are about to give him information of the most confidential character and that you rely upon him to prevent it from becoming known for if it

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should through mischance become public or reach any other government you would be compelled to repudiate it.

In view of the secrecy which should be preserved in this matter you will in no circumstances commit anything you may say to writing or permit any notes to be made in your presence. You may however, if you wish, show this telegram to Grew[1] impressing upon him the importance of absolute secrecy.

The President relies upon you to use the greatest discretion in this delicate negotiation and hopes that you may soon be able to report in strict confidence the result of your interview.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/479

The Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus) to the Secretary of State

No. 420 CONSTANTINOPLE, *January 22, 1917.*
[*Received February 23.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith copy and translation of a note from the Ottoman Foreign Office dated January 19, 1917, in which the Minister of Foreign Affairs recapitulates the attitude of the Sublime Porte in view of the response of the Entente powers to the overtures of peace which were made by the Central powers on December 12 last. The general tenor of this note has already been made public.

I have [etc.] ABRAM I. ELKUS

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs (Halil) to the American Ambassador (Elkus)

No. G1
No. S1 CONSTANTINOPLE, *January 19, 1917.*

MR. AMBASSADOR: The Imperial Ottoman Government has received through the intermediary of the Government of the United States of America the reply of its adversaries to its note dated December 12 last, by which in agreement with its allies it had proposed the immediate entering upon negotiations of peace, so as to spare humanity a further effusion of blood and new sufferings.

The governments of the Entente have refused this offer of peace and of concilation with the pretext that it is lacking in sincerity and does not possess any base in fact.

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[1] Counselor of Embassy.

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The tone in which the governments of the Entente have thought fit to formulate their refusal dispenses the Imperial Government of any need to reply. However, it desires to set forth and to render more precise, before the governments of the neutral powers, its manner of viewing the situation.

The entire world recognizes that the proposal of the Quadruple Alliance, clearly formulated in a spirit of moderation, rests, on the contrary, upon a solid base: as for its sincerity, this has been sufficiently established in the reply which the four allied powers gave to the proposal of the President of the United States of America.

In their reply the governments return to the question of the responsibility for the present war and strive to justify themselves by vain and pompous words which do not agree with the reality of the facts.

The assertions of the powers of the Entente—always the same—having been refuted on many occasions, it would be tiresome to reply to them again. Nevertheless the Imperial Government considers it useful to point out here that the Central powers had no reason to let loose the war, and Turkey had no motive for participation therein—without being compelled—for the simple reason that none of them entertained aspirations to the detriment of the powers of the Entente, which is not the case for these latter.

In reality, who does not know the aims of France upon Syria and Alsace-Lorraine, of Italy upon the southwestern provinces of Austria, of Russia on Constantinople, the Straits, and a large part of Anatolia, and of England upon Mesopotamia and Arabia? Who is not aware of all the intrigues of these powers to prevent the natural development of the Ottoman Empire, so as to some day be able to realize their project of division and that in spite of the principles of nationalities which they always advance, with the evident object of impressing public opinion in their own and in neutral countries? For, in reality, they themselves pay but slight attention to these same principles when they are not in conformity with their own interests: the proclamation of an English protectorate over Egypt, the population of which has no relation with the English race, the annexation of Cyprus where nothing is English, the occupation of Tripoli by Italy where the Italian is only an intruder; the wild project of wishing to accord to Russia Constantinople together with the basin of the Marmara where the great majority of the population is of Turkish race and Moslem, are so many violations of the principle of nationalities of which our adversaries seem to make themselves the apostles so as to justify their desire of vengeance and of conquest.

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Turkey has thus been forced to take up arms with her allies for the defense of her existence, of her liberty and of her independence. However, she is of the opinion, together with her allies, that to-day this aim has been attained. On the contrary, the enemy powers are at this moment farther than ever from the realization of their plans and it is precisely because of this that they nervously refuse a loyal proposal and thus deliberately assume the responsibility of continuing the effusion of blood.

In speaking of the protection of the rights of small nations, the powers of the Entente forget too much that independently of the peoples whom they have subjected by violence and whom they crush under their yoke, it is exactly they who so far have caused the misfortune and the ruin of more than one small nation. The example of Serbia whom Russia drove into not accepting in its entirety the Austro-Hungarian note after the horrible crime of Sarajevo, of Roumania whom they drew into their toils by intrigues and by corruption, of Montenegro whom they deceived, and finally of Greece whom they wish to draw into the war by unwarranted proceedings, hitherto unknown in the annals of history. The world which judges governments by their acts, will not be able to discover in the demands of the powers of the Entente the sincerity which these latter refuse to recognize in the proposal of the four allied powers. Besides, it will judge that the alleged violations of international law which are attributed to the four allies can not furnish a ground for complaint to those who, from the beginning of the war, have trodden under foot this law and have torn up the rights upon which it was based. The numerous protests which the Sublime Porte and its allies have been obliged to address since the commencement of hostilities to the governments of the Entente, through the intermediary of the powers charged with the protection of their interests, and of which the neutral states have often received copies, do not permit any doubt to remain concerning this matter. The Ottoman Empire and its allies have made a sincere effort to put an end to the human sufferings resulting from the war; their adversaries have refused the same without any plausible motive.

Consequently the responsibility for the continuance of the struggle falls upon these latter.

Confident in the justice of their cause, the four allied powers shall continue the war until there shall be a peace which guarantees honor, existence, and the free development of their peoples, and which brings to all nations a durable peace, permitting them to devote themselves in perfect harmony to the progress of civilization.

Please accept [etc.] HALIL

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File No. 768.72119/477

The Consul General at Sofia (Murphy) to the Secretary of State

No. 196 SOFIA, *January 23, 1917.*
[*Received February 23.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of note No. 71, from the Royal Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated January 20, 1917, containing the response of the Royal Bulgarian Government to the note of the Entente powers.

In this connection it is proper to observe that although I presented to the Prime Minister the answer of the Entente powers (in English) immediately upon receipt, with the statement that the French text would be handed him as soon as received from Paris, the text however has never been received—the present note of the Bulgarian Prime Minister being based, as will be seen, upon the note of the Spanish Minister.

I have [etc.] D. I. MURPHY

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs (Radoslavoff) to the American Consul General at Sofia (Murphy)

No. 71

On the 14th of this month, the Royal Government had the honor to receive, through the obliging medium of his excellency the Spanish Minister at Sofia, the reply of the Entente to the note of December 12 last, by which Bulgaria and its allies declared themselves ready to open negotiations of peace.

Like its allies, the Government of His Majesty made it a duty to seriously study this reply. There was drawn from it the certainty that the form as well as the contents of the communication of the adverse powers forbid a direct reply. Nevertheless, careful of its obligations towards humanity and its own people; desirous also of better disengaging itself from the responsibilities of a prolongation of hostilities imposed on itself and its allies, by the attitude of the common enemy, this Government is bound to acquaint the neutral powers with its point of view on the situation created.

The adversaries of Bulgaria refused to take into account the proposition of the four allied powers dated December 12, under the pretext that it lacked sincerity and had no bearing. They saw in it rather a manoeuvre of war—executed with a view of effecting the evolution of the campaign—only an offer of peace, a manoeuvre having for its object the clouding the public opinion of their own countries, seeking also to mislead, indeed even to intimidate, the public opinion of neutral countries.

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Provoked and drawn into the present war by neighbors whose only dream since the beginning has been of its dismemberment, submitting to the judgment of history the fixing of the initial responsibilities, in perfect accord with its allies, Bulgaria protests to-day with all its force against a like interpretation of the motifs which determined the proposition of peace of the 12th December.

The eagerness which the four allied powers have shown in replying to the invitation of the President of the United States of America and the note of the Government of the Swiss Confederacy, is the best proof of the sincerity of their proposition. The Royal Government firmly hopes that its point of view will be shared by the neutral governments, who will acknowledge with it that it is only after an exchange of ideas proposed by the allied powers that the Entente would be able to pronounce by actual knowledge on the real intent of the offer of peace of December 12.

Bulgaria and its allies have made a loyal attempt to put an end to the war and to pave the way for an understanding between the belligerents. The Royal Government is assured that it depends solely on its adversaries to enter the path that leads to peace; but the enemy Governments have refused. The responsibility for a further effusion of blood therefore will rest upon them.

Confident of their rights and in perfect communion with their people, the four allied powers are forced to continue the fight until there comes a peace which will guarantee to them the honor, the existence and the free development of their peoples, and which will assure at the same time to the states of the European continent the benevolent possibility of cooperating, in mutual esteem and on a footing of perfect equality, in the solution of the great problems of civilization.

Dr. V. RADOSLAVOFF

SOFIA, *January 20, 1917.*

File No. 763.72119/8389

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 27, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received February 28, 9.55 p. m.*]

1730. Department's 1566, 22d. I immediately entered upon the duty requested by your strictly confidential instructions and yesterday morning and this morning had lengthy discussions at my house with Minister for Foreign Affairs. Count Czernin is impressed

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with the communication verbally made to him, but feels that prohibition against "any other government" ever knowing of transaction must mean all governments apart from Austria-Hungary's allies. With this understanding he to-day hands me this memorandum:

Austria-Hungary is always ready to end this war because she has always waged a defensive war. She, however, emphasizes the fact that she could only enter into negotiations for peace simultaneously with her allies; that she must receive the guaranty that the Monarchy will remain intact; and finally the guaranty necessary to insure the cessation of propaganda on the part of her neighbors, propaganda which led to the assassination at Sarajevo.

The proposals made by Mr. Penfield to Count Czernin as well as those which may be made in future will remain secret; at the same time Count Czernin expects that his reply will remain secret also.

I can state that Minister for Foreign Affairs is keenly desirous of peace and agrees that it must eventually come through President Wilson. Czernin's *bona fides* and permanent confidence are certain. He thinks that Entente Governments are working for peace at Washington. If you can do so, please rush a telegram that may continue the negotiations. Grew was present at to-day's conference.

Must mention that as answer to my protest against certain journals abusing America and the President, Count Czernin caused the press to cease this altogether and for weeks nothing offensive has been printed. Two important Vienna journals have more than once appeared with editorial pages really benefited.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72119/8889

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 3, 1917.*

1580. Your 1730, February 27. Assure Count Czernin that his confidence will be strictly observed and that all interchanges will remain secret.

You may further say to him that this Government appreciates the embarrassments of the Austro-Hungarian Government in discussing the desirability of obtaining assurances under present conditions. But, as the present seems opportune for that purpose while doing so at a later time, if certain events should take place, might be impossible or ineffective, this Government earnestly hopes that Count Czernin will reconsider the subject giving especial weight to the fact

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that conditions in the future may be far less favorable to Austria-Hungary than they are at present. It must be manifest to Count Czernin that this Government in again addressing him on a subject which can only be for the future welfare of his country is inspired by a disinterested desire to be helpful. It would be regrettable if certain perfectly frank interchanges of intention were not made before the progress of the war prevents even their consideration. This Government is loath to believe that Count Czernin is unwilling to obtain for his country certain advantages which this Government feels might be obtained under existing conditions which may not continue long and may not come again.

In presenting the foregoing orally to Count Czernin you will follow the same precautions as to secrecy as set forth in Department's instruction 1566, February 22.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3420

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *March 4, 1917.*
[*Received 3.04 p. m.*]

607. Local press publishes Wolff telegram Berlin, 3d, stating Chancellor, Germany received delegation Flemish council and discussed with them autonomy of Flanders. German Emperor desires to accede to wishes of Flemish, so far as consistent with war interests. Governor of Belgium already adopted measures preparatory to giving the Flemish people possibility acquiring autonomy. Belgium will be divided in two parts in accordance with language division. During peace negotiations and after establishment of peace, Germany will do all possible to encourage development Flemish nationality.

STOVALL

File No. 763.72/3481

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *March 10, 1917.*
[*Received March 11, 11.40 a. m.*]

635. *Kölnische Zeitung*, March 8, publishes significant Reichstag speech of Michaelis, undersecretary, food organization bureau, deploring present serious scarcity of foods in Germany and stating in most emphatic terms immediate necessity for more rigid organization of food supply and distribution as absolutely essential to

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enable Germany to pull through economically this year. He demands that enforcement of equal distribution of all food products be especially applied to country districts in which most farm products have always been withheld in greater quantities than a uniform rationing would permit.

He also remarked on the noticeable and increasing lack of steadfastness on part of people in bearing sufferings now prevailing. In conclusion he states:

We are now faced by the prospect of what will occur if our efforts do not succeed. The result would be inconceivable. The horrible misery that would befall us were we forced to see that our food supplies are insufficient to enable us to hold out during the last months of the current year can not be pictured in words.

To above the *Kölnische Zeitung* remarks: "No minister has hitherto discussed our domestic situation so sharply, so energetically, or so clearly."

STOVALL

File No. 763.72119/10094

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *March 13, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received March 15, 7 a. m.*]

1757. I have lost no time in further discussing with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with secrecy and circumspection, the subject of your confidential instructions contained in telegrams 1566, February 22, and 1580, March 3. The Minister is keenly alive to the matter and four times has been in conference with me at my house. Naturally he has discussed matter with his Emperor, with whom he has been two days' visit to Hungary. To-day I have been with Count Czernin for an hour and in that time he announced a dozen times that a separate peace is out of the question. He gives me his complete confidence and he does not hesitate to speak feelingly of the good offices you are willing to use on Austria-Hungary's behalf. The subjoined is an exact translation of a memorandum to-day handed me by Count Czernin made in his presence and read to him.

Count Czernin repeats that he is disposed to enter upon conversations to end the war on condition that it is a question of a general peace and not a separate peace. It is absolutely out of the question to separate Austria-Hungary from her allies the Minister asserts with emphasis. Count Czernin states that he is convinced that none

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of the belligerent groups will be able to destroy its adversaries and that consequently it would appear desirable to put an end to slaughter which in any case will end sooner or later in an honorable peace for all the belligerents.

If the Entente maintains its proposal to enter upon free conversations which in every case must exclude a separate peace with Austria-Hungary, Count Czernin would be disposed to send a man in his confidence to a neutral country to meet a representative of the Entente. The two gentlemen would discuss secretly and freely the basis and the conditions of negotiations for peace.

Furthermore Count Czernin has proposed that his representative as well as a representative of the Entente could meet on neutral territory to discuss there the lot of the prisoners of war, their exchange within possible limits, as well as other similar questions.

The matter is of such moment that Count Czernin asks what Entente belligerent is making the overture upon which your telegrams are based.

I have omitted nothing that might forward the instructions under which I have been working. No offer at this time can induce the Minister to debate any arrangement meaning a breaking away from Austria's allies. There are rumors of Austria-Hungary's tiring of the overlordship of Berlin, but fear alone is enough to stifle any governmental expression of this.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72/3521

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 15, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 12 p. m.*]

772. My 765.[1] National Liberal member of the Prussian Lower House introduced motion asking for a bill reconstituting the House of Lords on more democratic lines. Bernhard in *Vossische Zeitung* sharply attacked Chancellor for not rebuking House of Lords for its criticism of the Reichstag and said he could not understand the confidence of the parties of the Left in the Chancellor unless they trusted that Hindenberg would win the war soon and then everything else would come of itself. Yesterday the Chancellor spoke in the Prussian Lower House and protested against the sharp criticism of the Reichstag heard in the House of Lords; he repeated that the events of the war must and will lead to a reform of internal policy and that the Government would introduce a bill for the reform of suffrage in Prussia but that this could not be done in the midst

[1] Not printed.

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of war. He said that a forceful foreign and internal policy would be necessary after the war but that this would not be possible unless the political rights of the great body of the people permitted their fundamental and intelligent cooperation in the works of state.

LANGHORNE

File No. 763.72119/468

The Secretary of State to the Mexican Consul General at San Francisco in Charge of Mexican Interests (De Negri)

WASHINGTON, *March 16, 1917.*

SIR: I have to request that you will have the kindness to transmit to the President-elect of the Mexican Republic the following reply to the communication of February 11, 1917, addressed by him to you with instructions to deliver it to the Government of the United States.

In his note of February 11, 1917,[1] the President-elect proposes to all the neutral governments that the

groups of contending powers [in the present European conflict] be invited, in common accord and on the basis of absolutely perfect equality on either side, to bring this war to an end either by their own effort or by availing themselves of the good offices or friendly mediation of all the countries which would jointly extend that invitation. If within a reasonable time peace could not be restored by these means, the neutral countries would then take the necessary measures to reduce the conflagration to its narrowest limit, by refusing any kind of implements to the belligerents and suspending commercial relations with the warring nations until the said conflagration shall have been smothered.

The Government of the United States has given careful and sympathetic consideration to the proposals of the *de facto* Government, not only because they come from a neighboring republic in whose welfare and friendship the United States has a peculiar and permanent interest, but because these proposals have for their end the object which the President had hoped to attain from his discussion a few months ago of the aims of the belligerents and their purposes in the war. Of the futile results of the President's efforts at that time General Carranza is no doubt aware. Instead of the conflict being resolved into a discussion of terms of peace, the struggle, both on land and on sea, has been renewed with intensified vigor and bitterness. To such an extent has one group of belligerents carried warfare on the high seas involving the destruction of American ships and the lives of American citizens, in contravention of the pledges heretofore solemnly given the Government of the United States, that it was deemed necessary within the past few weeks to sever relations with one of the governments of the allied Central powers. To render the situation still more acute, the Government of the United States has unearthed a plot laid by the Government dominating the Central powers to embroil not only the Government and people of Mexico, but also the Government and people of Japan in war with the United States. At the time this plot was conceived, the United States was at peace with the Government and people of the

[1] *Ante*, p. 45.

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German Empire, and German officials and German subjects were not only enjoying but abusing the liberties and privileges freely accorded to them on American soil and under American protection.

In these circumstances, all of which were existent when the note under acknowledgment was received, the Government of the United States finds itself, greatly to its regret and contrary to its desires, in a position which precludes it from participating at the present time in the proposal of General Carranza that the neutral governments jointly extend an invitation to the belligerent countries to bring the war to an end either by their own effort or by availing themselves of the good offices or friendly mediation of neutral countries.

At the present stage of the European struggle, the superiority of the Entente powers on the seas has prevented supplies from reaching the Central powers from the Western Hemisphere. To such a degree has this restriction of maritime commerce extended that all routes of trade between the Americas and the continent of Europe are either entirely cut off or seriously interrupted. This condition is not new. In 1915 the Central Governments complained of their inability to obtain arms and ammunition from the United States while these supplies were being shipped freely to the ports of their enemies. The discussion of the subject culminated in the American note of August 12, 1915 (a copy of which is enclosed),[1] to the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, upholding the contention of the United States that its inability to ship munitions of war to the Central powers was not of its own desire or making, but was due wholly to the naval superiority of the Entente powers. Believing that this position of the United States is based upon sound principles of international law and is consonant with the established practice of nations, the President directs me to say that he can not bring himself to consider such a modification of these principles or of this practice as compliance with General Carranza's proposal to suspend commercial relations with the warring nations would entail.

The President regrets, therefore, that, however desirous he may be of cooperating with General Carranza in finding a solution of the world problem that is intruding itself upon all countries, he is, for the reasons set forth, unable at the present time to direct his energies toward the accomplishment of the lofty purposes of the President-elect in the way suggested by his proposals. The President would not be understood, however, as desiring to impede the progress of a movement leading to the resumption of peaceful relations between all of the belligerents, and would not, therefore, wish the Mexican Government to feel that his inability to act in the present stage of affairs should in any way militate against the attainment of the high ideals of General Carranza by the cooperation of other neutral governments in the use of their good offices and friendly mediation to bring about the end of the terrible war which is being waged between the great powers of Europe.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

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[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1915, Supplement, p. 794.

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File No. 763.72/3527

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 16, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received March 17, 2.30 a. m.*]

779. It is evident from reports from Germany that the Chancellor's speech in the Prussian Lower House on the 14th, in which he definitely committed himself to more democratic government in Prussia and the German Empire was political event of the utmost importance and has greatly strengthened his position. His speech was not prepared but he spoke with deep earnestness and made a profound impression on his hearers. He now commands the confidence of the parties of the Left and the Center. The Liberal press takes the speech as the harbinger of a new epoch. *Frankfurter Zeitung* writes that a democratic German Empire, the outlines of which are just visible, must and will come since the will of the German people imperiously demands it; for the war has made citizens of the German people and awakes their will to say how they shall be governed. The *Berlin Tageblatt* says no successor of the Chancellor will ever be able to repudiate the principles to which he has committed himself since they are the principles cherished [by] the vast majority of the German Parliament.

The Socialist Leinert, who spoke after the Chancellor, said that desire at the front was one of determination to do a good job, first with the English, and then with the Prussian Junkers; that the people were fighting to bring the enemy to reason and not for the designs of the Junkers.

The election to fill Liebknecht's Reichstag seat reports an overwhelming victory for Stahl, the candidate of the regular Socialist Party, over the candidate of the Socialist opposition.

LANGHORNE

File No. 763.72119/512

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *March 16, 1917.*
[*Received March 17, 2 p. m.*]

872. Minister of Foreign Affairs delivered this afternoon speech covering Italy's foreign policy. It included following passage:

Important message President Wilson January 22 advanced the conception future international settlement aiming at guaranteeing

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humanity from new calamities of war. President recognizes that all this can not be obtained even partially unless conditions peace satisfy general principles justice and civilization of respect of nationalities and of small states, principles already laid down in Allies' answer to his first note. But he does not explain how all this can be accomplished assuming his premise of peace without victory. This would be indeed equivalent to negotiation of causes of this war and to disavowal of aims proclaimed by Italy and Allies.

Speech received with general applause.

NELSON PAGE

File No. 868.00/98

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

Greek Series
No. 158

ATHENS, *February 11, 1917.*
[*Received March 19.*]

SIR: I have the honor to submit to the Department the enclosed report on the political situation here, with especial regard to the question of Greek neutrality.

I have [etc.]

GARRETT DROPPERS

[Enclosure]

Report on the Neutrality Policy of Greece

ATHENS, *February 11, 1917.*

I have often been informed during the past six months in a semi-official manner that it is of the utmost importance that Greece should remain neutral and not mix up in this war. Some weeks ago Mr. Streit, an ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Venizelos Cabinet but since the outbreak of the war an ardent anti-Venizelist and a trusted counselor of His Majesty the King, informed me that it was highly undesirable for Greece to abandon her policy of neutrality, although her sentiments, both official and lay, were undoubtedly favorable to the Entente. Mr. Streit, I may add, is suspected, though on what grounds of evidence I am unable to say, of being a supporter of the Germanophile party in Athens. Putting aside the question of his sincerity, I wish to examine the facts of Greece's neutrality and the reasons of state alleged therefor.

Mr. Streit mentioned two grounds which he thought were conclusive for this policy. One was the situation of the Greeks in Turkey. There were in that Empire several millions of Greeks, whose security for life and property depended upon the fact of Greece's remaining neutral. If Greece entered the war, these people would be despoiled and irretrievably ruined. For this reason the King deserved well of those Greeks who lived under this foreign jurisdiction. The sec-

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ond reason was that Greece had just finished a very exhausting war against Turkey and later against Bulgaria. She needed now to recuperate her forces and resources and not to engage in a new war.

At the time that the first Venizelos Ministry fell (early in March 1915) there was little or no opposition to Greece's entering the war, to the best of my recollection. Leaving this point aside, I was told by the Minister of Foreign Affairs himself of the succeeding Ministry (Mr. Zographos) that he submitted a formal note to Great Britain, offering the participation of Greece in the war on the side of the Allies on certain conditions, of which two were important: (1) That the Greek General Staff should have charge of all land operations against Constantinople; (2) that the Allies should guarantee Greece against attack by Bulgaria not only during the war, but also for some years thereafter. The British Government did not reply to this note. Sir Edward Grey, however, did send an informal reply to the British Minister at Athens, Sir F. Elliot, which I had the privilege of reading. It was simply to the effect that England could not entertain the propositions of the new Greek Ministry.

In substance there was little difference between the Venizelos offer and that of the Ministry which succeeded him, unless we deem important what was the essence of the entire transaction, namely, that Venizelos should have no share in the glory of the undertaking, if it proved successful. England's reasoning may have been that bargaining in the matter of an alliance between the Allies and Greece was unwise; it may have been that she felt herself under obligation to accept nothing less than the Venizelos offer, since England herself had persuaded him to join the Allies and now was unwilling to desert him; it may have been that she distrusted the good faith of the Gounaris Ministry, since the Prime Minister was a noted pro-German. Whatever her reasons may have been, she did not respond to the advances of the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Prince George returned to Greece in April 1915 soon after the Venizelos Ministry resigned. It is well known that he had vowed never to return to Greece so long as Venizelos was in power, owing to his quarrel with Venizelos in Crete some years before, when the Prince was high commissioner of that island. I had an audience of Prince George soon after his return to Athens. He spoke (I thought, undiplomatically) with the greatest bitterness about Venizelos, indeed, never alluded to him except as "that demagogue." He informed me that now that Venizelos was out of the way, the Greek Government would be free to make an alliance with the Entente powers. This was the very same month that Mr. Zographos had sent his offer to England. On or about May 1 at an evening party attended by the entire Royal Family I spoke with another of the

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brothers of the King and after some preliminary discussion about politics, in which I tried to fence as much as possible, he said to me: "I can assure you that within six weeks Greece will join the Allies in the war." I, who had read Sir E. Grey's letter, replied that I must beg to differ with this view, and that my impression was that Greece would not enter the war either within six weeks or within six months. The Prince expressed the greatest surprise and asked the reason for my opinion. "That," I replied, "I regret to say I am obliged to withhold." I may add that Prince George, his brother, was at that time just returning to Paris from Athens assuring the members of the Royal Family that he could arrange matters with the French Cabinet and get more satisfactory terms than Venizelos. This promise of Prince George was the basis of the assurance given to me by his brother.

Matters went on from bad to worse in Greece, but finally another election was held, the result of which was that Venizelos was returned to power. There can be no doubt that extraordinary efforts were made in the campaign by the Government to defeat the Venizelists. Nor was Venizelos himself equivocal in his language. If elected, he declared, he would immediately exert all his influence to range Greece in the war on the side of the Entente. It seems to be clear therefore that Greece was not averse to joining the war actively on the side of the Allies. The organs opposed to Venizelos, it must be admitted, emphatically disputed this view. They claimed that it was Venizelos personally that the people voted for, not the war. But apart from this consideration, it is difficult to explain the order for mobilization, which was accepted by the King upon Venizelos' proposal, on any other ground than that the nation would enter the war sooner or later. If on the side of the Allies, then the Venizelos program would be accepted in its integrity; if on the side of the Central Empires (as was at that time obscurely but probably falsely hinted), then in flagrant violation of every pretense of decent public policy.

However, on one ground or another, there was again a difference of opinion between the King and Venizelos and on October 6, 1915, after only five weeks in office the latter resigned. From this time on, for the space of almost ten months the army remained mobilized, but for what purpose no one was able to understand. This condition of things was demoralizing to the nation in more ways than one; the soldiers were in many instances unpaid, their services were employed for the most humiliating detective work, for propagandist purposes, and in the end for not even defending their country against aggression, until finally the Entente powers ordered Greece to demobilize her army, now thoroughly wearied of the thought of war.

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During the month of September 1916 there again were rumors that Greece would join the Allies. About the middle of that month the Associated Press correspondent, Mr. P. Hibben, informed me that I could on the most positive authority telegraph to my Government that Greece would join the Allies in the war. When I questioned him closely on the matter, he replied that the King had given him his Royal word of honor to this effect. He stated in the most emphatic terms that the decision would be made public within two weeks. He also gave the same information at the same time to the British Minister, and all the Entente Ministers at Athens were more or less impressed. For various reasons this decision also fell through and Greece remained neutral, though in a very disastrous sense for her own interests. It was on the basis of this information that I sent my despatch No. 156 dated September 22, 1916, to the Department.[1]

There are thus two distinct cases—the first in May 1915, the second in September 1916—where the highest personages of the Greek Government gave assurances that Greece would abandon her policy of neutrality and join the Entente. In view of this fact I do not understand how a responsible person can say to me that the King from the start desired to pursue only a policy of neutrality and that he has consistently maintained this effort.

As to the main reason. which Mr. Streit mentioned in justification of this policy, namely, the vast number of Greek Ottoman subjects, who would be injured in life and property by an alliance of Greece with the Entente, I can only reply that such Greek Ottomans have already suffered much during the past two years in any case. Furthermore the Greek Ottomans, to the best of my knowledge, are almost to a man partisans of Venizelos and are not asking for a policy of neutrality. On the contrary, they deem the conduct of affairs in Greece during the past two years highly disastrous to their own interests. But this point is not one on which I have satisfactory evidence, having only such information as comes from the many refugees, who have fled from Turkey to Greece for safety.

GARRETT DROPPERS

File No. 763.72/3556

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 20, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received March 20, 4.40 p. m.*]

790. The Socialist *Vorwärts* renews its appeal for democratic government in Germany and asks how much longer the German

[1] Not printed.

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people is to remain behind the other peoples in freedom of development. In a special article entitled "The time for action" Scheidemann writes that the reason why the sympathies of almost the whole world are with Germany's enemies is because democratic principles are seen everywhere but in Prussia. Russia was the only country left to which we could point as representing [autocracy] and now the democratic idea has full sway in that great country. Why then does our Imperial Chancellor hesitate to take a step that is absolutely necessary now and can be taken to-day? There are difficulties in the way, it is submitted, but can they be compared for a moment with the difficulties which our people are overcoming every day? Millions are facing death each day, millions are enduring privation; is it for the sake of the Prussia of Westarp and Heydebrand? The arduous tasks are evenly allotted but there is inequality of rights although the poorest sons of the Fatherland have proven the most faithful. Now is the time for resolute action. The difficulties which may arise if the Government now demands free suffrage for Prussia are as light as a feather in comparison with the difficulties which may arise if the Government fails to do so. The times are serious and equal suffrage in Prussia is mature. The Chancellor ought not to delay one day longer. The Prussian people and all the other German peoples will support him to a man if he takes resolute action.

LANGHORNE

File No. 763.72/3562

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, *March 19, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received March 21, 4 a. m.*]

241. *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, March 19, reports stormy budget debate in German Parliament March 15 and quoting *Berliner Tageblatt* says it is evident that paper did not dare quote worst Hoffmann's (Social Labor Party) statements who said the wealthy have meat, pork fat; Assistant Secretary of State Göppert has stored up great quantities sausage; that directors and managers were unjustly favored but the women got nothing at all. We are now told they were only samples, nice samples indeed, of 96 kilograms. In certain parts of Germany one finds the meat dishes on menus but the masses suffer, consequently smallpox gaining rapidly. According to Vienna newspaper reports 30,000 cases smallpox northern Germany. Social Democratic Party beaten in Potsdam. The 5,000 votes for Mehring are peace votes. They protest against further annihilation of humanity. It is maintained absurd fanatic politics

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have brought Germany into dishonor; annexation is criminal (called to order); our submarine warfare is contrary to all international law. At this point the speaker asked the House if it wished to listen to more and as only the two Social Democratic groups and Poles rose Hoffmann was not allowed to go on. Minister of Agriculture said that Hoffmann was not a Prussian representative of the people but a representative of the Entente (great excitement and cries of order). Minister for Foreign Affairs continued that the speaker's remarks were much to be regretted and that the Chancellor's enemies must even admit that he was honestly and seriously striving to fulfil tasks given him. Military absolutism in the true meaning of the word had made Prussia and Germany great. Now more than ever Germany must unite around the only goal to bring war to victorious close. The Minister then spoke of the matter of the sausage (no particulars printed). Von Mizerski (Polish) said his party could not accept budget as it called for appropriation to oppose Poles in the east. Nissen (Danish) made similar statement as budget opposed Danes in North Schleswig.

MORRIS

File No. 763.72/3568

The Minister in Denmark (Egan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

COPENHAGEN, *March 21, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received March 22, 8 a. m.*]

513. Hamburg *Fremdenblatt*, March 20, says that as a result of the Chancellor's recent speech in regard to the contemplated alteration in the system of election in Prussia after the war the Socialist leader Scheidemann published an article in *Vorwärts* in which he, while referring to the revolution in Russia, strongly urges that a bill be placed immediately before the Reichstag granting the population of Prussia equal suffrage for electing members to the Reichstag. The *Fremdenblatt* states that the article of Scheidemann has caused the greatest sensation in political circles in Berlin.

EGAN

File No. 763.72/3585

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, *March 23, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received March 24, 3 a. m.*]

250. From German press, March 21. Herr von Batocki summing up the results of a conference of war distribution authorities and

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workmen's representatives said former are convinced of necessity of a stricter and severer rationing and distribution but everything being done to insure the feeding of the working classes. The fact must not be concealed however that provisions have become extremely scarce and production has great difficulties to contend with and that further scarcity must be expected.

Captain Persius in *Berliner Tageblatt* says by arming merchant vessels America renounces armed neutrality and resorts to armed force as no difference between an armed merchant vessel and a warship.

MORRIS

File No. 868.00/100

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *March 30, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received March 31, 6 a. m.*]

285. Provisional Government Saloniki requests recognition by Government of the United States with a view to sending accredited agent Washington.

DROPPERS

File No. 763.72119/532

The Minister in Denmark (Egan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

COPENHAGEN, *April 1, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received April 2, 5 a. m.*]

537. Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs in an interview with *Fremdenblatt* states that he steadily maintains proposal that all warring countries shall send representatives to a peace conference and at the same time insists that there shall be no armistice.

It is only by a peace conference that we can settle the hundreds of questions which have come up since the war. We are in the possession of very large territories which belong to our enemies and they have occupied very large territories which belong to us. On the seas our enemies are fighting against the submarine war. All international treaties have been abolished. It is impossible to solve any of the essential questions because they are too diffused. Those who want peace must be willing to discuss it practically in a peace conference. Should this show that it is impossible to agree then the war which has never been interrupted by an armistice must continue. The Central powers are willing to negotiate for a fair peace.

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Austrian Minister here tells me that this represents the real sentiments of the Austrian Government.

EGAN

File No. 763.72119/533

The Minister in Denmark (Egan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

COPENHAGEN, *April 2, 1917, noon.*
[Received April 3, 8 a. m.]

538. *Vorwärts* writes:

An official German Socialist has sent a telegram to Minister Stauncing, Danish Socialist leader at Copenhagen, with the request that it be forwarded to Cheidze and the Duma. Substance is as follows:

The Russian Socialists at Copenhagen have sent us a note dealing with the question of peace and requesting us to defeat any tendency in Germany towards interfering with the development of the Russian revolution. The German Socialists are fully complying with this request. During the late discussion in the Reichstag on the subject the Socialists, the Government, and all other parties expressed a strong disapproval of interfering with Russia's internal policy.

The German Socialists congratulate the Russian proletariat on the results obtained in the cause of political liberty. The German Socialists express the wish that the political progress of the Russian people will contribute towards reestablishing peace for which the German Socialists have been fighting since the beginning of the war. Ebert

By this note the German peace proposal of December 12, 1916, is amended so that it is not demanded that the enemy should cease hostilities during the discussion for peace.

EGAN

File No. 868.00/100

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Greece (Droppers)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 4, 1917, 5 p. m.*

247. Your 285, March 30. Cable Department full details status Provisional Government, both as to extent of territory over which it exercises authority, and the character and completeness such authority. Also cable all available data relative to parliamentary elections won by Venizelists on war issue, and also relative to action of King dissolving Parliament and calling new election while army was mobilized. Any other information which might be of use to Department in forming correct opinion on Grecian situation desired, also your own opinion on matter.

LANSING

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PART II
NEUTRAL RIGHTS

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PART II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AS AFFECTED BY THE SUBMARINE OPERATIONS OF GERMANY AND HER ALLIES—RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPEAN NEUTRALS WITH GERMANY AND HER ALLIES—ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO THE WAR

German Memorandum, Submitted January 10, on the Treatment of Armed Merchant Ships as Warships—Notes in Explanation of Submarine Incidents of 1916—Further Submarine Cases—German and Austro-Hungarian Notes of January 31 Announcing the Resumption of Unrestricted Submarine Warfare

File No. 300.115Sa1

The Consul at Cardiff (Lathrop) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CARDIFF, *January 9, 1917.*
[*Received 5 p. m.*]

Charles Edward Slater, master American S. S. *Sacramento* of San Francisco (owners: Bay Steamship Co. of America at New York), reports *Sacramento* on voyage Havre, France, to Cardiff, Wales, in ballast, was fired on without warning, seven shots at least, by submarine believed German, 11 a. m. January 6, two and one-half miles north Casquets Lighthouse, French coast. Vessel stopped after first shot, American flag hoisted, master proceeded in small boat with ship's papers but submarine disappeared. Vessel proceeded on voyage, no casualties, arrived Cardiff January 8.

LATHROP

File No. 763.72/3117

The Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CONSTANTINOPLE, *January 8, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received January 10, 8 a. m.*]

2393. Newbold [1] has been informed by the Constantinople military attaché of a neutral power that some German officers just arrived from Berlin have stated to him that Germany is preparing for a

[1] Maj. Henry L. Newbold, military attaché at Constantinople.

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pitiless submarine warfare by the end of February next. The Germans will, it is stated, effectively blockade by their submarines the whole of the British coast and will sink without warning every vessel that goes to or from England. This the Germans state will be a breach of all their promises to such an extent that it will certainly bring about a rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, if not war.

I submit the above to the Department for what it may be worth. It may be that this has been purposely reported to our Embassy in order that it should be transmitted to the Department so as to induce the latter to use all its influence to bring about peace.

ELKUS

File No. 857.857/63

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *January 9, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received January 10, 1.20 p. m.*]

1800. Walter J. Dupree, negro, claiming American citizenship by birth at Atlanta, Ga., survivor of Norwegian steamer *Helgoy*, deposes that *Helgoy* was a time-chartered vessel bound from Barry Dock to Bordeaux with coal; that he was in galley night of January 3 when he heard sound of cannon and soon after explosion of torpedo. Survivors in two boats. Sea smooth. Towed by submarine 3 to 5 miles to point near La Rochelle, then placed on board one of fleet of five small fishing boats, other four then sunk by submarine. Deponent stated he could see neither number nor flag on submarine. No other Americans on board; one of crew killed, three injured. Was unable to furnish further information. Deposition by mail. Deponent appeared doubtful with regard to names of places and definite details.

SHARP

File No. 763.72111/4443

The German Ambassador (Bernstorff) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *January 10, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Under instructions of my Government I beg to transmit to you the enclosed memorandum, concerning the new offensive armament of the merchant vessels of our enemies. I am further directed by my Government to discuss this matter with you and to add to the memorandum that it, of course, does not cancel the pledges given by my Government in the note of May 4, 1916.[1]

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 257.

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I should be very much obliged to you for an appointment as soon as you have been able to study a translation of the enclosed memorandum and are prepared to discuss it with me.

I further beg to enclose a cipher message for the Foreign Office in Berlin,[1] which refers to the above-mentioned question and to your note of December 18 last concerning peace terms.[2] I should be very grateful for kind transmission to Berlin.

With many thanks in advance, I remain [etc.]

J. BERNSTORFF

[Enclosure—Translation]

Memorandum of the German Government Concerning Defensively Armed Enemy Merchant Ships

The German Government, in its memorandum of February 8, 1916,[3] respecting the treatment of armed merchant ships, adduced a number of arguments for no longer considering merchantmen armed by enemy powers as peaceful vessels of commerce but regarding them as belligerents. Evidence in support of its position has largely increased since that time.

As may be seen from numerous press reports and parliamentary proceedings in enemy countries the number of merchant ships armed with heavy guns has grown considerably larger in the course of the year 1916. The limit of the evolution was placed by responsible statesmen of those countries, such as Lord Crewe and Admiral Lacaze, at the arming of all merchant vessels. More particulars will be found in the enclosed resolutions of a conference held at London on December 10, by shipping interests with the assistance of Government representatives. Public opinion in enemy countries has long demanded that guns be mounted at the bow of merchant ships also; as a matter of fact, the use of bow guns has already been established by German naval craft in the Mediterranean.

That the armament of merchant vessels is not intended for defense only but for attack on the German submarines engaged in cruiser warfare is shown by a number of indisputable facts. The secret order of the British Government published with the German memorandum of February 8, 1916, may be here called to mind. In the meanwhile secret admiralty orders, which fully confirm their aggressive character, found on French and Italian merchant vessels, fell into the hands of the German naval forces that captured them. Thus were found on the French merchant vessel *Marie Thérèse* on October

[1] Not printed.
[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 97.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

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29 of this year, confidential instructions of the French Naval Staff, in which the following order is given, among others:

> [In French] Open fire as soon as the submarine is within range.

Like directions are given in the secret instructions found on the S. S. *Citta di Messina* on July 31 of last year:

> [In Italian] If a vessel sights a submarine forward and quite near, either below or in the act of coming to the surface, the best maneuver to make is resolutely to steer for it. By so doing it will either strike the submarine and sink it or at least, as has happened in previous cases, kill all or a part of the crew by hurling them against the sides; or it will compel the submarine to submerge and come up abaft, which is a very advantageous position for it. Thereafter it will be necessary to keep close watch astern and to flee at full speed, trying to keep the submarine directly astern if the sea is smooth or not sufficiently rough to prevent the submarine from firing to good effect, if taken in front.

In addition the British Government offered through Lord Crewe, on November 15 of last year, in the House of Lords the following explanation of the orders issued by it, which excludes every doubt:

> [In English] The German submarine is an enemy which it is permissible and proper to destroy, if you can, at sight.

This aggressive intent of enemy merchant vessels has become clearly apparent to the German naval authorities. Cases of merchant vessels which, without even being attacked, assume an aggressive attitude toward German submarines, are increasing. Evidence of the carrying out of secret orders has recently been produced; thus the French steamer *Mississippi* on November 8 of this year opened artillery fire on a German submarine passing by a long way off that had made no move whatever to attack and even had never intended to stop her; likewise, on December 4 of this year, the armed English steamer *Caledonia* attempted to ram a German submarine although here again there had been no intention, let alone any preparation, to attack on the part of the Germans; again in November, in the English Channel alone, there were recorded three attacks with artillery by unknown enemy steamers on German submarines which had not made the slightest move against the steamers, while six such occurrences took place in the Mediterranean in the past few months.

In this condition of things enemy merchant ships can not in particular cases claim treatment according to the rules of ordinary cruiser warfare; they have rather assumed the character of belligerents under the principles announced by the Government of the United States in its memorandum of March 25, 1916, concerning the status of armed merchant vessels.[1]

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[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 244.

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The American Government proceeds from the principle that the vessel in neutral waters, as well as on the high seas, is to be regarded and treated as a warship when, among other things, it is under commission or orders of a belligerent state to engage in attacks. To be sure the American Government presupposes that the character of a belligerent on the high seas is not established on presumption alone but only on conclusive evidence; this conclusive evidence, however, is so abundant that it leaves no room for doubt. While the American memorandum lays stress on the point that the presence of armament on a merchant vessel does not by itself afford sufficient ground for presuming her to be a war vessel, the German Government ventures to point out that the belligerent character of the enemy merchant vessels now armed is denoted by other weighty circumstances besides the armament itself, among which the above cited instructions of the enemy governments and the actual attacks unexpectedly delivered on German submarines stand foremost.

Further, the American memorandum only considers government commissions to attack as existing when they are attended with a threat to punish failure to attack and with a grant of prize money when the attack is made. Here again the presumptions are proved to exist. For captains who failed to carry out their orders to sink German U-boats, although opportunity offered to do so, are punished in England. The *Daily Chronicle* reports, as early as the 8th of September, 1915, that Ernest Alfred Sheldon, of the Royal Naval Reserve, captain of an armed merchant ship, was dismissed from the Navy by a sentence of the court martial at Devonport for not attacking a German U-boat. It is further known, from the proceedings of the English Parliament, that for the sinking of, or effort to sink, German submarines not only have rewards been offered by the state, but that claims for such rewards have been examined by government organs and that the reward is given only when the said examination proves satisfactory to the government. Rewards are granted in various forms; they consist mainly of money, therefore resembling prize money, or again in awarding a gold watch or conferring distinction in the granting of a military officer's rank. To all this is added that the men detailed from the English Navy or Naval Reserve to man the guns on English merchant vessels, on which they are regularly placed, do not lose their military character and their subjection to the disciplinary and punitive power of the naval authorities through being under orders on a merchant vessel, and so they are, as before, part of the British naval forces. Ships so armed, manned, and directed are no longer, as the American memorandum requires them to be in order to have their peaceful character recognized, simply armed for self-defense; they rather render, in the

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manner they are instructed to do, the same services against German submarines as the war vessels detailed for antisubmarine service, and the circumstance that they are at the same time doing commercial service does not make any difference as to their being treated like belligerents by German submarines.

Finally, the American memorandum goes on to say that a warship may properly exercise force to compel a merchant vessel to surrender, if the merchant vessel either offers resistance after a summons or, before the summons, uses its armament to keep the enemy at a distance. It admits, in this connection, the merchant vessel's right to resort to self-defense as soon as it is certain of attack by an enemy warship, as otherwise the exercise of the right would be so restricted as to be made ineffectual; exactly the same grounds support the position that a warship that is entitled to exercise the right of capture may use force when certain of attack by an armed enemy merchant vessel.

The German Government has drawn from the evidence herein above communicated the conclusion, in accord with the American memorandum, that armed merchant vessels of its adversaries in this war are to be treated as belligerents. In this it is fully convinced that it is acting on the same grounds as the American Government took in Secretary Lansing's note of January 18, 1916, to the English Ambassador;[1] for in that note the American Government concurs in the view that under the present conditions of U-boat warfare any armament of a merchant ship appears to have the character of armament for aggression, for the mounting of large guns on merchant ships could only be explained by an intention to place the merchant vessel at an advantage over the U-boat and thereby prevent warning and searching by the latter.

[Subenclosure]

Resolutions of a Conference Held at London, December 10, 1916, by Shipping Interests of the Allies with the Assistance of Government Representatives

Conference held at Foreign Office, London, on December 10, in which Jellicoe, Balfour, Carson, Maclay, Cecil, Stanley, representatives of English, Scotch, and Canadian shipowners as well as two representatives of France, Russia, Italy participated, agreed that all merchant ships are to be armed as follows:

1. *British steamers.*
   Up to 1,200 tons and 1,000 h. p. with two 2.24 Vickers-Maxim guns;
   From 1,200 to 5,000 tons and 6,000 h. p., two 4.0 Vickers guns, one 2.24 Vickers-Maxim gun;

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 146.

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From 5,000 to 10,000 tons and 15,000 h. p., one 6.0 Armstrong, two 4.0 Vickers guns;
Above 10,000 tons and 15,000 h. p., two 6.0 Armstrong and two 4.0 Armstrong guns (figures in English inches).
Guns crews to consist of naval-artillery men with one, two, or three officers according to requirement.

2. *French ships.*
Up to 1,200 tons and 1,000 h. p., two 3.7 automatic Creusot guns;
From 1,200 to 5,000 tons and 6,000 h. p., two 4.7 and one 3.7 automatic Creusot guns;
From 5,000 to 10,000 tons and 15,000 h. p., one 15.0 and two 4.7 Creusot guns;
Above 10,000 tons, two 15.0 and two 4.7 Creusot guns (figures in centimeters).

3. *Russian ships.*
Up to 1,200 tons and 1,000 h. p., two 1.85 inch Vickers guns;
From 1,200 to 5,000 tons and 6,000 h. p., two 7.5 centimeter and one 3.7 Creusot guns;
Above 5,000 tons, two 15.0 and two 7.5 Creusot guns.

4. *Italian ships.*
Up to 1,200 tons and 1,000 h. p., two 5.7 Terni guns;
From 1,200 to 5,000 tons and 6,000 h. p., two 7.6 and one 5.7 Terni guns;
Above 5,000 tons, two 12.0 and two 7.6 Terni guns (figures in centimeters).
The same regulations for guns, crews, and officers apply as for British ships.

File No. 763.72111/4443

The Secretary of State to the German Ambassador (Bernstorff)

WASHINGTON, *January 10, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: Referring to your note of the 10th instant, enclosing a cipher message for the German Foreign Office concerning, as you state, the new offensive armament of the merchant vessels of the Entente powers, and also my note of December 18 relative to peace terms, I feel under the necessity of stating that, however much I should personally like to oblige you, the Department can not undertake to forward this cipher message to Berlin, because, so far as I know, there appears to be no particular urgency for the transmission of the message on account of either of the subjects mentioned which have not recently been matters of discussion between us.[1] I need not add that I am desirous of promoting the good relations of our countries to the fullest extent so far as I can consistently with the official regulations of my Government.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

[1] This message, however, was sent the following day.

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File No. 763.72/3127

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 10, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received January 11, 6 p. m.*]

4860. Confidential source, fair authority, reports:

German submarine warfare is soon to be extended to the attacking of all armed ships without warning, such ships being considered men-of-war. One official letter I saw stated that Germany would begin this submarine warfare extension, no doubt engendering trouble with the United States, but this could not be helped as such warfare was last resort of German Navy against England. The reason Blaikie of *Caledonia* did not share Fryatt's fate was that vessel was armed and in reality a man-of-war, and therefore Blaikie was justified in offensive action and submarine was justified in sinking without warning. A number of officers declare that this extended method will go into effect soon.

Please transmit copy to Naval Intelligence

GERARD

File No. 857.857/64

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 11, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received January 12, 10.50 p. m.*]

4865. The following note relative to the sinking of the Norwegian steamer *Trippel* has just been received:

Berlin, January 11, 1917.

The undersigned has the honor to inform his excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the note of Mr. J. C. Grew, dated the 12th ultimo (Foreign Office No. 14849), relative to the sinking of the Norwegian steamer *Trippel* by a German submarine, as follows:

According to the investigation of the German naval authorities the Norwegian steamer *Trippel* was stopped by a German submarine on November 10, 1916, and captured after it was ascertained that her cargo consisted of steel and iron for the Italian war command with Genoa as the port of destination. Since it was impossible under the given circumstances to bring the steamer into a German port she was sunk. Crew had first been given sufficient time to leave the steamer; the weather was very fine, the Spanish coast scarcely 10 miles distant so that there was full security for the rescuing of the craft.

The undersigned requests that the above may be communicated to the American Government and avails himself [etc.] Minister for Foreign Affairs.

GERARD

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File No. 857.857/65

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 12, 1917, noon.*
[*Received January 13, 9 p. m.*]

4871. The following note relative to the sinking of the Norwegian steamer *Lökken* has just been received:

Foreign Office,
Berlin, January 11, 1917.

The undersigned has the honor to inform his excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the note of Mr. J. C. Grew, dated December 11 last (Foreign Office No. 14831), on the subject of the sinking of the Norwegian steamer *Lökken* by a submarine of unknown nationality as follows:

The investigation conducted by the German naval authorities has shown that the *Lökken* was stopped by a German submarine on November 11, 1916. The steamer had absolute contraband on board—namely, coal for the Algerian state railways. She was therefore captured and sunk, since it was not feasible under the given circumstances to take her into a German port. Care was taken for the rescue of the crew by the submarine taking the two boats in tow and conducting them to a steamer, which took the men on board.

The undersigned requests that the above may be communicated to the American Government, and avails himself [etc.] Zimmermann.

GERARD

File No. 841.857/297

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 15, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received January 16, 5 p. m.*]

4882. The following note relative to the sinking of the English steamer *Barbara* has just been received:

Foreign Office,
Berlin, January 14, 1917.

The undersigned has the honor to inform his excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the note of Mr. J. C. Grew, dated December 11 last (Foreign Office No. 14836), on the sinking of the steamer *Barbara* as follows:

According to the investigations of the German naval authorities the steamer *Barbara* was stopped by a German submarine with a shot of warning on October 20, 1916, a few miles south of the Isle of Wight; the crew then immediately entered the boats. After the commander had convinced himself that the crew had been taken on board of the Spanish steamer *Victor Chavarri* and was thus in a place of safety he sank the vessel.

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The undersigned requests that the above may be communicated to the American Government and avails himself [etc.] Zimmermann.

GERARD

File No. 763.72/3146

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 17, 1917.*
[*Received January 19, 1 p. m.*]

4895. Press summary: Considerable prominence given to English and French press reports of plans [as] to armament of merchantmen. Article by naval correspondent of *Lokal Anzeiger* claims that since the abolition of privateering international law has never countenanced resistance or self-defense on part of merchantmen but that this is a wrong for which the law provides penalties.

In opening address President of Prussian Lower House said:

The leading statesmen of our enemies have given such a shocking reply to the suggestion of the President of the United States, as well as to our note previously, have set up such unheard of peace conditions, and used such impudent language in so doing that the only reply left to us is that of our arms and it is to be hoped that this reply will be given to Messrs. Briand and Lloyd George very soon and with sufficient plainness by our great generals, by our splendid troops, and not least by our efficient submarines. (Cheers on all sides.)

General von Roehl said in Naumburg speech that submarines are to-day at last being employed to the fullest extent and that although policy had occasioned a pause in their use, the Government had never given up the intention of making full use of the weapon.

Charges are being made that Standard Oil Company connived in destruction of petroleum plants in Roumania and the Government is called upon to investigate matters.

GERARD

File No. 763.72/3147

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 18, 1917.*
[*Received January 19, 3.20 p. m.*]

4901. Press summary: In Prussian Lower House Von Heydebrand said: If we want to fight out the victory it is absolutely necessary that the weapons be used which afford us the possibility of really winning the victory against our most stubborn and strongest antagonist, England. (Loud applause.) This requires to be said, if our

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military instances [*leaders?*], the highest military command, and the Emperor consider it proper and opportune to make the requisite use of unrestrained submarine warfare, the German and Prussian people will be ready to bear the consequences. (Tremendous applause.)

Interruption by Hoffmann: "Who gives you the right to say that?" (Renewed applause for the speaker.) Hoffmann again interrupts: "That is pure madness."

"The interruptions by Deputy Hoffmann do not disturb me. The tone of his remarks is wholly inappropriate. In our present situation we want to win and that is the condition precedent to everything that we hope to reach after the war."

Deputy Herold of Center Party said: "Now that our adversaries have rejected the proffer of peace it is necessary to use all means on land and in the air, over, on, and under, the water. Our submarines can accomplish much more. We leave it to the discretion of our highest military command when this is to take place."

GERARD

File No. 763.72/3148

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 18, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received January 19, 4.30 p. m.*]

4900. Informed all neutral correspondents were called Foreign Office yesterday, were addressed by officers of the Navy who impressed upon them need of Germany using reckless submarine warfare, and were begged to assist in propaganda abroad with a view to creating sentiment in neutral nations in favor of allowing Germany to resume reckless submarine warfare.

GERARD

File No. 763.72111/4441

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 21, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received January 23, 8 a. m.*]

4912. At 7.30 yesterday evening Count Montgelas of the Foreign Office called on me and said that the following note had been sent to the embassies and legations of several neutral nations, particularly Spain and Norway, but was not sent to the United States because that country did not seem to be arming its merchant vessels, that Von Stumm, Undersecretary of State, had asked him, Montgelas, to give me a copy. Montgelas further said that Germany had never

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receded from the position it took concerning armed merchant vessels in the German note of February, 1916.[1]

The *note verbale* is as follows, and is in French. I send translation and will send original French tomorrow in open cable:[2]

According to information worthy of belief which the Imperial Government has received from a neutral country, the British Government has endeavored quite recently to decide the neutral shipowners engaged in transportation on its order to arm their ships with cannons. Likewise the armament of these neutral ships has been called for in the most energetic manner by English public opinion.

In view of these proceedings the German Government thinks it ought to call the attention of the neutrals to the fact that under existing conditions, neutral armed merchant ships run the risk of being taken for armed enemy merchant ships and of being in consequence attacked, these latter ships maneuvering often under a neutral flag to lay trap for German submarines. Moreover neutral ships of commerce which may make use of their temporary armament will be treated as pirates by the German naval forces.

The Imperial Department for Foreign Affairs leaves it to the (space for name of legation) to communicate the preceding to its government by telegraph. Berlin, the (----------), to the Legation of (----------).

Many Germans have informed me lately that the public feeling for the resumption of reckless submarine warfare is so great that they do not see how any government can withstand it. I think myself, in spite of assurances from all members of Government that I have talked to, that the course of the Government will be to resume reckless submarine warfare by way of attacks without notice on armed merchant vessels, and that an endeavor is being made to place the United States in a position of tacitly or openly consenting to such attacks without notice on armed merchantmen. The above *note verbale* as I read it contains a plain intimation that armed enemy merchant vessels are subject to attack without notice, and, if not answered by some declaration from the United States, may lay the way open to Germany to claim that the United States has consented to such attacks. I think the plan is to first compel all neutral governments except the United States to support the German position and thus leave the United States standing alone against all other neutrals. Note the fact of announcement that all recently captured crews taken on armed merchant vessels of enemies will be treated as prisoners of war. If this is accepted, then the ships from which they were taken are recognized as warships and therefore subject to attack without notice.

GERARD

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 163.

[2] On Jan. 22 Mr. Gerard cabled: "As I notice papers do not publish note which I sent in my No. 4912 yesterday, I do not cable it in French *en clair*" (File No. 763.72111/4442).

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File No. 841.857/303

The Consul General at Marseilles (Gaulin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MARSEILLES, *January 23, 1917.*
[*Received 11 p. m.*]

Mitchell John Kennedy, claiming American citizenship, resident Northfield, Vt., made affidavit stating was fireman British steamer *Mohacsfield* which sailed November last [from] Newport News, Va., for Italy carrying wheat. Attacked and reported sunk by submarine, unknown nationality, about January 13, thirteen miles off Malta. Vessel flying British flag when attacked. Had small gun which witness believes was used while attempting escape. Crew given 30 minutes take boats. Remained boats 23 hours. Weather stormy, sea rough, no vessels vicinity. Vessel not transport. Witness did not see ship sink. Only American aboard. Four casualties including two killed. Officers not landed here.

GAULIN

File No. 300.115C42/16

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *January 23, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received January 24, 8 a. m.*]

1654. Your 1436, December 2, 2 p. m.,[1] and 1498, January 16, 4 p. m.[2] Minister for Foreign Affairs states that, according to data furnished by Austro-Hungarian naval authorities, S. S. *Chemung* was stopped November 26 last, near Cape Gataby [*de Gata*], submarine hoisting signal "bring ship's papers on board" and wide warning shot across bow. Weather fine and almost calm. After first shot, notwithstanding lengthy wait, no steps taken on board steamer to lower boat, therefore second shot fired across bow. Signal easily recognizable, distance being about 3,000 meters. Steamer then sent boat with first officer bringing ship's papers, showing cargo to consist war material for Italy. Ship's officer notified ship would have to be sunk. He was asked if there was also ammunition on board, his answer indicating there was none but only "blasting caps" in cargo. Term "blasting caps" not being known on submarine no especial investigation made, since it was assumed if explosives involved officer would have added more explanatory remark, such as "dynamite." Signal "leave the ship" was hoisted and boat returned to ship. Entire crew had made preparation to

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 314.
[2] Not printed.

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leave and went into boats with hats, overcoats, walking sticks, and packed valises. It was distinctly seen that abandoning of ship had already been taken into consideration and therefore everything was in readiness. After launching, boats had been rowed away to a considerable distance. First intention was to sink ship from leeward but submarine having approached too close after firing two shots in stern other shots fired from windward at distance of about 100 meters. After two or three shells entire steamer suddenly blew up with violent explosion. Falling of main mast and débris did not damage submarine or lifeboats with Americans in spite of proximity. Suspicion arose that Americans had intentionally refrained from mentioning presence of explosives and captain asked how explosives came to be on board. He replied explosion due to "blasting caps" which were composed of dynamite. Two boats then taken in tow and conducted to coast about 50 nautical miles distant. Boats cast off when coast still 3 nautical miles distant, as unknown steamer appeared about 4,000 meters away steering directly for submarine which submerged. Cargo steamer stopped, taking crew *Chemung* on board and picking up boats. In submitting above report naval section of Austro-Hungarian Ministry of War adds that it should not fail to mention according to its view crew *Chemung* in any case intended damaging submarine. Minister for Foreign Affairs refers to Austro-Hungarian prize-court order of November 28, 1914, and says:

It is of course understood that a neutral government is at liberty to resort to diplomatic channels if it finds itself unable to accept a decision of the prize court of last instance as satisfactory. The Imperial and Royal Government would be able to take a position in the matter of the treatment of persons found on board a prize because this question does not belong to the competency of the prize courts.

Copy of note by pouch, leaving here 25th instant.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72111/4455

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 25, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received January 26, 4 p. m.*]

4925. Learn fair authority that Dr. Hale, who represents Hearst papers here, has assured Foreign Office that Germany can go on and fire on armed enemy merchant vessels as President will do nothing. Also learn on good authority that you [have received?] memorandum on firing on armed enemy merchant vessels stating that English have employed such ships offensively against submarine boats and that

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therefore, such ships will in the future be treated as war vessels sunk without notice. Do you not think I ought to be informed if such a document has been presented, and as to whether a change of policy is contemplated, and status of negotiations, if any?

GERARD

File No. 763.72111/4455

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Germany (Gerard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *January 27, 1917, 7 p. m.*

3834. Your 4925. Hale's statement without any foundation. Your reference to memorandum not clear but no memorandum has been presented and no change of policy is contemplated in regard to armed merchantmen. LANSING

File No. 763.72/3157

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 29, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received January 30, 5.30 p. m.]

4939. Undoubtedly Ludendorff is ruler of Germany to-day. What his sentiments towards America are, you may know from what Major Nicolai said to Colonel House.

I get from many quarters fairly reliable information that orders have been given for reckless submarine warfare, probably to commence with a blockade of all English ports and sinking of all ships approaching them with possible exception passenger ships carrying no contraband.

Germans firmly believe American people are not behind President and articles to that effect are published. I could better judge situation if you would send me summaries of notes and memorandum lately sent you by Bernstorff.

Foreign Office does not answer my notes inquiring if Americans among prisoners on *Yarrowdale.*

You know I handled *Sussex* crisis, breaking usual diplomatic rules, and I might be of use at this time in this situation, which is apparently being handled exclusively in America, if you kept me informed as to Bernstorff's moves and your policy.

Possibly Germans may propose certified American ships carrying no contraband. At one time Zimmermann showed me several drafts of such proposals which I translated for him.

It is possible that Socialist and Liberal parties may issue an appeal to American people on armed merchantmen question. Have

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also heard that no definite submarine action will be taken until Tarnowski's report arrives here.

Probably Germany will refuse to release Americans brought in on *Yarrowdale* on ground that they were on armed merchant ships.

GERARD

File No. 841.857/308

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 29, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received January 30, 7.30 p. m.*]

4948. Following note received from the Foreign Office:

Berlin, January 26, 1917.

The undersigned has the honor to inform his excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the note of Mr. J. C. Grew, dated December 11, 1916 (Foreign Office No. 14829), relative to the sinking of the British steamer *Trevarrick* by a German submarine as follows:

According to the facts as ascertained by the German naval authorities the British steamer *Trevarrack*, not *Trevarrick*, was stopped by a German submarine on the morning of November 16, 1916; the crew left the steamer without further delay when the signal to stop was given and sailed away from the steamer in their boats. The vessel was then sunk as an enemy vessel after it had been searched.

The undersigned requests that the above may be brought to the cognizance of the American Government and avails himself [etc.]

Stumm

GERARD

File No. 763.72111/4473

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 30, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received January 31, 6.30 p. m.*]

4951. My 4925. Your 3834. I have now been given by friend in high office here a copy of the German memorandum about armed merchant vessels which I am told Bernstorff has delivered to you. My copy is undated, is in German, and is headed "Memorandum of the German Government concerning the defensively armed enemy merchant vessels." It cites evidence and certain specific cases tending to prove that French and British merchant vessels are armed for offensive purposes and states that the German Government has come to the conclusion that such ships must be treated as ships of war. In this connection it refers to Mr. Lansing's note of January 18, 1916, to the British Ambassador [1] in which it is clearly stated that

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 146.

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at the present time all arming of merchant vessels would appear to have the character of offensive armament since the mounting of guns on merchant vessels can only be declared to have the intention of enabling the merchant vessels to prevent warning and search on the part of submarine boats. If you desire full copy we shall translate and cable.

GERARD

File No. 763.72/3162

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 30, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received January 31, 3.35 p. m.*]

4957. Saw Zimmermann this afternoon, 6 o'clock. He told me that Bernstorff had informed him that he had delivered to you the memorandum referred to my 4925 and my 4951 about armed merchant vessels, also that Bernstorff has given you Germany's terms of peace.[1] I am sorry I have not been informed of situation because I am sure that Germany now intends to immediately start reckless submarine warfare and blockade of England by submarine boats, firing at sight on all ships. Zimmermann told me the answer of the Entente to Germany's proposals and the nasty answer to the President had decided them, that food would not hold out a year, and that they have only delayed out of consideration for us, and that the Allies were preparing a great offensive on all fronts. He said that I would get note to-morrow answering President's speech and declaring for the use of the submarine arm and blockade of England.

GERARD

File No. 763.72/3179

The German Ambassador (Bernstorff) to the Secretary of State

[Translation[2]]

WASHINGTON, *January 31, 1917.*
[*Received 4.10 p. m.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: Your excellency was good enough to transmit to the Imperial Government a copy of the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the Senate on the 22 instant. The Imperial Government has given it the earnest consideration which the President's statements deserve, inspired as they are by a deep sentiment of responsibility. It is highly gratifying to the Imperial Government to ascertain that the

[1] See Bernstorff's letter to Colonel House, Jan. 31, 1917, *ante*, p. 34.
[2] Communicated together with the German text.

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main tendencies of this important statement correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany. These principles especially include self-government and equality of rights for all nations. Germany would be sincerely glad if in recognition of this principle countries like Ireland and India, which do not enjoy the benefits of political independence, should now obtain their freedom. The German people also repudiate all alliances which serve to force the countries into a competition for might and to involve them in a net of selfish intrigues. On the other hand, Germany will gladly cooperate in all efforts to prevent future wars. The freedom of the seas, being a preliminary condition of the free existence of nations and the peaceful intercourse between them, as well as the open door for the commerce of all nations, has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political program. All the more the Imperial Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies who are so entirely opposed to peace makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals. Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace and had set down as basis the guaranty of existence, honor, and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note of December 12, 1916,[1] were not directed towards the destruction or annihilation of their enemies and were according to their conviction perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations. As to Belgium for which such warm and cordial sympathy is felt in the United States, the Chancellor had declared only a few weeks previously that its annexation had never formed part of Germany's intentions. The peace to be signed with Belgium was to provide for such conditions in that country, with which Germany desires to maintain friendly neighborly relations, that Belgium should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues. Such precautionary measures are all the more necessary, as Germany's enemies have repeatedly stated not only in speeches delivered by their leading men, but also in the statutes of the economical conference in Paris, that it is their intention not to treat Germany as an equal, even after peace has been restored, but to continue their hostile attitude and especially to wage a systematical economical war against her.

The attempt of the four allied powers to bring about peace has failed owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretense of following the principle of nationality our enemies have disclosed their real aims

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 90.

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in this war, viz. to dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end.

A new situation has thus been created which forces Germany to new decisions. Since two years and a half England is using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation. In brutal contempt of international law the group of powers led by England does not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents but they also by ruthless pressure compel neutral countries either to altogether forego every trade not agreeable to the Entente powers or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees. The American Government knows the steps which have been taken to cause England and her allies to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas. The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged to suffer, for their country, pains and privations which endanger the vitality of the nation. Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the life of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people, and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. After the attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government—in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

Sincerely trusting that the people and Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and avoidable sacrifice of human life.

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Enclosing two memoranda regarding the details of the contemplated military measures at sea, I remain [etc.][1]

J. BERNSTORFF

[Enclosure 1]

MEMORANDUM

After bluntly refusing Germany's peace offer, the Entente powers stated in their note addressed to the American Government that they are determined to continue the war in order to deprive Germany of German provinces in the West and the East, to destroy Austria-Hungary, and to annihilate Turkey. In waging war with such aims, the Entente allies are violating all rules of international law, as they prevent the legitimate trade of neutrals with the Central powers, and of the neutrals among themselves. Germany has, so far, not made unrestricted use of the weapon which she possesses in her submarines. Since the Entente powers, however, have made it impossible to come to an understanding based upon equality of rights of all nations, as proposed by the Central powers, and have instead declared only such a peace to be possible which shall be dictated by the Entente allies and shall result in the destruction and humiliation of the Central powers, Germany is unable further to forego the full use of her submarines. The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.[2]

Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

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[1] In the translation as telegraphed by the Ambassador in Germany, this closing paragraph is preceded by the following paragraph:

I beg to direct attention to the enclosed memorandum for the details of the proposed measures of war on the seas and to give expression at the same time to the expectation that the American Government will warn American vessels against entering the proscribed areas described in the enclosure, and warn its nationals not to confide passengers or goods to vessels touching ports in the proscribed areas (File No. 763.72/3182).

[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 257.

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The Imperial Government is confident that this measure will result in a speedy termination of the war and in the restoration of peace which the Government of the United States has so much at heart. Like the Government of the United States, Germany and her allies had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Now that the war, through the fault of Germany's enemies, has to be continued, the Imperial Government feels sure that the Government of the United States will understand the necessity of adopting such measures as are destined to bring about a speedy end of the horrible and useless bloodshed. The Imperial Government hopes all the more for such an understanding of her position, as the neutrals have under the pressure of the Entente powers, suffered great losses, being forced by them either to give up their entire trade or to limit it according to conditions arbitrarily determined by Germany's enemies in violation of international law.

[Enclosure 2]

MEMORANDUM

From February 1, 1917, all sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in the following blockade zones around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the North: The zone is confined by a line at a distance of 20 sea miles along the Dutch coast to Terschelling fire [*light?*] ship, the degree of longitude from Terschelling fire [*light?*] ship to Udsire, a line from there across the point 62° N. 0° longitude to 62° N. 5° W., further to a point 3 sea miles south of the southern point of the Faroe Islands, from there across point 62° N. 10° W. to 61° N. 15° W., then 57° N. 20° W. to 47° N. 20° W., further to 43° N. 15° W., then along the degree of latitude 43° N. to 20 sea miles from Cape Finisterre and at a distance of 20 sea miles along the north coast of Spain to the French boundary.

In the South: The Mediterranean. For neutral ships remains open: The sea west of the line Pt. del'Espiquette to 38° 20′ N. and 6° E., also north and west of a zone 61 sea miles wide along the North African coast, beginning at 2° longitude west. For the connection of this sea zone with Greece there is provided a zone of a width of 20 sea miles north and east of the following line: 38° N. and 6° E. to 38° N. and 10° E. to 37° N. and 11° 30′ E. to 34° N. and 11° 30′ E. to 34° N. and 22° 30′ E.

From there leads a zone 20 sea miles wide west of 22° 30′ eastern longitude into Greek territorial waters.

Neutral ships navigating these blockade zones do so at their own risk. Although care has been taken, that neutral ships which are

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on their way toward ports of the blockade zones on February 1, 1917, and have come in the vicinity of the latter, will be spared during a sufficiently long period it is strongly advised to warn them with all available means in order to cause their return.

Neutral ships which on February 1, are in ports of the blockaded zones, can, with the same safety, leave them if they sail before February 5, 1917, and take the shortest route into safe waters.

The instructions given to the commanders of German submarines provide for a sufficiently long period during which the safety of passengers on unarmed enemy passenger ships is guaranteed.

Americans, *en route* to the blockade zone on enemy freight steamers, are not endangered, as the enemy shipping firms can prevent such ships in time from entering the zone.

Sailing of regular American passenger steamers may continue undisturbed after February 1, 1917, if—

(*a*) the port of destination is Falmouth.

(*b*) sailing to or coming from that port course is taken via the Scilly Islands and a point 50° N. 20° W.

(*c*) the steamers are marked in the following way which must not be allowed to other vessels in American ports: On ships' hull and superstructure 3 vertical stripes 1 meter wide each to be painted alternately white and red. Each mast should show a large flag checkered white and red, and the stern the American national flag.

Care should be taken that, during dark, national flag and painted marks are easily recognizable from a distance and that the boats are well lighted throughout.

(*d*) one steamer a week sails in each direction with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

(*e*) the United States Government guarantees that no contraband (according to German contraband list) is carried by those steamers.

File No. 763.72/3165

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *January 31, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received February 1, 9.15 a. m.*]

322. Minister for Foreign Affairs asks to be informed immediately what President thinks of blockade declared to-day by Germany and what attitude Government of the United States will take respecting torpedoing of neutral vessels without previous warning. Minister for Foreign Affairs has conferred with no other foreign representative here and states that Spain will do nothing until she

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learns attitude of United States. Referring to my cable of 318, January 26, 6 p. m.,[1] I respectfully request immediate instructions.

WILLARD

File No. 763.72/3162

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Germany (Gerard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 1, 1917, 4 p. m.*

3851. Your numbers 4925,[2] 4951,[3] and 4957.[4] Department has only received from German Ambassador a note dated January 10,[5] enclosing a memorandum calling attention to the reports from England of arming of merchant vessels, particularly with guns at the bow, and mentioning certain admiralty orders found on board French and Italian vessels regarding use of guns and giving a brief argument to show that the armed merchantmen of the Allied powers should be regarded and treated as warships even according to the principles laid down in the American memorandum of March 25, 1916.[6] This Government has been considering the status of armed ships and has not been in position to reply to this note. It received, yesterday, the note declaring the submarine blockade of England which would seem to make a reply now superfluous.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3170

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 31, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received February 1, 7.55 p. m.]

4961. Giving more details of my conversation with Zimmermann last night. He said that he and I must work hard now to keep peace between Germany and America. I said yes, but it was rather late and apparently a sudden decision. He said yes, that it had been much discussed in the last two weeks and that that was the reason for his constant trips to Great Headquarters, but that now even the Chancellor had come round; that the military and naval people had forced this and said that America could do nothing; that the Foreign Office had warned them and done what it could and was on record against this step. But he said it was their last chance as Germany could not hold out a year on the food question, but that what finally

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[1] *Ante*, p. 30.
[2] *Ante*, p. 94.
[3] *Ante*, p. 96.
[4] *Ante*, p. 97.
[5] *Ante*, p. 82.
[6] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 244.

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decided them was the nasty answer to Wilson of the Allies showing that it is impossible to make peace. That he realized that it was a very serious step and would probably bring the whole world into the war, but that Germany had this weapon and must use it no matter what the consequences were. (End conversation.)

There is no doubt but that Germany believes that Americans are a fat, rich race without sense of honor and ready to stand for anything in order to keep out of war and Americans in Germany . . . have encouraged them in this belief. The Germans think and newspapers have published that the President's peace moves are inspired by fear only. Please do not give out my conversation with Zimmermann which was confidential. I think the reasons for the hasty decision: (1) the desire to torpedo ships carrying grain from Argentina, (2) food situation here, (3) threatened great Allied offensive, (4) public demanding use of submarine weapon and contempt and hate for America. I expect note to-night.

GERARD

File No. 763.72/3186

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 1, 1917.*
[*Received February 3, 8.15 a. m.*]

1674. Following is text of note received from Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday:

January 31, [1917].

The undersigned, Minister of the Imperial and Royal Household and of Foreign Affairs, had the honor to receive the communication of the 22d instant in which his excellency Frederic Courtland Penfield, had the kindness to communicate the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the American Senate on the same day.

The Imperial and Royal Government did not fail to subject to an attentive consideration the contents of this significant manifestation full of high moral earnestness. It does not fail to recognize the sublime aims which the President had in view but before all else must point out that Mr. Wilson's desire to pave the way for a permanent peace appears even now frustrated through the rejection which the offer of peace by Austria-Hungary and its allies has experienced at the hand of the enemy.

In August, 1914, Austria-Hungary and its allies took up the struggle which was forced upon them. The consciousness that it was a question of time, defense of their existence and vital interests, gave them strength to withstand the numerical superiority of their

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enemies and to achieve successes which those of the adversary can not approach. In 30 months of war these successes have been strengthened and increased. In the same measure in which the enemy's plans of conquest have come to naught, Austria-Hungary and its allies were able to consider their purely defensive aims as achieved. This moderate conception and the wish to avoid further useless bloodshed led to the peace offer of the four allied powers. Their adversaries blinded by the delusion that they can even yet give a favorable turn to the course of events and annihilate us have bluntly rejected this offer. They have demanded terms for the conclusion of peace which would assume the complete overthrow of the four allied powers and annihilation for their aims.

God and the world are witness as to who bears the guilt for the continuation of the war. In view of the intention of the enemy to conquer the armies of Austria-Hungary and its allies, to destroy their fleets and starve their peoples, the struggle must take its course on land and sea with all, even the sharpest weapons. The increased use of all means of warfare alone makes a shortening of the war possible. The enemies have already been intent upon stopping the maritime traffic of Austria-Hungary and its allies and preventing all importation by these powers. As on the other seas, so also in the Adriatic they have torpedoed without previous warning hospital ships such as the *Elektra* and unarmed passenger steamers such as the *Dubrownik*, the *Biokovo*, the *Daniel Ernoe*, and the *Zagreb*. Austria-Hungary and its allies of their part will henceforth apply the same method in that they will cut off Great Britain, France, and Italy from all maritime traffic and for the accomplishment of their purpose will from February 1, 1917, prevent by every means any navigation whatsoever within a definite closed area.

[Here follows a declaration regarding areas closed to commerce in terms identical with those of the second memorandum enclosed with the German Ambassador's note of January 31, excepting the special proposals therein made concerning American passenger ships.]

This decision has also been made by Austria-Hungary with the intention of shortening the struggle by effective means of warfare and approaching a peace for which it, as distinguished from its opponents, contemplates moderate conditions which are not guided by ideas of destruction now as hitherto animated by the intention that the ultimate aim of this war is not one of conquest but the free assured development of its own as well as of other states.

Sustained by the confidence in the proved valor and efficiency of their military and naval forces and steeled by the necessity to frustrate the destructive designs of the enemy, Austria-Hungary and its allies enter upon this forthcoming earnest phase of the struggle with bitter determination, but also with the certainty that it will lead to successes which will finally decide the struggle of years and thereby justify the sacrifice of wealth and blood.

In requesting his excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America to be good enough to communicate the foregoing to the Government of the United States of America the undersigned avails himself [etc.]

PENFIELD

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The Severance of Relations with Germany, February 3—Effort at Resumption of Negotiations through the Swiss Minister, February 11—Maintenance of Relations with Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—Refusal of the European Neutral Governments to Follow the Example of the United States in Severing Relations with Germany; Their Protests to the Central Powers—Submarine Attacks on American Ships and Ships with Americans Aboard—Receipt, February 24, of the Zimmermann Telegram Conveying Germany's Overtures to Mexico

File No. 763.72/3179

The Secretary of State to the German Ambassador (Bernstorff)

No. 2307 WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: In acknowledging the note with accompanying memoranda, which you delivered into my hands on the afternoon of January 31, and which announced the purpose of your Government as to the future conduct of submarine warfare, I would direct your attention to the following statements appearing in the correspondence which has passed between the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government in regard to submarine warfare.

This Government on April 18, 1916, in presenting the case of the *Sussex*, declared—

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

In reply to the note from which the above declaration is quoted your excellency's Government stated in a note dated May 4, 1916—

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

But neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interests, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand.

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knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.

To this reply this Government made answer on May 8, 1916, in the following language—

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

To this Government's note of May 8 no reply was made by the Imperial Government.

In one of the memoranda accompanying the note under acknowledgment, after reciting certain alleged illegal measures adopted by Germany's enemies, this statement appears—

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.

In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

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The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your excellency your passports.

I have [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72/3199a

The Secretary of State to the Diplomatic Representatives in Neutral Countries

[Circular Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 1 p. m.*

You are instructed to notify immediately the Government to which you are accredited that this Government, in view of the recent announcement of the German Government of its intention to renew indiscriminate submarine warfare, has no alternative but to pursue the course laid down in its note to the German Government on April 18, 1916.[1] It will, therefore, recall the American Ambassador and his suite at Berlin and will forthwith deliver to the German Ambassador here passports for him and his suite.

You will also say that the President is reluctant to believe that Germany will actually carry out the threats made against neutral commerce, but, if it is done, the President will ask from Congress authority to use the national power to protect American citizens engaged in peaceable and lawful errands on the high seas. The course taken is, in the view of the President, in entire conformity with the principles enunciated by him in his address to the Senate on January 12 [*22?*],[2] and he therefore believes that it will make for the peace of the world if the other neutral powers can find it possible to take similar action to that taken by this Government.

Immediately make full report by telegraph of the reception of this announcement and of suggestion as to similar action.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3203a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 6 p. m.*

1518. The President to-day delivered the following address to Congress, which you will please distribute to the press, first delivering a copy to the Foreign Minister for his information.

[Here follows text of the President's address, printed below.]

LANSING

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 232.
[2] *Ante*, p. 24.

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File No. 763.72/32039

Address of the President of the United States to Congress, February 3, 1917

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: The Imperial German Government on the 31st of January announced to this Government and to the governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the 1st day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-channel passenger steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government in which it made the following declaration:

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

But (it added) neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict

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the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.

To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding:

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

To this note of the 8th of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On the 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contains the following statement:

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the new openly disclosed intentions of the Entente allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this Government has no

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alternative consistent with the dignity and honour of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to his excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I can not bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the wilful prosecution of the ruthless naval programme they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress, to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks

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ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

File No. 300.115H81/1

The Consul at Plymouth (Stephens) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PLYMOUTH, *February 4, 1917.*
[*Received 11.48 a. m.*]

American steamer *Housatonic*, loaded cargo wheat for British Government, torpedoed by German submarine 12.30, 3d instant. Vessel warned and total crew, 87, rescued by submarine and towed for 90 minutes toward land. Submarine fired signal to British patrol boat which subsequently landed crew Penzance.

STEPHENS

File No. 763.72/3212a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 4, 1917, 7 p. m.*

1526. Tarnowski [1] called at Department Saturday morning, 3d, for the first time. Talked with Secretary. Tarnowski much disturbed over attitude German Government. Said he did not know what course his Government would pursue as he had no instructions. Expressed great surprise at course taken. He asked permission to send message through Department to his Government to see whether Austrian Government would take position which would make it possible for diplomatic relations to continue with this country. Immediately after his departure your February 1, No. 1674,[2] arrived. Tarnowski immediately informed, visibly perplexed. He seemed to realize that continuation of diplomatic relations was most desirable, not only for Europe but particularly for his own country. He presented two messages to be sent through you to his Government, which were forwarded last night in Department's 1519, February 3, 7 p. m. and 1520, February 3, 8 p. m.[3] One more message, our 1523, February 4, 4 p. m.[3] was sent at his request this morning. Department will probably take no action in regard to Austrian note until some reply is received by him, or this Department receives informa-

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[1] Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate; for correspondence regarding his appointment see *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 798–803.

[2] *Ante*, p. 104.

[3] Telegrams forwarding Austro-Hungarian code messages not printed.

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tion directly from you. Department is holding back publication of Austrian note, although it is generally understood that some note has been received more or less in line with German note.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3197

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 4, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received February 5, 3.15 a. m.*]

1680. At 12.30 p. m. to-day Minister for Foreign Affairs called at the Embassy to explain that according to a Reuter message diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States had been broken. He wished that following personal message from him might be sent to the United States Government:

Austria-Hungary and her allies were forced to commence the indiscriminate submarine warfare because the Entente declined the negotiations for peace on the basis proposed by Mr. Wilson, the basis that there were to be no victors and no vanquished. Austria-Hungary did not cease to point out to Mr. Wilson that she would be always ready to commence negotiations for peace on the basis above mentioned if the guarantees for it would be given. Following Mr. Penfield's wish the Minister for Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that the good relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary may be maintained.

PENFIELD

File No. 124.67/11a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 5, 1917, 7 p. m.*

3328. This Government assumes the friendly relations between Turkey and the United States will continue in spite of the necessity which has arisen for the United States to sever relations with Germany. If uncertainty seems to exist you should endeavor to convince Turkish authorities that it is for the mutual interest of Turkey and the United States to avoid the suspension of the friendly relations which have always existed between the two countries.

If, however, a break can not be avoided, in which case due notice will be sent you, endeavor to arrange for the departure of all Americans in Constantinople and vicinity for Odessa on the *Scorpion*. Any appearance of fear of a break on your part or on the part of Americans in Turkey now might tend to aggravate the situation.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72/8213

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *February 4, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received February 5, 8.30 p. m.*]

4994. Chancellor sent for me last night at 6 and I was with Zimmermann at supper later for two hours. Both seemed very much worried over attitude America and continually asked me for news and begged me to help keep peace. Chancellor said the Allies had refused to make peace when Germany wanted to and that President had Germany's peace terms, and so there was nothing left to do but use all means at hand. I said that member of Reichstag had told me that matter might be arranged if food allowed in. Chancellor said it was too late, and that nothing but peace on admirably modest terms would do. I finally got him to tell me what those terms are: Germany to give up Belgium but retaining so-called guaranties such as railroads, forts, a garrison, ports, commercial control, etc.; a slice of France through rectification of frontier; will only give back a small part of Serbia, and Bulgaria can do as she likes with Roumania and everybody must pay indemnities to Germany, etc. If Bernstorff has given President any other terms he is fooling him, but do not quote me to Bernstorff.

Zimmermann said he had often thought of telling me of the pending action in the 10 days before February 1, but knew I would only say it was impossible and would lead to a break, but that they hoped by taking the action first that we would stand for it as the situation had been altered by the peace talk and anyway that we wanted peace.

Suggest if you decide make any threats threaten war. Germans not afraid of break of diplomatic relations which simply means they can go ahead and do what they please and attack us if they win. Chancellor spoke of the great hatred the military and naval people have for America. Even if there is war German military calculate they can starve England before America can do anything. These people have only one God—Force.

GERARD

File No. 841.857/813

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 5, 1917.*
[*Received 9.15 p. m.*]

5607. I am informed by the Official Press Bureau that British ship *Eavestone, en route* Newport News to Liverpool, was to-day

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shelled by German submarine; men took to boats and submarine continued shelling; captain and three seamen killed while in small boats, one of latter being American citizen, Richard Wallace of Baltimore. PAGE

File No. 800.115H81/2

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 6, 1917.*
[*Received 4 p. m.*]

5610. My 5592, February 3.[1] Captain, *Housatonic* has telephoned following statement to Consul, Plymouth, who has been instructed to obtain and forward to Department affidavits when procurable:

Housatonic sailed from Galveston for London, January 6 with cargo winter wheat consigned to firm in London. At 10.30 morning February 3, when 20 miles due south Bishop's Light, submarine sighted 250 yards astern; submarine fired two shots close to bow of *Housatonic* and signaled captain come aboard submarine. Captain stopped *Housatonic* and obeyed order. Weather overcast, sea smooth, no other vessel in sight. Commander of submarine expressed regret necessity sinking vessel, but as *Housatonic* carrying food to enemies of Germany he was obeying his orders in sinking her. He retained ship's register and manifest and sent captain, accompanied by third officer of submarine and one sailor, back to *Housatonic*. Germans took one of ship's engineers below decks and opened seacocks, then removed hatches and having taken off three cases soap ship was ordered to be abandoned. Total crew of 37 put off three boats at 11.50. At 12.30 submarine hoisted German naval ensign and torpedoed *Housatonic* which sank 12.50. Submarine took three boats in tow and for one hour and half towed them north by east when British patrol boat sighted and submarine cut boats adrift, at same time firing signal attract attention patrol. Submarine then proceeded southward at 3 o'clock afternoon. Crew taken aboard patrol boat landed Penzance.

PAGE

File No. 800.115W52

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 6, 1917.*
[*Received 5 p. m.*]

5615. Consul, Liverpool, reports captain of American steamer *Westwego* (owners, Union Petroleum Steamship Company, Philadelphia) sailed from Philadelphia January 17 for England, met German submarine *U-45*, January 21, 50 miles west of Fastnet.

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[1] Not printed.

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Submarine stopped *Westwego* whose second officer took ship's papers to submarine, returned in hour reporting that if master, *Westwego* did not give three barrels lubricating oil, submarine would sink ship. Oil was delivered and ship now safe in harbor. Have instructed Consul to obtain affidavits and mail them to Department.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3246b

The Secretary of State to the Consul General at Sofia (Murphy)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 6, 1917, 5 p. m.*

107. This Government assumes the friendly relations between Bulgaria and the United States will continue in spite of the necessity which has arisen for the United States to sever relations with Germany. If uncertainty seems to exist you should endeavor to convince Bulgarian authorities that it is for the mutual interest of Bulgaria and the United States to avoid the suspension of the friendly relations which have always existed between the two countries.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3246a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 6, 1917, 6 p. m.*

1532. Paraphrase of following should be transmitted to American Consul, Sofia, for delivery to Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs:

Minister Radoslavoff, Sofia. Diplomatic relations between United States and Germany were severed on the 3d instant. Am assured the United States Government earnestly desires that relations between it and Bulgaria should continue friendly as heretofore. Acknowledgment of this communication will be greatly appreciated. 41. Minister Panaretoff.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3238

The Minister in Denmark (Egan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

COPENHAGEN, *February 6, 1917, 6 p. m.*

[*Received 10.05 p. m.*]

439. To-day at 5 o'clock the Foreign Minister brought me the following:

I authorize you to communicate to your Government that in the opinion of the Danish Government the position of Denmark both actually and formally is so different from that of the United States

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that it is not possible to draw an analogy from the one to the other, and further that the three northern governments are in consultation with one another at Stockholm in order to fix on a basis of international law the attitude to be taken by them on account of the new German regulations.

EGAN

File No. 763.72/3257

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *February 6, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received 11 p. m.*]

331. Minister for Foreign Affairs at 7 p. m. handed me following copy of reply of Spanish Government to German note of January 31 [for] immediate telegraphic transmission to the Department. The Minister stated that the covering *note verbale* delivered to me at the same time in reply to Department's circular February 3, 1 p. m., had been cabled Spanish Ambassador, Washington, for transmission to the Department:[1]

His Majesty's Government has examined carefully the note which Your Serene Highness was so kind as to deliver to me on January 31st last, announcing the firm intention of the German Government to interrupt, beginning on the day following, all maritime traffic, without other warning and by use of all weapons, around Great Britain, France, and in the eastern Mediterranean, and I should add that its reception has produced a very painful impression.

The correct attitude of neutrality which Spain adopted at the beginning and in which she has maintained herself with unshakable firmness and loyalty gives her the right to claim that the lives of her subjects occupied in maritime commerce shall not be placed in such grave danger; and that this commerce shall not be injured or reduced to such an extent, throughout the zones within which the Imperial Government must struggle in order to reach its aims, by the use of all weapons and by abandoning all the limitations which it has imposed upon itself up to the present time in its method of naval warfare.

Even before the Imperial Government abandoned these limitations the Government of His Majesty protested, as it did not consider them

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[1]Apparently not received from him; the following translation was forwarded by the Ambassador in Spain as enclosure to his despatch No. 551, Feb. 7 [received Mar. 9] (File No. 763.72/3460):

The Government of His Majesty has received with lively interest the indication contained in the last part of the circular, directed by the Department of State at Washington to the American representatives in the neutral countries, a copy of which his excellency Mr. Willard was so kind as to hand to the Minister of State on February 5.

The reply given to-day by the Government of His Majesty to the note of Germany of January 31, a reply whose sense and general lines were agreed upon in the Council of Ministers of the 4th instant, defines clearly the only attitude which the Government of His Majesty has considered it possible to adopt, taking into account the actual situation of Spain, and the development of its international life in this war.

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sufficient to excuse the fulfillment of the conditions of international law: but at the putting into effect the method of war that Germany announces to an extent unfavorable and without precedent, the Spanish Government, taking into account the rights and duties of its neutrality, must present with the greatest right its protest of the Imperial Government, calmly as well as firmly, making at the same time the necessary reservations which the legitimate presumption of the unavoidable responsibility contracted by the Imperial Government, chiefly on account of the loss of lives which must follow its attitude, imposes.

The Government of His Majesty bases its protest on the statement that, to close completely the route of certain seas, substituting the right of capture (undeniable at times) for a pretended right of destruction in every case, is beyond the legal principles of international life; and above all and more than anything to extend the meaning of this right to the destruction, in the form announced, to the life of noncombatants, subjects of a neutral nation like Spain, is contrary to those other principles observed by all nations even in the moments of greatest violence.

If the German Government, as it says, trusts that the Spanish people and its Government will not refuse to listen to the reasons of its decisions and its necessity, hoping that they will cooperate on their part to avoid greater misery and greater sacrifice of human life, it should understand also that the Spanish Government, disposed to offer at the opportune moment its initiative to support and everything that it has to contribute to the coming of a peace which is every day more desired, can not admit as legitimate an exceptional method of war, by which, in spite of its rights as a neutral and its care in fulfilling the duties incumbent upon it in this respect, makes difficult and even hinders the maritime traffic of Spain, compromising her economic existence, and seriously endangering the life of her subjects.

The Government of His Majesty, firmer than ever in the justice that supports it, does not doubt but that the Imperial Government will be inspired by the sentiments of friendship which unite the two countries and will find, within the several needs of the terrible modern war, means by which to satisfy the claim of Spain, based on the unavoidable duty which obliges its Government to protect the life of its subjects and to maintain the integrity of its sovereignty in order that the course of its international existence may not be interrupted and in which it feels itself supported by reason and right.

I shall avail myself [etc.]

WILLARD

File No. 763.72/3289

The Minister in Norway (Schmedeman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CHRISTIANIA, *February 6, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received February 7, 2 a. m.*]

115. My telegram of February 5, 2 p. m.[1] I had an interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day in the course of which I

[1] Not printed.

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said that in view of the close cooperation hitherto between the two countries, as well as of the added moral weight which his Government's support of the President's suggestion would lend it, I hoped he could inform me that the Norwegian Government would take action similar to that taken by the Government of the United States. Minister for Foreign Affairs said that in a special meeting of the Cabinet it had been decided to limit the action of the Norwegian Government for the present to a joint energetic protest with the other Scandinavian countries until it could be seen how the German submarine campaign develops. On my inquiring as to the intention of the Norwegian Government if German threats were carried out to the detriment of Norwegian merchant marine, his excellency said that in this case further decisions would be taken jointly with Sweden and Denmark. It seems clear that this Government's attitude toward the President's suggestion is determined by the grave danger from the south inherent in Norway's geographical position.

SCHMEDEMAN

File No. 763.72/3234

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 6, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[Received February 7, 2.30 a. m.]

5616. To the Secretary and President. I called on the Prime Minister yesterday. In a private unofficial talk he said that it would be an affectation to conceal his pleasure at our diplomatic break with Germany. He began immediately to talk about the probability of war following. I reminded him that the United States is arranging peace and that war was not in my vocabulary. He replied that it was well to look a little ahead in a private conversation. He hoped that in no event would our supply of ammunition to the Allies be curtailed, that a much larger supply of steel could be got from the United States which munition factories here badly need, and he asked earnestly about our merchant shipbuilding activities. "Are your shipyards on the Great Lakes doing their utmost? Vast numbers of small ships are now needed and whoever owns a ship can get rich and this condition will not soon change." I reminded him that supplies for belligerents concerned the belligerents, shipbuilding, private concerns in the United States, and not our Government. But such reminders in no way stopped his rapid talk. He continued: "If you are drawn into the war I shall be glad for many reasons but especially because your Government will then participate in the conference that concludes peace. I especially desire this because of your President's cool and patient and humane counsel which will be whole-

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some for us all." Then he asked, "Is there any way we can serve you? I have already directed our Army Chief of Staff (Robertson) and the first Sea Lord (Jellicoe) to give you all possible information out of our experience that you may ask for. You will find them communicative to you at any time," and he asked if any other departments of his Government could serve us, "if so come and see me at any time and I will open the way." Perhaps you will send me definite suggestions or instructions on this point.

. . . Public as well as official opinion continues to become more cordial. It has not lacked in essence of friendliness, but it was becoming fearful lest we should wander from the road of practical action. Now both the Government and the press understand and heartily appreciate your whole wise and patient course. I think the expectation is general that the Germans will force war on us, but even if they should not, they regard our present attitude with genuine but restrained satisfaction.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3244

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *February 6, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received February 7, 4.25 a. m.*]

330. For communication to the President. In an audience of an hour and a half with His Majesty this morning I was informed that in reply to Germany's note of January 31, Spain will protest against Germany's declaration as interfering with Spain's maritime rights. This protest will apparently ignore the rights of neutrals in general and applies solely to the injustice and injury with which Spain is thereby threatened. In response to my inquiry His Majesty stated that Spain would not break off diplomatic relations with, or declare war, Germany even in the event that Spanish boats were repeatedly sunk without warning and Spanish lives lost. His Majesty said that as Spain was now the sole remaining neutral nation of influence and power, that she represented or would represent a large portion of the world's interest at various belligerent capitals, and that in the interest of humanity she would sink her individuality as a nation in the greater interests involved. However, tone of note may be changed as public opinion here is now much confused and may yet exert decided influence. Shall probably telegraph Department again this afternoon after interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs at 7 o'clock.[1]

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[1] See telegram No. 331, Feb. 6, 11 p. m., *ante*, p. 117.

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My general impression from this audience is that His Majesty desires to attain a position of great prominence in eventual peace negotiations.

His Majesty then stated that his Government would have supported the President's so-called peace note if the Spanish Government had been consulted in advance. His Majesty referred with some feeling to the fact that his communication to the President—see Embassy's telegram 240, May 10, midnight [*May 11, noon*] [1]—was not replied to until Department's telegram 172, August 23, 10 a. m.,[2] and that after his suggestion therein contained, he had anticipated an intimation in advance of any further step in this direction on the part of the President or the Government of the United States.

WILLARD

[For note from the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs in answer to the messages transmitted for Count Tarnowski (referred to in telegram to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary, No. 1526, February 4, 7 p. m., *ante*, p. 112), see telegram from the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary, No. 1683, February 5, 1917 (received February 7, 10 a. m.), *ante*, page 38.]

File No. 763.72/3249

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 7, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 8 p. m.*]

5625. Because of slowness of mail I wire following for your information: I was privately but authoritatively informed February 4 that two German submarines had been sunk on the 3d. Prime Minister informed me last night that two had been sunk the day before. These authentic bits of information indicate success in dealing with them. The Admiralty doubts whether the Germans have as many as 150 submarines in all. In spite of present submarine successes they feel sure of destroying [enough] in a reasonable time to make the sea comparatively safe. Winston Churchill informs me that he has had a careful mathematical study made of whole problem which demonstrates conclusively to him that the submarines must fail to embarrass shipping very seriously for any considerable period. Four armed merchantmen escape for every one unarmed, and British are arming their merchantmen as far as possible. Prime Minister told me also that his Government's latest

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 28.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

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secret report of conditions in Germany just received shows that privation and hardship of people have recently increased enormously.

PAGE

File No. 841.857/323

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *undated.*
[*Received February 7, 1917, 9.15 p. m.*]

Only one American on *California*, John A. Lee of Montgomery, Ala., who was ship's master-at-arms or policeman. He is safe. I have conversed with captain who states no warning whatever. Torpedo struck port quarter, the wake and submarine periscope 300 yards off being seen just before explosion. Submarine did not hail or speak *California* or survivors at any time. Sea smooth, time 9.15 a. m., to-day, 7th, position 50.7 north, 10.26 west or about 30 miles southwest Fastnet. *California* carried one 4.7 gun on stern. Captain had seen oily spot just before submarine appeared and ordered gunner to his place. Captain says gunner states there were two torpedoes fired, the first going astern of *California* and missing her. [One hundred sixty-two?] survivors, being 19 passengers and 143 crew now here. Original complement was 171 crew and 32 passengers. Of the missing passengers, at least three women, two children. Ship sank in 10 minutes. Will endeavor to take affidavits.

FROST

File No. 841.857/320

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 7, 1917.*
[*Received February 8, 12.30 a. m.*]

Provisional British Furness Withy S. S. *Turino* of London cleared Newport News January 19, general cargo, mounted 4-inch gun visible on stern, ship complement 36. When about 80 miles southwest Fastnet was torpedoed without any warning, 2.45 p. m. Explosion killed chief engineer and three negro firemen, of whom one named Washington seems to have had some claims to American citizenship.[1] Submarine showed all possible consideration after explosion, excusing absence of warning by fear of *Turino's* gun; placed survivors on Italian S. S. *Famiglia* which submarine used as tender. All survivors except three, who were kept as stokers, were taken off at 4 p. m., February 6, and now landed Queenstown by unarmed admiralty tug, 29 in all; one native American, Calvin Ray of Fillmore,

[1] According to telegrams of Feb. 8 and 9, he was of Canadian citizenship.

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Utah. Am taking affidavits. Have cabled Department and telegraphed Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 841.857/322

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 7, 1917.*
[*Received February 8, 1.55 a. m.*]

Will probably be no more survivors *California*. Death roll remaining 41, due almost wholly to drowning. Torpedo struck between fourth and fifth holds in barrels wax, no boiler explosion. Impetus of vessel carried her nearly mile beyond boats before sinking. Wireless call was sent before sinking. Naval steam sloop reached scene almost immediately. Cargo included wax, flour, grain, pork, apples, tobacco, and projectiles, all in large quantities as ship was fully freighted. Impossible state whether submarine saw gun, but gun was visible from stern 300 yards from submarine and latter's observation which enabled aiming torpedoes probably included noting gun; submarine thus may have had alternative of either torpedoing without warning or letting *California* go altogether; apparently elected former. More data may be forthcoming. No affidavits possible tonight.

FROST

File No. 763.72/3272

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *February 8, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received February 9, 2.45 a. m.*]

712. My 706 of the 4th.[1] In a note just received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs he states that

there is no occasion in this instance for the Government of the Queen to follow the same line of action as the United States, in view of the fact that the attitude of the American Government, contrary to that of the Government of the Queen, logically results from the state of affairs created by the negotiations on this subject which have previously been conducted between the United States and Germany. . . . that the Government of the Queen has just addressed an energetic protest to the German Government on the subject of the new measure inasmuch as it seriously jeopardizes the principle of the freedom of the high seas as well as the laws of humanity.[2]

LANGHORNE

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[1] Not printed.
[2] Above text corrected to accord with that later received by pouch (File No 763.72/3520).

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File No. 763.72/3267

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, *February 8, 1917.*
[*Received February 9, 4.30 a. m.*]

171. Reference my 170, 7th.[1] Following is translation of note just handed me by Minister Foreign Affairs:

With reference to your letter of February 5, by which you were good enough to communicate to the Royal Government the opinion of President Wilson that it would tend towards peace to adopt, with regard to the new blockade proclaimed by the Germans, action similar to that of the Government of the United States of America, I have the honor to bring to your knowledge the following:

The policy followed by the Royal Government during the war has been one of strictly impartial neutrality. The Royal Government has done everything in its power faithfully to fulfil all the duties which this policy imposes upon it and at the same time it has rendered effective as far as possible the rights derived therefrom.

With a view to obtaining a practical result in upholding the principles of international law, the Royal Government has several times addressed itself to neutral powers in order to effect cooperation with the aforesaid object in view. Above all the Royal Government has not failed to submit to the Government of the United States of America a proposal to this effect.

The Royal Government has observed with regret that the interests of the United States have not permitted her to accept these proposals. The steps thus taken by the Royal Government have led to a system of common measures between Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, with regard to the two belligerent groups.

In the policy followed by the Royal Government in order to maintain its neutrality and to safeguard the legitimate rights of the country, the Royal Government, alive to the indescribable sufferings which from day to day oppress more cruelly all humanity, is ready to seize every opportunity which offers itself in order to contribute to the realization of a near and durable peace.

Consequently it hastened to associate itself with the noble step taken by the President with a view to examining the possibility of instituting negotiations between the belligerents.

The proposal which forms the object of the present correspondence has as an aim the shortening of the evils of the war, but the Government of the United States has chosen as a means of arriving at this end a method absolutely contrary to the principles which have guided the policy of the Royal Government up to the present hour.

The Royal Government supported by public opinion, confirmed by the unanimous resolutions of the country's representatives, intends to follow in the future, as in the past, the policy of neutrality and impartiality towards both belligerent groups and it is not disposed to abandon this policy unless the vital interests of the country and the dignity of the nation oblige her to do so.

MORRIS

[1] Not printed.

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File No. 763.72/8262½

The Counselor for the Department of State (Polk) to the Secretary of State

February 10, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The Swiss Minister just called and left with me the answer of the Swiss Government to the President's note, which merely states their position.[1]

He also gave me a suggestion of an agreement he communicated for the German Government which would construe the treaty of 1799.[2] This can wait.

After he had presented these two documents, he said he had just received a telegram from the Swiss Government which was an answer to a suggestion made by him that he might be able to do something here to prevent war between Germany and this country. I took down the part of the telegram he read, which was as follows:

They, the German Government, " will be willing to negotiate on any point the United States may ask provided (or except) that the blockade against England be maintained."

I pointed out that this seemed to imply that they would be satisfied with a blockade against England alone. He said he did not know anything about that; he had merely read the message as given in the telegram. I said of course I could not speak for you, but it seemed to me at first glance that they had excepted the one question on which the President had based his breaking off of diplomatic relations.

I asked if he had any suggestions and he said he had none, but he thought possibly something might be discovered which would save the situation, or that we might think of some point that we wished to discuss.

I told him I would submit the matter to you at once, so you could take it up with the President if you thought it desirable.

Yours sincerely, FRANK L. POLK

File No. 841.857/332

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 10, 1917.*

[*Received 12.15 p. m.*]

5658. My 5635, 8th.[3] Affidavits of captain, first and second mates, and American master-at-arms of *California*, which Consul, Queenstown is forwarding to you, give no information beyond what already telegraphed but reiterates ship torpedoed without any sort of warning and that loss of life due to rapidity with which ship sank.

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[1] *See* telegram from the Minister in Switzerland, *post*, p. 127.
[2] *See* agreement, *post*, pp. 589–590.
[3] Not printed.

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File No. 841.857/333

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 10, 1917.*
[*Received 11.20 p. m.*]

British India liner *Mantola*, 8,500 tons, London to Calcutta, general cargo, crew 165, passengers 19, torpedoed without warning 185 miles southwest Fastnet, February 8, 1.40 p. m. Moderately rough sea, fresh wind; one American on board, ship's surgeon, Earle Rice, 628 Salmon Street, Portland, Oreg. All crew and passengers saved except seven Lascars, drowned due mismanagement. Survivors stood by in six boats till 3.10 when operator boarded *Mantola* to send second wireless call. Submarine picked up this call instantly and commenced shelling *Mantola* from 4,000 yards, coming up to 3,000. Last four of 47 shells shrapnel but not aimed at boats. Ceased shelling and had approached to 300 yards when admiralty vessel hove in sight causing submarine submerge instantly, 5.30 p. m. Survivors landed Bantry this morning. *Mantola* carried 4.7 gun with two gunners on duty. Have affidavit Surgeon Rice. Survivors reach London morning 11th. This telegram sent also to Ambassador, Consul General. FROST

File No. 763.72/3263½

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

MEMORANDUM [1]

The Swiss Government has been requested by the German Government to say that the latter is, now as before, willing to negotiate, formally or informally, with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England will not be broken thereby.

WASHINGTON, *February 11, 1917.*

File No. 763.72/3291

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ATHENS, *February 10, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received February 11, 7.30 p. m.*]

251. Replying to your circular telegram 4th [*3d*].[2] Greek Government shares President's solicitude for world peace and safety of

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[1] Transmitted under the following covering letter of same date: "My dear Mr. Secretary: Mr. Polk expressed this morning the desire that I shall send you a memorandum concerning the conversation I have had with him yesterday evening. Please find same herewith enclosed."

[2] *Ante*, p. 108.

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seas. Has formulated " express reserves " to German Government in regard to latter's blockade plans, but in view of peculiar situation of Greece at this time can not take united action with American Government. Text of reply to be forwarded by mail.[1]

DROPPERS

File No. 763.72/3294

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *February 10, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received February 11, 12.20 p. m.*]

501. Referring to my telegram No. 488 of February 5, noon.[1] I have received from Dr. Hoffman, Chief of the Swiss Political Department, a supplementary and definitive reply to my note of February 4. The following is a translation of this reply:

Mr. Minister: By my note of February 5,[1] I had the honor to inform your excellency that before determining definitely in regard to the declarations of the German Government relative to the blockade, the Swiss Federal Council desired to enter into communication with the other neutral states of Europe which are in situation analogous to that of Switzerland. I added that the Federal Council desired first to draw the attention of President Wilson to Switzerland's peculiar attitude prescribed by its principles as a state of complete and perpetual neutrality, principles founded on its constitution, on ancient traditions, and on the will of its people.

The Federal Council today can only refer to Switzerland's declaration of neutrality dated April [*August*] 4, 1914, of which all foreign governments were informed at the time of its promulgation. On that date the Federal Assembly and the Federal Council announced their firm determination not to deviate in any manner whatsoever from the principles of neutrality, so highly cherished by the Swiss people and in such perfect conformity with their aspirations, with their institutions, with Switzerland's situation in regard to other states, and which the guaranteeing powers expressly recognized in 1815. This is the reason the Federal Council and the Federal Assembly have expressly declared that, during the duration of the war, the Swiss confederation will maintain and will defend its neutrality and the inviolability of its territory by all the means in its power.

The events of the present war have fortified the Federal Council in its conviction of the necessity for the maintenance of a strict and loyal neutrality and have furnished the proof that, today as in 1815, the true interests of European politics are furthered by the entity and independence of Switzerland. Switzerland will maintain this neutrality so long as the independence and integrity of its territory, its honor, and its vital interests are not attacked.

The Federal Council must again draw the attention of President Wilson to the unusual geographical situation of Switzerland entirely

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[1] Not printed.

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surrounded by belligerents, and which would certainly become, the moment that Switzerland ceased to be neutral, the theater of the general war.

Regardless of how difficult Switzerland's economic situation may become because of the threatened blockade and regardless of the degree in which the effective execution [of] the blockade may run counter to the principles of international law, the Federal Council can not however decide to follow President Wilson in his *demarches* regarding the Imperial German Government which have been made necessary by a state of affairs entirely special. Consequently the Federal Council has confined itself to a protest and has reserved all its legal rights resulting from the execution of the blockade announced by the Imperial Government should this blockade prove to be contrary to neutral rights as recognized by the general principles of international law. In particular the Federal Council has reserved all its legal rights in the event that the effective execution of the blockade proving incomplete, should the means used by Germany and its allies result in the destruction of Swiss citizens or of Swiss property.

In submitting the present communication to your excellency in reply to your note of February 4, 1917, I take this occasion to present to you assurances of my high consideration. Hoffman

STOVALL

File No. 763.72/3298

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *February 11, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received February 12, 8.15 a. m.*]

505. The following is the reply of the Swiss Government to the German note threatening indiscriminate submarine warfare. A similar reply *mutatis mutandis* has been addressed to the Government of Austria-Hungary. After repeating the substance of the German note the Swiss reply states:

The Imperial Government could not fail to notice that the measures stated in its note constitute a grave encroachment upon the rights of peaceful trading granted Switzerland as a neutral nation by international law.

The blockade of practically all the ports upon which Switzerland depends constitutes, indeed, a serious menace for the maintenance of our supplies of food and raw material as well as of our exports abroad. Even if, by a friendly agreement with the French Government, the port of Cette, outside the blockaded zone, be used, transportation by sea is limited to such an extent that the most serious damage will be done to our economic welfare.

The blockade established by the Imperial Government follows a series of measures taken by both groups of belligerents in the course of the war by which, in contradiction to international law and international agreements, our economic life has been restricted and

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against which we have raised our voice in vain. Under all these circumstances the blockade is rendered all the more pressing and grave.

The Federal Council, therefore, is obliged to protest with energy and to reserve all its legal rights against the blockade announced by the Imperial Government and its execution in so far as the rights of neutrals, as recognized by the principles of international law, may be violated. Especially in case the actual enforcement of the blockade should prove incomplete, the Federal Council reserves all its legal rights should Swiss citizens or property be destroyed by the measures applied by Germany and its allies.

The Federal Council, moreover, does not doubt that the German Government will do everything necessary to assure, as far as possible, the security of Swiss citizens and to avoid the painful consequences which the blockade may cause to the economic life of Switzerland.

STOVALL

File No. 763.72/3263½

The Secretary of State to the Swiss Minister (Ritter)

WASHINGTON, *February 12, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. MINISTER: I am requested by the President to say to you, in acknowledging the memorandum which you were kind enough to send me on the 11th instant, that the Government of the United States would gladly discuss with the German Government any questions it might propose for discussion were it to withdraw its proclamation of the 31st of January, in which, suddenly and without previous intimation of any kind, it canceled the assurances which it had given this Government on the 4th of May last,[1] but that it does not feel that it can enter into any discussion with the German Government concerning the policy of submarine warfare against neutrals which it is now pursuing unless and until the German Government renews its assurances of the 4th of May and acts upon those assurances.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 841.857/334

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 12, 1917.*
[Received February 13, 1.25 a. m.]

British tanker *Saxonian* left Newport News, January 25 for Queenstown, crew 38, three Americans, no gun, no wireless. Shelled 5.15 p. m., February 7, 280 miles southwest Fastnet. No attempt escape. When 32 shells failed, submarine torpedoed *Saxonian* about

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 257.

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6 p. m., sinking her. Then approached crew in two open boats and asked vessel's nationality, no offer assistance. Weather: heavy swells, fresh southeast wind, darkness. One boat picked up after 68 hours, other also, time unknown. When other boat's crew lands to-morrow morning can say if any Americans lost. One saved in crew already landed. This telegram sent Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 763.72/3312

The Minister in Norway (Schmedeman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CHRISTIANIA, *February 13, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 3.20 p. m.*]

119. My telegram No. 115, February 6,[1] and despatch No. 337, February 7.[2] I have received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs note dated February 7, translation follows:

While acknowledging the receipt of your communication of the 4th instant, relative to the attitude of the Government of the United States in regard to Germany's declaration concerning its naval warfare, I have the honor to confirm the announcement which I made to you yesterday, to the effect that the Norwegian Government is not in a position to join the United States in its action and that at the present time negotiations are going on at Stockholm between the Governments of the three Scandinavian countries relative to their attitude towards Germany's declaration, upon a basis of international law.

SCHMEDEMAN

File No. 841.857/341

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 13, 1917.*
[*Received 5.30 p. m.*]

5676. Consul, Queenstown, telegram 12th, British Steamer *Vedamore.*

Master of *Vedamore*, British subject, in affidavit to Consul, Liverpool, states ship left Baltimore, January 26, for Liverpool with general cargo, carried one gun in stern. Six o'clock morning, February 7, sea having high swell, wind light, visibility clear, ship 20 miles south Bull Rock, 20 miles west Fastnet, ship received tremendous shock starboard side above engine room, broke up dynamos, engines, and wireless. No other vessels in sight. Captain unable state positively torpedo, but of opinion it was. Ship sunk five minutes. Those of crew not killed or injured took to [boats?].

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[1] *Ante*, p. 118.

[2] Not printed.

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Crew consisted 60 persons, 35 rescued. Crew contained 15 Filipinos of whom 8 drowned, 1 died of exposure; 6 saved, of whom 1 in hospital; also 1 Porto Rican now in hospital, and 2 American negroes, of whom 1 drowned. Crew in boats 10 hours when finally rescued. PAGE

File No. 841.857/340

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 13, 1917.*
[Received 8 p. m.]

Saxonian's second boat picked up 17 hours after disaster. James Weygand, native American, Hattboro, Montgomery County, Pa., was wounded in foot and shoulder by shell which killed boatswain. Ellwood Moore, native American, 1221 South Grand Avenue, St. Louis, was in same boat. Shelling believed deliberate, killing boatswain, wounding four others. Am mailing affidavits foregoing Americans and ship's first and third officers. Third American saved in boat afloat 68 hours, John Steffinini, 2338 Filbert Street, San Francisco, native citizen. This telegram sent also Ambassador, Consul General. FROST

File No. 300.115L98/2

The Consul General at Rome (Tredwell) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *February 13, 1917, 9 p. m.*
[Received February 14, 1 p. m.]

British Consul, Cagliari, Sardinia, reports:

Captain McDonough and nine men, crew ex-American sailor [*schooner*] *Lyman M. Law*, New York, reported destroyed by submarine yesterday morning, have just landed here. Master begs you for assistance. Pernis, British Consul

Am making investigation. May leave for Cagliari to-morrow. TREDWELL

File No. 763.72/3339a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 14, 1917, 5 p. m.*

1551. In the American note of December 6, 1915,[1] to the Austro-Hungarian Government in the *Ancona* case, this Government called

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[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1915, Supplement, p. 623.

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attention to the views of the Government of the United States on the operations of submarines in naval warfare which had been expressed in no uncertain terms to the ally of Austria-Hungary, and of which full knowledge on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government was presumed. In its reply of December 15, 1915,[1] the Imperial and Royal Government stated that it was not possessed with authentic knowledge of all of the pertinent correspondence of the United States, nor was it of the opinion that such knowledge would be sufficient to cover the *Ancona* case, which was of essentially a different character from those under discussion with the Berlin Government. Nevertheless, in reply to the American note of December 19, 1915,[2] the Austro-Hungarian Government in its note of December 29,[3] stated:

as concerns the principle expressed in the very esteemed note that hostile private ships, in so far as they do not flee or offer resistance, may not be destroyed without the persons on board having been placed in safety, the Imperial and Royal Government is able substantially to assent to this view of the Washington Cabinet.

Moreover, in the case of the *Persia*, the Austro-Hungarian Government in January, 1916, stated in effect that, while it had received no information with regard to the sinking of the *Persia*, yet, in case its responsibility was involved, the Government would be guided by the principles agreed to in the *Ancona* case.[4]

Within one month thereafter, the Imperial and Royal Government, coincidently with the German declaration of February 10, 1916, on the treatment of armed merchantmen, announced that "All merchant vessels armed with cannon for whatever purpose, by this very fact lose the character of peaceable vessels," and that "under these conditions orders have been given to Austro-Hungarian naval forces to treat such ships as belligerent vessels."[5]

In accordance with this declaration, several vessels with Americans on board have been sunk in the Mediterranean, presumably by Austrian submarines, some of which were torpedoed without warning by submarines flying the Austrian flag, as in the cases of the British steamers *Secondo* and *Welsh Prince*. Inquiries made through the American Ambassador at Vienna as to these cases have, so far, elicited no information and no reply.

Again, on January 31, 1917, coincidently with the German declaration of submarine danger-zones in waters washing the coasts of the Entente countries, the Imperial and Royal Government announced

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1915, Supplement, p. 638.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 647.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 655.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1916, Supplement, p. 145.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

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to the United States Government that Austria-Hungary and its allies would from February 1, "prevent by every means any navigation whatsoever within a definite closed area." [1]

From the foregoing it seems fair to conclude that the pledge given in the *Ancona* case and confirmed in the *Persia* case is essentially the same as that given in the note of the Imperial German Government dated May 4, 1916,[2] viz.:

In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance,

and that this pledge has been modified to a greater or less extent by the declarations of the Imperial and Royal Government of February 10, 1916, and January 31, 1917. In view, therefore, of the uncertainty as to the interpretation to be placed upon those declarations, and particularly this later declaration, it is important that the United States Government be advised definitely and clearly of the attitude of the Imperial and Royal Government in regard to the prosecution of submarine warfare in these circumstances.

Please bring this matter orally to the attention of the Austrian Government and request to be advised as to whether the pledge given in the *Ancona* and *Persia* cases is to be interpreted as modified or withdrawn by the declarations of February 10, 1916, and January 31, 1917. If after your conversation it seems advisable, you may hand to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a paraphrase of this instruction, leaving the quoted texts verbatim.

LANSING

File No. 841.857/342

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 14, 1917.*
[*Received February 15, 8.35 a. m.*]

5690. From affidavit to Consul, Liverpool, of Pius MacDonald, American citizen, member crew *Japanese Prince*, from Newport News, January 24. General cargo for British port. Ship torpedoed without warning February 10, 80 miles from shore. Ship not armed. All crew rescued. Twenty-nine Americans on board. Am endeavoring obtain further particulars.

PAGE

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[1] *Ante*, p. 105.
[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 259.

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File No. 841.857/343

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 14, 1917.*
[*Received February 15, 9.40 a. m.*]

5689. British sailing ship *Ainsdale*, from Buenos Ayres November 1 for England, stopped by submarine 180 miles from Cape Clear, February 5; crew of 25 ordered into boats; ship sunk; crew rescued after 10 hours; suffered great hardship. Consul, Liverpool, forwarding affidavit only American member crew.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3333

The Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CONSTANTINOPLE, *February 11, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received February 15, 12.30 p. m.*]

2479. Your 3328, February 5, 7 p. m., just received.[1] My telegram February 6, 11 a. m., through the Danish Foreign Office and my 2475, February 8, 9 p. m., via Berne.[2] Our relations with Turkey remain normal and perhaps more friendly than for some time past. General feeling would for the present indicate that unless compelled by Germany, Turkey desires to continue these relations. On the 13th instant I am giving a dinner in honor of the new Grand Vizier to which I have invited several cabinet ministers and all heads of diplomatic missions except German. Seeing all this and upon my assurance, all Americans here keep cool and calm.

Persistent unconfirmed and unofficial rumors here that in spite of German domination in Turkey, relations between the Sublime Porte and Germany are far from being cordial especially since Talaat became Grand Vizier, and it is even rumored that in case of hostilities between America and Germany, Turkey would not declare war against America. But these rumors should be accepted with the greatest reserve as they may have been spread purposely to mislead us. On the other hand it may be significant that Djavid who was Minister of Finance when Turkey entered the war and who was one of the four ministers who, as then stated, resigned their respective portfolios as a [protest?] has now been offered the portfolio of finance and has accepted it, as rumored, on condition of cabinet modifying extreme nationalistic policy including improvement of treatment of non-Turkish and non-Moslem elements.

I have suggested Porte to formally notify me of Fuad's appointment as Ambassador at Washington and to request that safe-conduct

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[1] *Ante*, p. 113.
[2] *Post*, p. 148; for text of telegram of Feb. 6, see footnote to No. 2475.

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may be obtained from Entente powers. I have done this in order to accentuate friendly relations.

Food conditions in Turkey becoming worse every day and cause population to yearn for peace.

In the event of rupture with Turkey, should the *Scorpion* and crew not be permitted to leave Constantinople, Commander Morton suggests disabling engines or sinking ship. He informs me great danger from mines both in Dardanelles and Black Sea. Morton requests instructions.

ELKUS

File No. 841.857/344

The Consul at Swansea (Moorhead) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SWANSEA, *February 15, 1917.*
[*Received 3.40 p. m.*]

Affidavits five American negroes, crew British unarmed tank steamer *Pinna* bound from Newport News–Cardiff, cargo oil; attacked by submarine, Bristol Channel near Milford Haven, 6.30, morning 12th, warning shot sent across bows, steamer failed to stop, shell sent into steamer, slightly injuring one American, no other casualties, steamer torpedoed after crew disembarked in lifeboats; British patrol appeared, submarine submerged, crew returned to steamer, submarine again appeared, torpedoed vessel while crew on board, crew rescued by patrol boats.

MOORHEAD

File No. 841.857/347

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 15, 1917.*
[*Received 5 p. m.*]

5694. Consul, Queenstown's telegrams [regarding?] steamer *Saxonian.* Affidavits being forwarded Department indicate submarine torpedoed ship without knowing its nationality; captain retained as hostage; no cessation from bombardment by submarine to permit safe embarkation lifeboats.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3335

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 15, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received February 16, 2.50 a. m.*]

1705. Private opinion of well-informed persons here is that Austro-Hungarian under-sea boats are not operating in eastern

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Mediterranean with increased activity since the sharpening submarine program was announced. An Austrian military expert tells me that submarines of this Monarchy are doing nothing outside Adriatic. It is known that present boats are few in number and obsolete in type. I believe Austria-Hungary taking every precaution against what America might regard as overt act on part submarine commanders. People here of every class hoping for no break with America.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72/3353

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *February 19, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received February 20, 7 a. m.*]

545. The press of the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland has criticized the Swiss Minister at Washington for his activities in behalf of the German offer to secure, without withdrawing the threat of indiscriminate submarine warfare, a renewal of diplomatic relations with the United States.[1] The basis of these criticisms is that it is not clear that Doctor Ritter's proposal originated with the German Government in the form in which it was presented by him. A semi-official *communiqué* issued yesterday in Berne reads as follows:

The steps taken by Minister Ritter at Washington, tending to a renewal of negotiations between the German Government and that of the United States, have been undertaken without instructions from the Swiss Federal Council or from the Political Department. It will be readily understood that no explanations can be given at Berne as to correspondence between Berlin and Washington which the Federal authorities only transmit without naturally taking any responsibility whatsoever.

The German Government has issued through Wolff Bureau the following official *communiqué* regarding these *pourparlers*. This *communiqué* has been widely published in the neutral press of Europe and reads as follows:

The press has printed a Reuter's agency despatch stating that the Berlin Government had requested Switzerland to inform the Washington Government that Germany remained disposed to negotiate with the United States in regard to the note establishing the blockade and the submarine war provided that the commercial blockade ordered against England were not interfered with by these *pourparlers*. The Reuter's agency despatch adds that the Government of the United States then communicated to Mr. Ritter, Swiss Minister at Washington, that it could not begin negotiations before Germany had renewed its promises made after the *Sussex* affair and had

[1] See Swiss memorandum of Feb. 11, *ante*, p. 126.

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withdrawn its decision concerning the aggravation of the submarine war.

The following are the true facts upon which the Reuter's agency despatch is based:

The Swiss Government transmitted to the German Government a telegram from the Swiss Minister at Washington offering, if Germany consented, to serve as intermediary in *pourparlers* with the American Government in regard to the declaration of the blockade, as the danger of a German-American war could in this way be diminished. The Swiss Government has been requested to inform its Minister at Washington that Germany remained as before disposed to negotiate with the United States on condition that the commercial blockade against its enemies—not only against England—were not jeopardized by these negotiations. It is, generally speaking, scarcely necessary to say that Germany could not enter into negotiations of this character before diplomatic relations had been reestablished between Germany and the United States. Moreover the object of these *pourparlers* must be limited exclusively to certain concessions regarding the transportation of American passengers in order that the stoppage of importations from abroad, established against our enemies by means of unrestricted submarine warfare, be not weakened in any way whatsoever, even if diplomatic relations should be reestablished. This was all clearly set out in its response to the Swiss Minister at Washington. As has already been repeated by official circles, Germany will not reconsider its resolution to completely stop by submarines all importations from abroad by its enemies.

STOVALL

File No. 763.72/3356

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 19, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received February 20, 4.30 p. m.*]

1713. Department's 1551, February 14, 5 p. m. This morning had long conference with Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of submarine warfare. Because Minister has recently come to Foreign Office and his subordinates are new, I left paraphrase of instructions with him to which he promised earnest attention. Minister stated that it would be necessary to consult chiefs of marine section and legal heads of Government. Minister reiterated his wish that no severance of relations might ever come and told me of drastic steps taken by Government for preventing newspaper articles hostile to America.

PENFIELD

File No. 012/10512

The Consul General at Sofia (Murphy) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SOFIA, *February 18, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received February 20, 8.05 p. m.*]

121. Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs requests the following be handed to Minister Panaretoff:[1]

[1] Paraphrase transmitted to Minister Panaretoff, Feb. 21, and formally communicated by him to the Secretary of State, Feb. 23.

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Your communication No. 41 was delivered to me thanks to the kind intervention of the American Consul General at Sofia. I request you to declare to the Honorable the Government of the United States on behalf of the Royal Government that Bulgaria intends also on her part to preserve the relations of perfect friendship that she has always been happy to maintain with the United States. Signed, Radoslavoff.

MURPHY

File No. 857.857/80

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *undated.*
[*Received February 20, 1917.*]

Norwegian steamship *Dalbeattie*, 819 tons, coal, Glasgow to Gibraltar, sunk 11 a. m., 17th, by shell-fire 30 miles off Fastnet. Carried neither gun nor wireless. Stopped engines upon first shot but was shelled without pause while abandoning ship. No injuries, no offer aid. Weather: heavy swells, light wind, clear sky; boats rescued 1.30 a. m., 18th, after burning flares. Two native Americans, Frank Wood, John Guerra, of whom former is in hospital at Schull, acute bronchitis contracted prior to disaster but aggravated by exposure. Am mailing affidavit master and Guerra, whose mother is Mrs. Lily Alt, 26 Main Street, Los Angeles. Wood's address, 26 Taylor Street, Keene, N. H. This telegram also to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 841.857/353

The Consul at Havre (Osborne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HAVRE, *February 20, 1917.*
[*Received 10.15 p. m.*]

British *Wallace*, New York–Havre, no passengers, general cargo, unarmed, attacked without warning by enemy submarine showing neither flag nor number, February 7, in Atlantic approaching Channel. Submarine fired about 10 shots killing British boatswain, wounding Portuguese seaman. Patrol arrived, saving steamer. Submarine dived, disappeared, having first officer prisoner. *Wallace* proceeded Havre with crew which includes Frank Petterson, native American, home 586 Palisade Ave. West, Newark, N. J., and possibly another American whose case am investigating. Depositions Petterson and British captain taken.

OSBORNE

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File No. 300.115L98/10

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *February 20, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 12 p. m.*]

848. Affidavit of McDonough, captain of schooner *Lyman M. Law*, states submarine flew flag until American flag hoisted, when flag was hauled down, but distance was too great to distinguish nationality. Nothing was done to insure safety of crew, but sea and weather were moderate. Distance from land about 25 miles. Captain using schooner's motor boat, towing other boat, approached land, then coasted along to Cagliari arriving morning of second day, after 25 hours in boats. Above facts confirmed by affidavits entire crew, two English, others American. Officer answering question of captain stated submarine Austrian. Captain believes submarine was German from conversation with officers and crew and their general appearance. Captain states was given permission to proceed by lieutenant who boarded schooner, but later received orders from captain to take to boats as schooner would be sunk because carrying contraband. Cargo consisted only shooks but schooner had stores for her own use for several months. Captain believes submarine's need for the stores caused sinking schooner.

NELSON PAGE

File No. 763.72/3364½

Memorandum of the Secretary of State

February 21, 1917.

The Swiss Minister called this afternoon and after attending to some other matters I told him that I was perplexed by a statement regarding the overture which he had sent to me on Sunday the 11th on behalf of Germany.[1] I then read to him the annexed telegram received from Berne.[2] He listened very intently and when I had concluded I said: "It would appear, Mr. Minister, that the overture was suggested originally by you. Is that correct?"

The Minister appeared very nervous and after some hesitation said: "I will tell you the whole story." He then proceeded to relate in substance the following:

Diplomatic relations were broken off on Saturday, February 3. On Monday, the 5th, Count Bernstorff telephoned him that Dr. Kirchwey[3] was coming to see him (Dr. Ritter) with a message to

[1] *Ante*, p. 126.
[2] No. 545, Feb. 19, *ante*, p. 136.
[3] President of the American Peace Society.

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be sent through Berne to Berlin and that he approved of the message. Dr. Kirchwey called to see him and showed him the wireless message which had been sent by Bartelme[1] and asked him to send identically the same message to Berlin via Berne. Dr. Ritter replied that he had not yet been authorized to act for the German Embassy and in any event he could see no use in repeating the same suggestions already made by wireless. He finally agreed to send a message stating that "with the approval of Bernstorff" he suggested some steps toward negotiations being taken along the lines of the Bartelme message and asking his Government to repeat the suggestion to Berlin.

Either on Friday evening, the 9th, or Saturday morning following (I am not sure which time he gave), he received the communication, the substance of which was in the paper which he sent me Sunday evening, the 11th. It came from his Government which transmitted it from Berlin. About 10 o'clock on Saturday morning, the 10th, he showed the message or gave a copy of it to Prince Hatzfeldt. About noon Draper of the Associated Press called to see him stating that he had the substance of the overture for negotiations which he (Ritter) had received. Draper repeated what he had learned and the Minister saw that Draper did in fact have the substance, though Draper assured him that he had not obtained it from Bernstorff. The Minister was convinced that Hatzfeldt had told Draper.

The next that the Minister knew of the matter was that he read a statement in regard to the message in the afternoon paper on Saturday, and as he had made an appointment to see Mr. Polk at 6 o'clock that evening he determined to present the overture orally to him, which he did, and after Mr. Polk had communicated the substance to me, he, upon Mr. Polk's stating on Sunday morning that I wished him to put it in writing, did so and sent it to me that afternoon.

Upon the completion of his narrative, which was told in a disjointed and nervous way, and was rather hard to follow, I said to him: "So, Mr. Minister, this plan of an overture originated here in Washington?" "Yes," he answered, "it was all done with the approval of Count Bernstorff." "Dr. Kirchwey appears to have acted as his agent in this matter," I said. "Yes," he replied, "Count Bernstorff asked me by telephone to send a message, which Dr. Kirchwey would come and see me about. I found it just like the Bartelme wireless message so another was made suggesting following the advice in that message."

The Minister said further he would show me the original, and something about a memorandum or paper in Bernstorff's handwrit-

[1] Editor and Washington correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

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ing. I did not understand and obtained no further light although I questioned the Minister about it. I did not press the matter as I feared that it might arouse suspicions in his mind and prevent his showing me the original papers.

The Minister said, on taking his leave, that now that he had fully explained the matter he hoped that no blame could be attached to him and that he wished I would find it possible to let the newspapers know that he had not acted improperly. I told him that if he would show me the originals I had no doubt some statement could be made. He repeated that he would bring me the papers.

ROBERT LANSING

File No. 858.857/57

The Consul General at Barcelona (Hurst) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BARCELONA, *February 21, 1917.*
[*Received 6.15 p. m.*]

Swedish steamer *Skogland*, bound from Norfolk, Va., for Bagnoli, Italy, with full cargo of coal, was stopped by submarine about six miles due south of Tarragona, Spain, February 18 at 6 a. m., submarine flying Austrian flag. Ten minutes were allowed for crew to take to boats, afterwards 10 minutes more at *Skogland's* request. Total number of crew 26, of which following 5 claim American citizenship: James Brenner, fireman, born Brooklyn, present address Mrs. Peter Housen, 123 Twelfth Street, Brooklyn; Leo Cartwright, fireman, born Portsmouth, N. H., address Mrs. Scott, 46 Twentieth Street South, Norfolk, Va.; Jack Burke, fireman, born Brooklyn, address 322 Fifty-seventh Street, Brooklyn; Jay Lewis, fireman, born Youngstown, Ohio, address Box 565, Uniontown, Pa.; Joseph Brown, messboy, born Brooklyn, address 569 Second Avenue, Elizabeth, N. J. None was injured. *Skogland* was sunk by bomb placed on board by submarine personnel. Crew reached Tarragona at 11 a. m. in ship's boats. When *Skogland* was sunk two other ships were in sight, both being subsequently sunk by same submarine. Weather reported fine. Does Department authorize relief and return United States those claiming American citizenship?

HURST

File No. 851.857/55

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 21, 1917.*
[*Received 7.45 p. m.*]

5732. Consul, Southampton, is forwarding to Department affidavit of four seamen, George Goldrainer, Fred O'Neill, Clarence

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Barrett, Edward Staples, claiming American citizenship, members crew French sailing ship *Bayonne*, from New York, December 28, for England, cargo wheat. Submarine signaled ship stop February 17, 4.30 afternoon, 25 miles off starting point; crew took to boats, weather calm, foggy. Submarine of German nationality took provisions from ship and blew her up. Germans provisioned ship's boats, lights of five steamers visible, crew reached land in 17 hours. *Bayonne* did not attempt escape or resist.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3379

The Greek Chargé (Vouros) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. 284 WASHINGTON, *February 8/21, 1917.*
[*Received February 23.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor to communicate to your excellency a copy of the note which the Royal Government delivered to the German Government through its Minister at Berlin who was instructed to point out to his excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs the deep uneasiness caused in Greece by the recent decisions of the German Government in the matter of the measures taken by it on the high seas looking to a blockade to be effected by submarines.

The text of the note referred to is as follows:

In regard to the dangers which the measures of general order imply for Hellenic shipping protected by the rules of international law in force, the Royal Government finds itself constrained to formulate to the German Government the most express reservations.

Be pleased to accept [etc.] A. VOUROS

File No. 857.857/82

The Consul at Havre (Osborne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HAVRE, *February 23, 1917.*
[*Received 4 p. m.*]

Norwegian steamer *Skrim*, unarmed, proceeding in ballast from Tréport to Cardiff, was sunk by bombs by German submarine, after warning, February 19, 20 miles from Tréport. Crew 14 including Porto Rican, Louis Pinto, were in lifeboats about 20 hours. Depositions captain and Pinto taken.

OSBORNE

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File No. 701.6311/267a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 23, 1917, 6 p. m.*

1567. Count Tarnowski has expressed the desire to present his credentials to the President,[1] and fears that his continued presence here in an unofficial capacity will be misunderstood by his Government. In view, however, of the Austrian submarine note of January 31, which is almost identical with the German submarine note of the same date, it must be obvious to the Austro-Hungarian Government that the United States can not sever relations with Germany and at the same time receive Count Tarnowski, unless the Austro-Hungarian Government alters its policy or at least assures this Government that the terms of its submarine policy will not be effective against American lives and commerce.

On February 15 Count Tarnowski transmitted to his Government through you the suggestion that Austria-Hungary announce that there are no Austrian submarines operating in the Atlantic and that the submarines operating in the Mediterranean will be confined to certain specified ports. LANSING

File No. 857.857/81

The Consul at Havre (Osborne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HAVRE, *February 23, 1917.*
[Received midnight.]

Norwegian steamer *Alice*, unarmed, no passengers, carrying coal Port Albert to Tréport, cannonaded without warning by enemy submarine, nationality unknown, off Fécamp, February 21. More than 20 shots fired, imperilling crew 14 including Theo Joseph, American negro, born Fernandina, Fla. *Alice* then sunk by bombs. Depositions Norwegian captain and Joseph taken.

OSBORNE

File No. 763.72/3387

The Greek Legation to the Department of State

[Translation]

No. 311 MEMORANDUM

Text of the note delivered by the Hellenic Government to the Minister of the United States at Athens in reply to the communication relative to the breaking off of relations between the United States and Germany.

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[1] This desire was expressed Feb. 3.

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Fully aware of the gravity of the step which the Government of the United States has just taken toward the neutral states, the Royal Government certainly need not lay further stress upon the keen interest it takes in any action that may turn to the advantage of the peace of the world. It is likewise glad of the opportunity to make it of record that it entirely shares the policy of the President of the Great Republic in all that relates to the freedom of the seas and the safety of innocent sea trade in time of war. Therefore the Royal Government did not fail to formulate to the German Government express reservations in view of the dangers that threaten the Hellenic flag as a result of the measures recently announced from Berlin through the wireless telegraph station of Athens. Considering, however, the special conditions in which Greece, notwithstanding her neutrality, is placed in the present war, which conditions are known to the Government of the United States, the Royal Government is not in position to contemplate an attitude or take any action looking to more direct protection of its national shipping.

WASHINGTON, *February 24, 1917.*

File No. 841.857/365

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

No. 279 CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 7, 1917.*
[*Received February 24.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit hereby, in duplicate, a copy of a letter and affidavit received this day from Vice Admiral, Sir Lewis Bayly, Commanding, Coast of Ireland, with reference to the sinking of the British collier *Eavestone* on February 3, 1917, by a German submarine.[1] The affidavit was taken by a shipping agent at Castletown Berehaven, early on the 6th instant, and appears to coincide substantially with that taken by this Consulate at a later hour on the same day. The affidavits, both that transmitted herewith and that forwarded by my despatch No. 278,[1] of the 6th instant, will be found somewhat elliptical, owing to the natural tendency of the survivors to slur over the attempt to escape from the submarine. As stated in the despatch just cited, however, the *Eavestone's* efforts at flight could under no canons excuse the submarine's act in deliberately firing upon unarmed small boats.

It should have been mentioned in my despatch No. 278 that the *Eavestone*, although unarmed, had a gun platform which was described by First Officer Roderick as being conspicuously placed, and as having inspired the submarine with no little mistrust of the *Eavestone*. This, also, is a minor circumstance. Presumably the platform had been prepared for a gun which was to be placed on the *Eavestone* when that vessel next returned to a United Kingdom port.

[1] Not printed.

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There were no American citizens on the *Eavestone* with the exception of Richard Wallace, the deceased seaman.

The earlier of the two cable messages to the Department in the *Eavestone* case was inadvertently not confirmed by a copy to accompany despatch No. 278, owing to the extreme haste in which the latter was completed and mailed. The confirmation copy is accordingly transmitted hereby.

Possibly the Department may be interested in one or two general points relating to the submarine campaign which is being waged off this littoral. Probably the most important generalization to be made is that exceedingly few lives have thus far been lost in proportion to the number of vessels sunk. I should place the number of vessels sunk off this district within the past week at about one dozen; and so far as I am aware the *Eavestone* case is the only one in which lives were lost at all, although I am by no means positive as to this statement. The *Eavestone* case, so far as the circumstances could be gathered here, constituted an appalling instance of irritated ruthlessness; almost sufficient, in itself, to obliterate the general impression of reasonable humanity which the campaign creates.

This latter impression may be purely fortuitous. The weather has favored the safety of survivors, as it has been phenomenally clear and calm; and the admiralty patrols have been exceptionally numerous and ubiquitous, so as to be never far off from the scenes of disasters. I was last evening informed by the master of a torpedoed steamer that his vessel was sunk without the faintest warning, and that the submarine was never even seen. (Nevertheless this master saved his entire crew of 40 persons.)

The absence of Americans from the crews of these vessels has been unexpected. Most of the vessels thus far, I think, have been outward bound or from South American ports. I have carefully verified in each instance the absence of Americans on board each vessel; the Admiralty cooperating with just sufficient courtesy so as not to seem eager as to American intervention. The Admiralty are naturally very greatly rushed at this time; and the masters of torpedoed vessels are prone to be busy, excited, and chafed. I have accordingly taken pains not to intrude questions unless American rights were involved.

No descriptions of supersubmarines have as yet been forthcoming; and there appears to be no radical departure in the direction of size or novel devices. The submarines are now habitually taking food and other stores from such vessels as surrender on demand, before sinking the vessels. The method of sinking such ships is by bombs

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set with time fuses or by overside bombs exploded by electrical wires. In a number of recent cases the submarine has retained the British master as a hostage. Only yesterday the master of the *Palm Leaf* was so retained. To vessels which offer no resistance the submarines often show much consideration, when they consider it feasible. In the case of the *Isle of Arran* the submarine returned to the boats at the approach of evening, after four hours' absence, and towed them toward the land for five and one-half hours, casting them off only when a steamer had been sighted which picked them up. I can vouch for the correctness of this story; and it is probable that other similar acts could be recorded were the general conditions other than they are.

The conduct of different submarine commanders varies considerably. In general it would seem that no opportunities of sinking vessels are overlooked, no matter at what cost of life; but it is of course impossible to say whether submarines ever voluntarily refrain from attacking vessels, because in such instances the vessels would be unaware of the self-restraint exercised by the submarines. There is no doubt that when they can safely do so, except in the rarest cases, the submarines take pleasure in extending every courtesy and consideration to the vessels which they destroy; but this attitude is not incompatible with a "beyond good and evil" attitude when anything is to be gained.

Mr. Heraty, the new assistant in this Consulate, is unfortunately confined to his room by illness; and I have as yet been unable to locate a competent stenographer in pursuance of the Department's most considerate instruction No. 151, of January 5, 1917.[1] But I have today procured a temporary stenographer, and shall hope to be able to handle the work respectably even if worse cases supervene.

I have [etc.] WESLEY FROST

File No. 841.857/355

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 24, 1917.*
[*Received 5.30 p. m.*]

Edward Ellis and John Handley, born New York City, have reached London from Falmouth, where landed 20th from British tug *Bureaucrat.* Had been picked up in open sea with other members crew of British sailing ship *Centurion* after drifting 14 hours. *Centurion* left Pensacola, January 1 with lumber for London. On February 19, German submarine fired warning shot whereupon crew

[1] Not printed.

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took to lifeboats. German seamen placed eight bombs in holds. Vessel sunk within 10 minutes after explosion. Ship unarmed. Crew drifted in fairly heavy sea with limited provisions of food from 11.30 a. m., February 19, until 2.30 following morning.

SKINNER

File No. 862.20212/69

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 24, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 8.30 p. m.*]

5747. My 5746, February 24, 8 a. m.[1] For the President and the Secretary of State. Balfour has handed me the text of a cipher telegram from Zimmermann, German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the German Minister to Mexico, which was sent via Washington and relayed by Bernstorff on January 19. You can probably obtain a copy of the text relayed by Bernstorff from the cable office in Washington. The first group is the number of the telegram, 130, and the second is 13042, indicating the number of the code used. The last group but two is 97556, which is Zimmermann's signature. I shall send you by mail a copy of the cipher text and of the decode into German and meanwhile I give you the English translation as follows:

We intend to begin on the 1st of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States of America neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you. You will inform the President of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States of America is certain and add the suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves. Please call the President's attention to the fact that the ruthless employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace. Signed, Zimmermann.

The receipt of this information has so greatly exercised the British Government that they have lost no time in communicating it to me to transmit to you, in order that our Government may be able without delay to make such disposition as may be necessary in view of the threatened invasion of our territory.

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[1] Not printed.

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Early in the war, the British Government obtained possession of a copy of the German cipher code used in the above message and have made it their business to obtain copies of Bernstorff's cipher telegrams to Mexico, amongst others, which are sent back to London and deciphered here. This accounts for their being able to decipher this telegram from the German Government to their representative in Mexico and also for the delay from January 19 until now in their receiving the information. This system has hitherto been a jealously guarded secret and is only divulged now to you by the British Government in view of the extraordinary circumstances and their friendly feeling towards the United States. They earnestly request that you will keep the source of your information and the British Government's method of obtaining it profoundly secret, but they put no prohibition on the publication of Zimmermann's telegram itself.

The copies of this and other telegrams were not obtained in Washington but were bought in Mexico.

I have thanked Balfour for the service his Government has rendered us and suggest that a private official message of thanks from our Government to him would be beneficial.

I am informed that this information has not yet been given to the Japanese Government but I think it not unlikely that when it reaches them they may make a public statement on it in order to clear up their position regarding the United States and prove their good faith to their Allies.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3385

The Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CONSTANTINOPLE, *February 8, 1917, 9 p. m.*
[Received February 25, 7.30 p. m.]

2475. My February 6, 11 a. m.[1] In the course of a conversation with the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, rupture of diplomatic relations between America and Germany was fully discussed. He stated that there was no reason why Turkey should sever relations with America because of the above rupture. If declaration of war had followed rupture, Turkey as ally of Germany would certainly have to consult the latter and decide what action she would take in defense of the common interest. But a mere rupture of diplomatic relations does not oblige Germany's allies to sever diplomatic relations with the United States, more especially as the dispute is about

[1] "Notify Navy Department that *Scorpion* has destroyed all codes" (File No. 124.6718A/60).

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submarine warfare and neither Turkey nor Bulgaria have submarines. I believe that Turkey [will act] not as she thinks best but as Germany may direct.

ELKUS

File No. 841.857/361

The Vice Consul at Dundee (Baxter) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

DUNDEE, *undated.*
[*Received February 26, 1917, 9 a. m.*]

British steamer *Roanoke* left Dundee for New York with general cargo, February 11; torpedoed without warning that afternoon 3 miles off Aberdeenshire coast; weather fine, broad daylight, sea calm, no submarine seen. One seaman killed by explosion; rest crew, one being American citizen, rescued by patrol steamer. Vessel with crew on board afterwards towed to Dundee for repairs.

BAXTER

File No. 841.857/366

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 26, 1917.*
[*Received 1.10 p. m.*]

Cunarder *Laconia* torpedoed, sunk 10.50, 25th, 150 miles west Fastnet. Details not yet known. Two hundred and seventy-eight survivors will land here to-day, time uncertain. It is known that there are some missing and one dead. Will cable details at earliest moment.

FROST

The Armament of American Merchant Ships—The Sinking of the "Laconia," February 26, of Other Ships with Americans Aboard, and of American Ships—Austro-Hungarian Aide-Mémoire on Submarine Policy, March 2—Refusal of the American Government to Receive the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador Designate—Declaration of a State of War with Germany, April 6

File No. 763.72/3394a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Diplomatic Representatives in all countries except Liberia and Morocco

[Circular telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 26, 1917.*

The President to-day addressed Congress in joint session on the situation resulting from Germany's new submarine policy and re-

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quested authority to take such steps as may be necessary for the protection of American life and property at sea. For your information and guidance the following pertinent portions of the President's address are quoted:

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise. Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to armed neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere in action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us.

I hope that I need give no further proof and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that may lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the wilful acts and aggressions of others.

You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary can not yet be foreseen. I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

POLK

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File No. 763.72/3388

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 26, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received February 27, 6.30 a. m.*]

1728. My 1713, February 19, 3 p. m.[1] In personal interview at my house this morning the Minister for Foreign Affairs authorized me to advise you that he believes his Government's reply to your communication No. 1551, February 14, 5 p. m.,[2] *re* the *Ancona* and *Persia* incidents will be satisfactory to the American Government. The Minister asks for a few days' delay in making his formal reply. I know that Minister for Foreign Affairs is doing all in power to keep good relations with you.

PENFIELD

File No. 841.857/370

The Consul at Liverpool (Washington) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIVERPOOL, *February 27, 1917.*
[*Received 8.30 a. m.*]

Cunard Company state their steamer *Laconia* torpedoed without warning.[3] Six passengers and fourteen of crew were Americans. Two American passengers, Mrs. Mary Hoy and Elizabeth Hoy, died of exposure in boat which landed at Bantry Bay, Ireland. Four other passengers died or are unaccounted for, and six of the crew, nationality so far unknown, died. Other survivors landed Queenstown.

WASHINGTON

File No. 862.20212/69

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 27, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4483. Your 5747, February 24, 1 p. m. Referring to the penultimate paragraph of your telegram under reference, you will please

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[1] *Ante*, p. 131.
[2] *Ante*, p. 137.
[3] Affidavits concerning this case are printed in European War No. 4: *Diplomatic Correspondence with Belligerent Governments Relating to Neutral Rights and Duties* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 282–291. Reprinted in Special Supplement to the *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 11 (1917), pp. 134–144.

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convey to Mr. Balfour a message of thanks for this information of such inestimable value and add that the President has asked me to express his very great appreciation of so marked an act of friendliness on the part of the British Government.

For your information: Ambassador Fletcher has been instructed to take up the matter confidentially with General Carranza and his preliminary report indicates that perhaps it has not yet been presented by the German Minister. If telegram is published the source will be most carefully guarded. You will be kept informed.

LANSING

File No. 300.115L98/13

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 27, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 9 p. m.*]

1729. In informal conference to-day with Minister for Foreign Affairs he stated that American sailing ship *Lyman M. Law* was not sunk by Austro-Hungarians.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72/3395

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *February 27, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received February 28, 7.55 p. m.*]

1731. Minister of Foreign Affairs requests this telegram be delivered to Austro-Hungarian Minister [*Ambassador*]. It has been fully read to me and advises Ambassador that reply to our last inquiry regarding submarine warfare will be made public in a few days and that it is meant to satisfy our Government. Minister also urges Ambassador do all in his power to preserve good relations.

[Here follows message in Austro-Hungarian code.]

PENFIELD

File No. 862.20212/69

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 28, 1917, 8 p. m.*

4493. Your 5747, February 24, 1 p. m. Please endeavor to obtain copy of German code from Mr. Balfour, decode following messages and telegraph translations. All three messages are dated

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January 17, signed Bernstorff, and addressed to the German Legations at Bogotá, Port-au-Prince, and Santiago, Chile, respectively.

[Here follow code messages.]

Effort will be made to secure copies of all German cipher messages as far back as possible and if the Department were in possession of the code there would be a great saving of time and expense. Contents of messages decoded here would of course be communicated to the British Government.

Publication of Z[immermann]'s telegram to Mexico to-morrow.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3396

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *February 28, 1917.*

[*Received 11 p. m.*]

737. Press summary from *Rotterdamsche Courant:* German Chancellor said yesterday in Reichstag the United States went a step further than European neutrals. After receiving our note, January 31, President Wilson suddenly broke off relations with us. We have not received any authentic statement of reasons leading to that step. American Ambassador merely informed Foreign Office orally of break and demanded his passports. This form of break between two great nations living in peace with each other unparalleled in history. Failing official information I had to rely on writer's account of President's message, February 3, saying that American Government saw no other course open but the one indicated in note of April 20. This demands prompt refutation. For more than century friendly relations have been cultivated between the two countries, the heritage of Frederick the Great. Since beginning of war things have been different across Atlantic. On August 27, 1913, at time Mexican troubles, Wilson declared neutrality, forbade supply war material of combatants. A year later this was forgotten. America has furnished enormous quantities ammunition to Entente, all the while jealously guarding rights Americans to travel freely to enemy countries on all kinds business even such as had to be paid for with German blood. But it was not deemed proper to insist equally on same right of commerce with Germany. Protests were addressed England but there was, nevertheless, acquiescence in her illegal measures. I emphatically deny that withdrawal our assurances of May 1 affects honor or dignity of

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United States. We expressly proclaimed at the time that under certain circumstances those assurances would cease to be valid. It is only necessary to read final paragraph our note May 1 [4].[1] German Government was convinced that American Government did not demand restriction in use our weapons while our adversaries were permitted to do as they pleased. We relied on statements of America that she was determined to insist on freedom seas from whatever quarter violated. What American Government said in its note May 10, 1916, was so absolutely contradictory to what we had said with such clearness as to admit no misunderstanding that an answer on our part would not have altered in any way standpoints of the two parties. It is indisputable that conditions giving us full freedom action have long been present. Our enemies have not been induced to respect either international law or dictates humanity. They have still further restricted freedom seas and America has not hindered them. All this is *publici juris*. Can anyone be surprised, then, at our claiming on January 31 that freedom seas has not been established and drawing our conclusions from that fact? America must know England's countless violations international law. I would fully understand her attitude if she had insisted on observance international laws by all belligerents in same manner or had taken measures stop the war, but I can not possibly conceive that it is vital interest of American people to insist solely on our observance international law. Our enemies and Americans hostile to us pretend there is considerable difference between our actions and England's; that England merely destroys replaceable economic values, whereas Germany destroys human lives which can not be replaced. But reason why American lives have not been jeopardized by England's measures is that America voluntarily submitted to them, so that England was enabled reach her object without violence. What would have happened had Americans attached equal value to unhindered passenger and commercial traffic with Bremen and Hamburg as with Liverpool and London? Had they done so we should have been free from painful impressions that American subjection to English power and control was compatible with neutrality as they construed it, but that acceptance German retaliatory measures was unneutral. We see very well that severance relations and mobilization all neutrals against us were not conceived as measures protection of freedom seas or as plan conducive to the peace demanded by Wilson also, but only contemplate stimulation of efforts to starve Germany and increase bloodshed. We deplore break with nation that seemed destined by history to strive not against us but

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 257.

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with us for common ideals. But now that our sincere desire to promote peace has met with nothing but ridicule at hands of our enemies there is no longer any retreat for us—nothing but "Forward."

LANGHORNE

File No. 862.20212/82A

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 1, 1917, 8 p. m.*

4494. Some members of Congress are attempting to discredit Zimmermann message charging that message was furnished to this Government by one of the belligerents. This Government has not the slightest doubt as to its authenticity, but it would be of the greatest service if the British Government would permit you or someone in the Embassy to personally decode the original message which we secured from the telegraph office in Washington and then cable to Department German text. Assure Mr. Balfour that the Department hesitated to make this request but feels that this course will materially strengthen its position and make it possible for the Department to state that it had secured the Zimmermann note from our own people. Matter most urgent and I hope you can give it your immediate attention. The text of code message secured from telegraph office here is as follows:

[Here follows code message.]

LANSING

File No. 857.857/87

The Consul at Havre (Osborne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HAVRE, *March 1, 1917.*

[*Received 6 p. m.*]

Norwegian steamer *Sjöstad*, gross 1,755, Newport, Wales, to Fécamp with coal, sunk 28th, noon, locality four or five minutes from Cape Antifer, this district, either torpedoed or mined; 17 in crew; 9 missing and believed drowned, comprising 4 Norwegians, 2 Swedes, 1 Finn, 1 Spaniard, 1 American named Smith, said to be from New York, aged about 25, shipped as fireman, Newport, February 23. Ship's papers lost. Eight survivors fell in sea; rescued by French torpedo boats, which had convoyed *Sjostad*, and brought to Havre. Can not take depositions until 2d.

OSBORNE

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File No. 763.72/3899

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *March 1, 1917.*
[*Received 7 p. m.*]

589. Press reports: After Chancellor's speech in Reichstag yesterday, Deputy Spahn, of the Center, praised submarine warfare and strict neutrality of Sweden, Holland, the Swiss, and Vatican; demanded war indemnities. Deputy Scheidemann, Socialist, condemns annexationist policy; Germans must be in accord on purposes of war; regrets rupture with America. Deputy Weimer, Progressive, must demand new sacrifice of German people but will be recompensed by more advantageous peace terms; also regrets rupture with America but believes a retreat now impossible. Deputy Westarp, Conservative, states conditions of peace offered by Germany dangerous to nation; approves submarine warfare without restrictions; demands, unless country received war indemnity, the annexation of Courland, Lithuania, Briey and Longwy, also port of Antwerp; rupture diplomatic relations with America abolishes Mr. Wilson as mediator in conflict. Zimmermann, answering interpellation, stated Foreign Office received note Swiss Minister, Washington, stating general feeling in America favorable to renewal of negotiations and avoidance war and offered his services for this purpose. German Government desirous of maintaining relations with America acceded but under conditions that negotiations should not touch on question of unrestricted submarine war, such retreat is impossible.

STOVALL

File No. 841.857/376

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 1, 1917.*
[*Received 11 p. m.*]

British bark *Galgorm Castle*, 1,507 tons, Buenos Aires bound Queenstown, maize, attacked by submarine 4.30 p. m. February 27, 74 miles west southwest Bull Rock. Four Americans, of whom two are missing, believed lost, namely: William Jackson, 19 Beach Street, New York, age 19, white, very tall; David Walker, 81 Travis Street, Stannardsville or Seville, Greene County, Va., negro, age about 30, married. Americans saved are Henry Merritt, Beaver Falls, Pa.; Harry Richardson, 62 Hanover Street, Boston; both white; all seamen; all native Americans. Submarine fired six shells at two min-

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ute intervals, by which time crew were in boats and shelling ceased. Sails had been struck upon first shot but shelling continued being aimed at ship generally not at boats. Submarine hailed mate's boat only. That boat has not been heard from. Believed lost. Captain's boat rescued by steamship *Charing Cross*, 6 a. m., 28th. Weather was heavy, sea breaking, strong southwest wind, misty rain beginning dusk. Boats were in imminent danger. Submarine offered no aid. Ship carried neither gun nor wireless. Made no attempt to escape. Have joint affidavit American survivors, master and second mate. This message also Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 841.857/377

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 1, 1917.*
[*Received 11.15 p. m.*]

Donaldson freight liner *Tritonian*, 2,846 tons, Halifax, bound Liverpool, general cargo and horses, torpedoed without any warning 11.35 p. m., Greenwich time, 50 miles west Dingle, February 26. Two men missing from crew of about sixty. Sole American, John Murphy, fourth engineer, saved. Weather was heavy. Westerly swell, dense darkness, light southeast breeze, no lights whatever showing. Conjecturably submarine followed *Tritonian* during day fearing 4.7 gun, otherwise difficult account for submarine sighting vessel in darkness. Master saw torpedo approaching ship, striking starboard bow. Ship abandoned in 30 minutes but did not sink. Boats stood by till admiralty patrol arrived 5 a. m. and towed *Tritonian* until 7.30 a. m., 28th, when sank. Submarine never sighted. Wireless was used *Tritonian*. Have joint affidavit Murphy and other officers. This message to Ambassador, Consul General. Fragments torpedo were found, disposing mine theory.

FROST

File No. 862.20212/78

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 1, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received March 2, 12.30 a. m.*]

Your 4493, February 28, 8 p. m. The three messages were deciphered to-day and are practically identical. They contain instructions to the three legations to use a certain variation of the cipher code when communicating with Berlin. The one to Santiago was to

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be repeated to other missions in South America. The question of our having a copy of the code has been taken up, but there appear to be serious difficulties. I am told actual code would be of no use to us as it was never used straight, but with a great number of variations which are known to only one or two experts here. They can not be spared to go to America. If you will send me copies of B[ernstorff]'s cipher telegrams, the British authorities will gladly decipher them as quickly as possible giving me copies as fast as deciphered. I could telegraph texts or summaries in matters of importance and send the others by pouch. Neither Spring Rice nor Gaunt know anything about this matter.

PAGE

File No. 862.20212/81

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 2, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received 10.45 p. m.]

5789. My 5784 of to-day.[1] Bell [2] took the cipher text of the German message contained in your 4494 of yesterday to the Admiralty and there, himself, deciphered it from the German code which is in the Admiralty's possession. The first group, 130, indicates Bernstorff's number of telegram. The second group, 13042, indicates the code to be used in deciphering the cipher telegram. From the third group onwards, message reads as follows:

Auswaertiges Amt telegraphiert Januar 16: No. 1. Ganz geheim selbst zu entziffern. Wir beabsichtigen am ersten Februar uneingeschraenkt U-Boot Krieg zu beginnen. Es wird versucht werden Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika trotzdem neutral zu erhalten. Fuer den Fall dass dies nicht gelingen sollte, schlagen wir Mexico auf folgend Grundlage Buendnis vor. Gemeinsam Krieg fuehren, Friedenschluss. Reichlich finanziell Unterstuetzung und Einverstaendnis unsererseits dass Mexico, in Texas, Neu Mexico, Arizona frueher verloren Gebiet zurueck erobern. Regelung im einzelnen Euer Hochwohlgeborene ueberlassen. Sie wollen vorstehendes dem Praesident streng geheim eroeffnen, sobald Kriegsausbruch mit Vereinigten Staaten feststeht und Anregung hinzufuegen Japan von sich aus zu sofortig Beitrachtung [*Beitratung?*] einzuladen und gleichzeitig zwischen uns und Japan zu vermitteln. Bitte den Praesident darauf hinweisen, dass ruecksichtlose Anwendung unserer U-Boote jetzt Aussicht bietet, England in wenigen Monaten zum Frieden zu zwingen. Empfang bestaetigen.[3] Zimmermann.

Punctuations are given as in German text. I am sending decode into German, group by group, by to-morrow's pouch.

PAGE

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[1] Not printed.
[2] Secretary of the Embassy.
[3] For English translation of this passage, see *ante*, p. 147.

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File No. 857.857/90

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *March 2, 1917.*
[*Received midnight.*]

1901. George A. Hamilla states under oath that he is American citizen, born April 24, 1894, of Russian parentage, New Britain, Conn.; shipped as seaman January 7 at Baltimore on Norwegian steamer *Nyland*. On voyage with cargo of coal from Barry Dock to Gibraltar. Deponent states vessel, unarmed, was sunk after warning by submarine, believed of German nationality, on 23d ultimo in Bay of Biscay off French coast. Position unknown to deponent. Believed by Embassy to be about 20 miles off Belle Ile. No attempt made to escape after warning. Captain of submarine made inquiries regarding nationality, cargo, and destination before placing bombs on board. Crew then being clear of vessel in boats no aid given by submarine. No casualties, sea calm, no wind. Hamilla only American on board. Two Norwegian flags and name painted on each side of *Nyland* which carried lights, flew white flag with blue cross. Deposition by mail.

SHARP

File No. 841.857/388

The Consul at Southampton (Swalm) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SOUTHAMPTON, *undated.*
[*Received March 3, 1917, 1.30 p. m.*]

British steamship *Belgier* torpedoed February 23, forty miles off Lauriat [*Lorient?*], France, four Americans in crew. Joint affidavit of Isadore Frank, Leroy Kraig, DeWitt Shivers, and Daniel Gatliff forwarded. Bound New York to French port, cargo munitions. Vessel stopped by gunfire, German submarine. Weather fine, French scout appeared immediately, took crew from boats, landed at Lauriat [*Lorient?*], sent here, no casualties, did not resist.

SWALM

File No. 857.857/91

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 3, 1917.*
[*Received 4.15 p. m.*]

Norwegian bark *Storenes*, Buenos Aires to Queenstown, maize, attacked by submarine March 1, 18 miles off Kinsale. Torpedo fired without warning, missed ship. Submarine then came up, ordered

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crew into boats immediately, later sent master back with German boarding party. Sank ship with bombs 30 minutes after torpedo. No offer assistance. Sea moderate, wind light, sky overcast, boats picked up midnight by admiralty vessel, no deaths or injuries. One American aboard, Martin Feldman, 1714 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia. Have joint affidavit Feldman and officers. This message to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 763.72/3418

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *March 3, 1917.*
[*Received March 4, 2.10 a. m.*]

603. Local press prints Wolff telegram dated 2d, Berlin, which states that American press has published Foreign Office communication to German representative in Mexico and adds that following are the facts:

When on February 1 decision was taken for ruthless submarine warfare, in view of the previous attitude of the American Government the possibility of a conflict with the United States had to be considered. The facts have demonstrated that this foresight was justified for the American Government broke diplomatic relations and urged other states to join it. Foreseeing these possibilities the Imperial Government not only had the right, but also the duty, to take steps in view of an armed conflict with the United States to compensate for the entrance of new enemies on the scene; therefore the German Minister at Mexico was charged, in the middle of January, in case the United States declared war to propose an alliance to the Government of Mexico. The Minister also received the order to take no action before the certainty of an outbreak of war. It is unknown how knowledge came out of this secret communication. However the treason, for it is certainly that, seems to have taken place on American territory. This notice published in Swiss press under heading "Simple Aveu."

STOVALL

File No. 763.72/3425

The Ambassador in Japan (Guthrie) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

TOKYO, *March 3, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received March 4, 3.45 a. m.*]

Your March 1, 4 p. m.[1] In an interview with *Japan Advertiser* editor yesterday the Minister for Foreign Affairs said that no such proposals had ever been received in Japan from Mexico. He said:

[1] Not printed.

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First, it is absurd to suppose that Japan would under any circumstances desert the Allies and join Germany. In the second place, it is preposterous to imagine that Mexico could induce Japan to follow such a course. This plot shows what mental delusion Germany is laboring under to presume that such a course of [conduct] could ever be possible.

The interview is confirmed by the Foreign Office.[1]

GUTHRIE

File No. 763.72/3419

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *March 2, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received March 4, 12.30 p. m.*]

1739. My 1738, March 2, 4 p. m.[2] Following is *aide-mémoire* handed me by the Austro-Hungarian Government to-day:[3]

From the *aide-mémoire* of the American Embassy in Vienna of February 18, 1917, the Imperial and Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs understands that, in view of the declarations made by the Imperial and Royal Government on February 10, 1916,[4] and January 31, 1917,[5] the Washington Cabinet is in doubt as to the attitude which Austria-Hungary intends to adopt from now on in the conduct of the submarine warfare, and whether the assurance given by the Imperial and Royal Government to the Washington Cabinet in the course of negotiations in the cases of the ships *Ancona* and *Persia* has not perhaps been altered or withdrawn by the aforesaid declarations.

The Imperial and Royal Government is willingly ready to comply with the wish of the American Government that these doubts be removed by a definite and clear statement.

The Austro-Hungarian Government may be permitted, in the first place, in all brevity to discuss the methods practiced by the Entente powers in the conduct of naval warfare, because these methods constitute the point of departure of the more severe submarine warfare put into operation by Austria-Hungary and her allies, and because thereby the attitude which the Imperial and Royal Government has so far adopted in the questions arising therefrom is elucidated.

When Great Britain entered into war against the Central powers, only a few years had elapsed since that memorable time when she, in common with the other states, had, at The Hague, begun to lay down the fundaments of a modern law of maritime warfare; soon thereafter the English Government had assembled in London rep-

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[1] For the attitude of Mexico, see *post*, pp. 235, 238–239.
[2] Not printed.
[3] Text of *aide-mémoire* corrected to accord with copy received Apr. 7 as enclosure to despatch No. 2538 (File No. 763.72/3707).
[4] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 166.
[5] *Ante*, p. 104.

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resentatives of the great naval powers to complete the Hague work, principally in the sense of an equitable settlement between the interests of belligerents and neutrals. The nations were not long to enjoy the unanticipated successes of these efforts, which accomplished nothing less than an agreement upon a code which was suitable to give validity to the principle of the freedom of the sea and the interests of neutrals even in time of war.

The United Kingdom had hardly decided to participate in the war before it began to break through the bounds placed upon it by the code of international law. While the Central powers immediately at the beginning of the war had declared their intention of adhering to the Declaration of London, which also bore the signature of the British delegate, England cast aside the most important provisions of this declaration. In the endeavor to cut the Central powers off from importation by sea, Great Britain extended the list of contraband step by step, until it included everything now required for supporting human life. Then Great Britain laid over the coasts of the North Sea, which also constitute an important transit gate for the sea commerce of Austria-Hungary, a closure which she designated as a "blockade" in order to prevent the entrance into Germany of all goods still lacking in the list of contraband, as well as to stop all sea traffic of neutrals with those coasts and to prevent all exportation whatsoever from them. That this closure stands in the most glaring contradiction to the traditional right of blockade established by international treaties has been pointed out by the President of the United States of America himself, in words which will continue to live in the history of international law. By the illegal hindrance of exportation from the Central powers, Great Britain intended to bring to a standstill the countless factories and concerns which the industrious and highly developed peoples had created in the heart of Europe, and to bring their workmen to idleness and thus incite them to insurrection and revolt. And when Austria-Hungary's southern neighbor entered the ranks of the enemies of the Central powers her first act, indeed following the example of her allies, was to declare a blockade of the entire coast of her enemy in disregard of the provisions of law in the creation of which Italy a short time previously had actively participated. Austria-Hungary did not fail at once to point out to the neutral powers that this blockade was void of all legal effectiveness.

The Central powers have hesitated more than two years. Not until then, and after mature consideration of the pros and cons, did they resort to repaying like with like and pressing their opponents hard at sea. As the only ones of the belligerents who had done everything to assure the validity of the treaties which were intended to guarantee the freedom of the sea to the neutrals they bitterly felt the compulsion of the hour which forced them to violate this freedom; but they took the step in order to fulfil an imperative duty toward their peoples and with the conviction that it was adapted to bring about the ultimate victory of the freedom of seas. The declarations which they promulgated on the last day of January of this year were only apparently directed against the rights of the neutrals; in truth they serve the reestablishment of these rights which the enemies have incessantly violated and which they would destroy forever should

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they be victorious. Thus the submarines surrounding the coasts of England announce to the nations who have need of the sea—and who has not need of it?—that the day is no longer distant when the flags of all states will peacefully wave over the seas in the splendor of newly acquired freedom.

The hope may well be entertained that this announcement will find response everywhere where neutral peoples live, and that it will be particularly understood by the great people of the United States of America, whose most competent representative has in the course of this war advocated in flaming words the freedom of the sea as the street of all nations. If the people and Government of the Union keep in mind that the "blockade" laid by Great Britain is calculated not only to subjugate the Central powers by hunger but ultimately to bring the seas under her supremacy and in this way to establish her stewardship over all nations, while on the other hand the isolation of England and her Allies only serves to make these powers amenable to a peace with honor and to guarantee to all nations the freedom of navigation and sea trade, and thus an assured existence, the question as to which of the two belligerent parties has the right on its side is already decided. Although it is far from the intentions of the Central powers to court allies in their struggle, they, however, believe that they may lay claim to the neutrals appreciating their endeavor to restore the principles of international law and equality of rights of nations in the interest of all.

In proceeding to answer the question asked in the above-mentioned *aide-mémoire* of February 18 of this year, the Imperial and Royal Government desires first of all to remark that in the exchange of notes in the cases of the *Ancona* and *Persia* it had restricted itself to taking a position with respect to the concrete questions which had arisen on those occasions without setting forth its fundamental legal views. However, in the note of December 29, 1915, in the case of the *Ancona* it reserved to itself the right to discuss at a later date the difficult questions of international law connected with submarine warfare. In returning to this reservation and subjecting the question of the sinking of enemy ships alluded to in that *aide-mémoire* to a short discussion, it is guided by the wish to show the American Government that it now as hitherto firmly adheres to the assurance given by it as well as by the endeavor to prevent misunderstandings between the Monarchy and the American Union by means of an elucidation of that question arising from submarine warfare, which is most important on account of its bearing upon the demands of humanity.

Above all the Imperial and Royal Government would wish to emphasize that also according to its view the principle established by the American Government and represented by it in several learned documents, that enemy merchant ships, except in cases of attempted flight or resistance, may not be destroyed without the safety of persons on board having been provided for, constitutes, so to say, the kernel of the entire matter. Considered from a higher standpoint, this principle can certainly be incorporated into a broader embodiment of ideas, and in this manner its sphere of application more precisely delimitated. From the demands of humanity, which the Imperial and Royal Government and the Washington Cabinet take in the same manner as a guiding rule, the more general principle

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may be deduced that in the execution of the right to destroy enemy merchant ships the loss of human life should be avoided in so far as this is in any way possible. A belligerent can do justice to this principle only by issuing a warning before the execution of the right. In this respect he can adopt the course pointed out by the said principle of the American Government, according to which the commanding officer of the man-of-war himself issues the warning to the vessel to be sunk in order that the crew and passengers can still at the last moment effect their safety; or the Government of a belligerent state can, if it recognizes this as an unavoidable necessity of war, issue the warning with full effect even before the departure of the ship which is to be sunk; or, finally, it can, in setting into operation a comprehensive measure for combating the enemy's sea trade, make use of a general warning intended for all enemy ships coming under consideration.

The American Government itself has recognized that the principle that the safety of persons on board is to be provided for undergoes exceptions. The Imperial and Royal Government believes that the destruction without warning is not merely admissible in case the ship flees or offers resistance. It appears to it, to give an example, that also the character of the ship itself must be taken into consideration: merchant or other private ships which place themselves in the service of a belligerent as transport, despatch ship or the like which carry military crews or armaments with which to commit hostilities of whatever character may indeed be destroyed without further ado according to existing laws. The Imperial and Royal Government need not recall the case in which a belligerent is freed from every consideration for human life when its opponent sinks enemy merchant ships without previous warning, as has occurred in the already repeatedly censured cases of the ships *Elektra*, *Dubrovnik*, *Zagreb*, etc., as notwithstanding its undeniable right in this respect it has never repaid like with like. In the whole course of the war Austro-Hungarian men-of-war have not destroyed a single enemy merchant ship without previous warning although such warning may have been general.

The oft-mentioned principle of the American Government also admits of several interpretations, particularly in so far as it leaves it questionable whether, as is asserted from many a quarter, only an armed resistance justifies the destruction of a ship with persons on board or a resistance of another character such as perhaps occurs when the crew intentionally fails to place the passengers in boats (*Ancona* case) or when the passengers themselves refuse to take to the boats. In the opinion of the Imperial and Royal Government the destruction of the warned ship without rescue of the persons on board is also admissible in cases of the latter character, as otherwise it would lie in the hands of every passenger to nullify the right of sinking belonging to the belligerent. Furthermore, it may be pointed out that there is no unanimity as to cases in which the destruction of enemy merchant vessels is admissible.

In the opinion of the Imperial and Royal Government the obligation of issuing the warning immediately before the sinking of the ship leads on the one hand to asperities which might be avoided, but

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on the other hand it is also under circumstances adapted to prejudice the justified interests of the belligerents. In the first place it can not be ignored that the rescue of persons at sea is almost always left to blind chance as only the choice remains either of taking them on board of the man-of-war which is exposed to every hostile influence or of exposing them to the danger of the elements in small boats and that it therefore far better complies with the principles of humanity to restrain the persons from making use of endangered ships by a timely issued warning. But, furthermore, the Imperial and Royal Government, despite mature examination of all the legal questions coming into consideration, could not be convinced that subjects of a neutral state possess a claim to travel unmolested on enemy ships.

The principle that neutrals even in time of war enjoy the advantages of the freedom of the sea obtains only for neutral ships, not also for neutral persons on board of enemy ships. For, as is known, belligerents are entitled to prevent enemy navigation as far as they are able. Possessing the requisite means of war, they may in doing so, if they consider it necessary for the attainment of their war aims, forbid enemy merchant ships the navigation of the sea at risk of immediate destruction provided they only previously announce their intention, in order that everyone whether enemy or neutral be enabled to avoid placing his life in jeopardy. But even should doubt arise as to the justification of such a procedure and the opponent perhaps threaten with retaliation, this would be an affair to be settled only between the belligerents who, as is recognized, are entitled to make the high sea a theater of their military enterprises, to prevent every disturbance of these enterprises and sovereignly decide what measures are to be adopted against enemy navigation. In such a case the neutrals have no other legitimate interest, and therefore no other legal claim, than that the belligerent give them timely notification of the prohibition directed against the enemy in order that they may avoid intrusting their persons or property to enemy ships.

The Imperial and Royal Government may therefore well assume that the Washington Cabinet agrees to the foregoing arguments which according to its firm conviction are incontestable, as a refutation of their correctness would without doubt be tantamount to—which surely does not accord with the views of the American Government—the neutrals being at liberty to meddle in the military operations of the belligerents, indeed ultimately to set themselves as judges as to what means of war may be employed against the enemy. Also it would appear to be a glaring incongruity if a neutral government should, only for the purpose of enabling its subjects to travel on enemy ships while they could just as well and indeed with far greater safety use neutral ships, stay the arm of a belligerent power which is perhaps fighting for its existence. To say nothing of door and gate being opened to the most serious abuses if one would wish to compel a belligerent to lower his weapons before every neutral who felt inclined to make use of the enemy vessels on his business or pleasure voyages. There has never been the slightest doubt that neutral subjects must themselves bear all injuries sustained in consequence of entering a region on land where military

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operations are taking place. There is evidently no reason whatsoever for permitting another code to pertain for maritime warfare especially as the Second Peace Conference expressed the wish that pending a treaty regulation of maritime warfare the powers might apply to it as far as possible the existing law for land warfare.

In the sense of the foregoing the rule that the warning must be addressed to the ship itself which is to be sunk undergoes exceptions of various natures: under certain circumstances as in the cases of flight and resistance set forth by the American Government the ship may be sunk without any warning; in other cases a warning is necessary before the departure of the ship. The Imperial and Royal Government may therefore state that whatever position the Washington Cabinet may take with respect to the various questions here raised, particularly with reference to the protection against endangering neutrals, it is essentially of one mind with the American Government. But it has not contented itself in the course of the present war with converting the views represented by it into action but going still further has accommodated its conduct with scrupulous care to the principle set up by the Washington Cabinet although the assurance given by it had only been to the effect that "it is able to agree in substance to the views of the American Government." The Imperial and Royal Government would greet it with particular satisfaction if the Washington Cabinet should be inclined to support it in its endeavor which is borne by the warmest feelings of humanity to guard American citizens from dangers at sea by instructing and warning of its citizens.

As to the circular *note verbale* of February 10, 1916, concerning the treatment of armed merchant ships, the Imperial and Royal Government must certainly state that it, as is also intimated in the foregoing, is of the opinion that the arming of merchant vessels even only for purposes of defense against the execution of the right of capture is not founded on modern international law. According to every rule a man-of-war is obliged to meet an enemy merchant vessel in a peaceable manner. She has to stop the vessel by means of prescribed signs, enter into communication with the captain, examine the ship's papers, take a protocol, and if necessary an inventory, etc. But the fulfilment of these duties presupposes that the man-of-war will possess entire certainty that the merchant ship will on its part meet her pacifically. However, such a certainty doubtless does not exist if the merchant ship carries an armament sufficient to combat the man-of-war. A man-of-war, however, can hardly be expected to execute her office under the muzzles of hostile guns, be they brought on board for whatsoever purpose. Not to mention the fact that notwithstanding all contrary asseverations, merchant vessels of the Entente powers as has been shown are provided with guns for offensive purposes and also make use of them for such purposes. It would also be ignoring the duties of humanity if the crews of men-of-war would be required to expose themselves to the weapons of the enemy without defending themselves. No state can estimate the duties of humanity towards the competent defenders of the fatherland lower than the duties towards citizens of foreign powers.

According to its conviction, the Imperial and Royal Government would therefore have been able to proceed from the fact that its

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promise given to the Washington Cabinet did not from the outset extend to armed merchant vessels since these according to existing laws, which restrict hostilities to the organized armed forces, are to be regarded as filibuster ships which are subject to summary destruction. As history teaches, it has according to universal international law never been admissible for merchant ships to resist the execution of the right of capture by men-of-war. But even if a provision of law to this effect could be produced it would not thereby be proven that the ships might provide themselves with arms. It is also to be taken into consideration that the arming of merchant ships must entirely transform maritime warfare and that this transformation can not be in accord with the views of those who are endeavoring to enforce the principles of humanity in maritime warfare. In fact, since the abolition of privateering a few years ago no government has even in the slightest degree thought of arming merchant vessels. In the entire course of the Second Peace Conference, which concerned itself with all questions of the law of maritime warfare, there was not a single word mentioned of arming merchant vessels. Only a single time, and that in an incidental manner, has there been an assertion which is of interest in this matter, and it is characteristic that it was a high British naval officer who frankly declared: "When a man-of-war proposes to stop and visit a merchant vessel the commanding officer before lowering a boat will fire a gun. The firing of a gun is the best guaranty that can be given. Merchant vessels have no guns on board."

Nevertheless Austria-Hungary has also adhered to its promise in this question; in the circular *note verbale* referred to, the neutrals were timely warned against entrusting their persons and goods to armed ships; also the announced measure was not put into operation immediately, but a delay was accorded in order to enable the neutrals to leave the armed ships upon which they had already embarked. Finally the Austro-Hungarian men-of-war have instructions even in case of encountering armed enemy merchant vessels to be mindful of issuing a warning and of saving the persons on board if this should be possible under the existing circumstances.

The statement of the American Embassy that the armed British steamers *Secondo* and *Welsh Prince* had been sunk by Austro-Hungarian submarines is based upon an error. The Imperial and Royal Government has in the meantime been informed that Austro-Hungarian men-of-war took no part in the sinking of these steamers.

In the same manner as in the oft-mentioned circular *note verbale*, the Imperial and Royal Government—and in this connection it returns to the question of the more severe submarine warfare discussed at the beginning of this *aide-mémoire*—in establishing a proper term, issued a warning addressed to the neutrals in its declaration of January 31 of this year; indeed the entire declaration is essentially nothing else than a warning to the effect that no merchant ship may navigate the sea zones accurately defined in the declaration. Furthermore Austro-Hungarian men-of-war are instructed to warn merchant vessels when possible even when encountered in these zones as well as to provide for the safety of crews and passengers. Indeed, the Imperial and Royal Government is in the possession of numerous

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reports that the crews and passengers of ships which have been destroyed in these zones have been rescued. The Imperial and Royal Government is, however, unable to accept a responsibility for the possible loss of human life which nevertheless may result from the destruction of armed ships or ships encountered in the closed zones. Moreover, it may be remarked that Austro-Hungarian submarines are operating only in the Adriatic and in the Mediterranean, and that therefore a prejudicing of American interests by Austro-Hungarian men-of-war is hardly to be feared.

After all that has been set forth at the beginning of this *aide-mémoire* an assurance is not actually necessary that the closing of the sea zones designated in the declaration in no way serves the purpose of destroying or even endangering human life but that it, aside from the higher purpose of sparing mankind further suffering through a shortening of the war, is only designed to place in the same position of isolation Great Britain and her allies who without having laid an effective blockade over the coasts of the Central powers are preventing sea traffic of the neutrals with these powers and through the pressure make the former amenable to a peace which brings with it the guaranty of durability. That Austria-Hungary hereby employs other means of war than her opponents is chiefly due to circumstances over which man is given no power. The Imperial and Royal Government is, however, conscious that it has made all provisions lying within its power for the prevention of the loss of human life. It would most quickly and surely achieve this aim striven for in the isolation of the Western powers if not a single human life should be lost or endangered in those sea zones.

In recapitulating the Imperial and Royal Government is able to state that the assurance which it gave the Washington Cabinet in the *Ancona* case and renewed in the *Persia* case has neither been withdrawn nor restricted by its declarations of February 10, 1916, and January 31, 1917. Within the boundary of this assurance it will in common with its allies henceforth do its utmost to soon restore the blessings of peace to the peoples of the world. If in the pursuit of this aim, in which it well knows it enjoys the entire sympathy of the Washington Cabinet, it finds itself compelled also to prevent neutral navigation in certain sea zones it would not like, in order to justify this measure, to refer so much to the conduct of its adversaries, which appears to it far from worthy of imitation, as to the fact that Austria-Hungary has been placed in a position of self-defense by the stubbornness and hatefulness of her enemies who are bent upon her destruction for which history knows of no more typical example. As the Imperial and Royal Government finds exaltation in the consciousness that the struggle which Austria-Hungary is conducting serves not only the preservation of her vital interests but also the realization of the idea of equal rights of all states, it, in this last and most serious phase of the war, which as it deeply deplores also demands sacrifices from friends, attaches the greatest value to affirming by word and deed that the principles of humanity are illuminating its course in the same way as the demands of respect for the dignity and interests of the neutral peoples.

PENFIELD

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File No. 841.857/389

The Consul at Liverpool (Washington) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIVERPOOL, *March 5, 1917.*
[*Received 10.30 a. m.*]

Harold E. Burke, American citizen, residing 24 Holmes Court, Portsmouth, N. H., affirms member crew British schooner *Mayola*, St. John's, Newfoundland-Alicante, Spain, cargo fish, unarmed. German submarine commander, 4.15 p. m., February 16, ordered abandon vessel, placed bombs on board *Mayola*. Crew in calm sea, wind moderate, rowed 21 miles to Albufeira, Portugal. No other Americans on board; affidavit mailed.

WASHINGTON

File No. 841.857/390

The Consul at Liverpool (Washington) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIVERPOOL, *March 5, 1917.*
[*Received 10.30 a. m.*]

Harold E. Burke, American citizen, 24 Holmes Court, Portsmouth, N. H., affirms was passenger British S. S. *Drina*, bound Lisbon–Falmouth, cargo meat, coffee, armed 6-inch gun astern; sighted periscope submarine 7 a. m., March 1; gunner trained gun, submarine submerged. Midnight, March 1-2, 4 miles from Milford Haven, *Drina* torpedoed without warning; 17 crew, 1 passenger lost; sea calm, wind light. Believed 2 American citizens among passengers. Understands saved and proceeded London. Does not know whether American citizens among crew. Ship's officers proceeded London. Consulate General notified address of crew. Affidavit mailed.

WASHINGTON

File No. 701.6311/268

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *March 6, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received March 7, 3.30 p. m.*]

1746. Minister for Foreign Affairs asks me to do what can to facilitate Tarnowski's full reception as Ambassador. Minister for Foreign Affairs doing much to keep good relations here, has stopped abuse of our country in the press and done other helpful things. Not my intention to intrude any suggestion or express opinions, but my work in certain directions would be greatly facilitated were Tarnowski received.

PENFIELD

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File No. 763.72/3458

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 9, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received 1.30 p. m.*]

5816. For the President and the Secretary only. In reporting on the general feeling here I find that continued delay in sending out American ships, especially American liners, is producing an increasingly unfavorable impression. In spite of all explanations, which are imperfectly understood here, delay is taken to mean the submission of our Government to the German blockade. This is the view of the public and of most of the press. There is a tendency even in high government circles to regard the reasons for delay which are published here as technicalities which a national crisis should sweep aside. British opinion couples the delay of our ships with the sinking of the *Laconia* and the Z[immermann] telegram and seems to be reaching the conclusion that our Government will not be able to take positive action under any provocation. The feeling which the newspaper despatches from the United States produce on the British mind is that our Government is holding back our people until the blockade of our ships, the Z[immermann] telegram, and the *Laconia* shall be forgotten and until the British Navy shall overcome the German submarines. There is danger that this feeling harden into a conviction and interfere with any influence that we might otherwise have when peace comes.

So friendly a man as Viscount Grey of Fallodon writes me privately from his retirement: "I do not see how the United States can sit still while neutral shipping is swept off the sea. If no action is taken, it will be like a great blot in history or a failure that must grievously depress the future history of America."

PAGE

File No. 841.857/399

The Consul at Swansea (Moorhead) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SWANSEA, *March 10, 1917.*
[*Received 8.15 p. m.*]

Affidavits John Ripp, American citizen, cook, and of chief officer, British bark *Inverlogie*, bound from Cardiff, cargo coal, for Russia; stopped by German submarine Bristol Channel by warning shot over vessel, no attack made until crew clear of vessel, bark then sunk, no attempt to escape made. Heavy sea running time of attack, lifeboats kept afloat with difficulty, submarine gave

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no assistance. No casualties, crew in mate's boat rescued after seven hours by French steamer, landed Swansea; crew captain's boat rescued by schooner, destination unknown. Department [*Embassy?*] informed. MOORHEAD

File No. 763.72/3541a

The Department of State to the Argentine Embassy [1]

The Department of State has the honor to state for the information of the Argentine Embassy that in view of the announcement of the Imperial German Government on January 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas, would be sunk without any precautions being taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board.

WASHINGTON, *March 12, 1917.*

File No. 855.48/487

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 12, 1917.*

[*Received 6 p. m.*]

Norwegian steamship *Storstad*, Buenos Aires, bound Rotterdam, 9,000 tons maize Belgian relief under English charter, sunk by German submarine 70 miles west Skelligs 11.30 a. m., March 8. Submarine first shelled ship from 3 miles 15 minutes, during which *Storstad* stopped and hoisted abundant unmistakable signs Belgian relief errand. After 15 minute interval submarine torpedoed *Storstad* without warning from 400 yards, Belgian relief signals being prominently visible, ship carried neither gun nor wireless, no shelling during abandonment. Submarine interviewed captain's boat for particulars, refusing request for towage, then fired additional shells and torpedoed sinking vessel. No attempt escape, resist. Weather heavy, sea strong, east wind, dull, showery sky. Three boats became separated, captain's boat rescued by patrol near Skelligs 9.30 p. m., March 9. After severe battle with sea, fourth engineer died exposure, shock. Sole American aboard, John Roy Christian, 121 Mercer Street, Seattle, saved, affidavit taken. Other

[1] The same, *mutatis mutandis*, on the same date, to all foreign embassies and legations at Washington.

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two boats landed Cahirciveen evening 10th. Have telegraphed Consul, Liverpool take affidavits officers. Total deaths three. This report also Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 841.857/400

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 12, 1917.*
[Received 7 p. m.]

Cunard nonpassenger liner *Folia* sunk off Waterford 10th instant, survivors landed Dungarvan, proceeding direct Liverpool, thus not accessible this Consulate. Sole American aboard, ship's surgeon, W. J. Core, Nashville, Tenn., saved, uninjured. Have telegraphed Consul, Liverpool, take affidavits to-morrow. This message to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 763.72/3492

The Consul General at Sofia (Murphy) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SOFIA, *February 26 [16], 1917.*
[Received March 13, 8 a. m.]

120. Your telegram 107, February 6, 5 p. m.[1] Audience with the Prime Minister to-day marked by extreme cordiality. He assured me that he could think of nothing that would force Bulgaria to break the exceedingly pleasant relations with the United States which he was assured would always continue; that Bulgaria, although allied with Germany, was perfectly free to manage her own policies with neutral and other countries. He was gratified to receive the message of Minister Panaretoff, through the State Department, which conveyed to him and his Government the kindly feelings of the United States for Bulgaria which he said were fully reciprocated. I referred to unfriendly editorial appearing in the official journal of the War Department of the 14th instant which the Prime Minister declared was not authorized and which he repudiated. He said that steps had already been taken to prevent such publications in the future and that every effort will be made to allay any feeling of ill will or suspicion that might exist against the United States. Full details by mail.

MURPHY

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[1] *Ante*, p. 116.

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File No. 841.857/401

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 13, 1917.*
[*Received 11 a. m.*]

Seven lives lost in sinking of Cunarder *Folia* out of crew of 78. *Folia* bound New York to Avonmouth. Torpedoed without warning 5 miles off Ram Head, County Waterford, in heavy fog Sunday, 7.20 a. m. Dr. Core and officers reach Bristol this morning. Am telegraphing Consul there; this also to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 857.857/94

The Vice Consul at Rotterdam (Krogh) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROTTERDAM, *March 13, 1917.*
[*Received 9 p. m.*]

Norwegian freight steamship *Thode Fagesund* of Tonsberg, Norway, owned by Wilhelm Wilhelmsen, *en route* from Falmouth to Rotterdam, with cargo sesame seed from Shanghai, having one American aboard, namely Ruffus Alfonso Bennett (colored, cook, born Hampton, Va., formerly served U. S. Navy) stopped, torpedoed, sunk by German submarine afternoon March 11 in North Sea, 2° 58′ eastern longitude and 51° 54′ northern latitude. All officers, crew, consisting 28 men including Bennett, were given 10 minutes to enter boats and were saved. All were picked up from boats in calm sea after 12 hours by Dutch lugger *Judana;* were later transferred to Dutch lugger *Vlaardingen* and brought safely to Rotterdam. Am mailing Bennett's affidavit and endeavoring obtain copies affidavits officers, crew, from Norwegian Consul.

KROGH

File No. 763.72/3504

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 13, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 11.50 p. m.*]

765. From press and other sources, political situation in Germany may be summed up as follows:

The declaration of unbridled submarine warfare greatly strengthened the hands of the Conservatives, Pan-Germanists, Annexa-

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tionists, etc., and correspondingly weakened the influence of the Socialists and other advocates of understanding. The [slogan?] now is quite generally decisive victory or destruction; in Bavaria also influential men strongly advocate relentless warfare until England is forced to her knees. Conservative leader Von Heydebrand recently said, "Peace without indemnity spelled ruin." The Pan-Germanists have somewhat hurt their cause by indiscreet utterances and propaganda. The Socialist, Ledebour, was laughed at in the Prussian Lower House for demanding cessation of the under-sea warfare as its results could not compensate for the enmity of America. The position of the Chancellor is extremely difficult; he is hated by the Conservatives and the Pan-Germanists, and seems endangered by the daily heard clamor for the reform of suffrage in Prussia; thus far he has taken no action in this matter and it has been publicly said that if the Chancellor does not act soon he will be swept away by a great popular movement. The Conservatives who are all-powerful in Prussia will fight tooth and nail any attempt at electoral reform in Prussia. In the Prussian House of Lords Count Yoramole delivered an ultra-conservative speech, saying that Germany owed all to Prussia and that it was better to remodel Imperial institutions along Prussian lines than to try to Germanize Prussia. The indications are that there will be no outbreak of the great antagonism between the parties of the Left and the Right as long as the people are shown that the war is being prosecuted to a victorious conclusion which is near at hand. Men like Professor Delbrück, Dernburg and Rohrbach are working quietly for reform and understanding; Riesser, President of the Hansabund, said that the object of the submarine campaign was not to force England to her knees but to make her consider peace. The Socialists seem to be keeping quiet awaiting developments.

LANGHORNE

File No. 300.115A13

The Consul at Plymouth (Stephens) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PLYMOUTH, *March 14, 1917.*

[*Received noon.*]

Steamer *Algonquin* of New York, from New York for London with foodstuffs, sunk by German submarine 65 miles west of Bishop, March 12, 6 a. m. Captain reports vessel not warned and sunk by shell fire. Crew of 27 all saved in own boats. Submarine refused assistance. No other boats in sight.

STEPHENS

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File No. 841.857/404

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 14, 1917.*
[*Received 2.45 p. m.*]

American Consul, Plymouth, reports British *East Point*, London for Philadelphia, torpedoed 9th, 5 p. m., about 15 miles west of Eddystone Lighthouse. *East Point* not warned, carried one gun aft, armed patrol boat near by. Crew of 45 left *East Point* in four boats, all saved. John Webber of 159 Fougeron Street, Buffalo, fireman, and Edward Ellis, 565 Cortland Avenue, Brooklyn, seaman, both American citizens, have made affidavits at Plymouth.

SKINNER

File No. 857.857/96

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

No. 303 CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *February 24, 1917.*
[*Received March 15.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit hereby, in duplicate (i. e., the original and a copy), an affidavit by a seaman of American nationality and a seaman of Cuban nationality regarding the destruction of the Norwegian bark *Blenheim* on the 22d instant by a German submarine off the southwest coast of Ireland.[1] A confirmation copy of a cabled despatch in regard to the loss of the *Blenheim* is also enclosed.[1]

The *Blenheim* case was brought to my attention only when it was too late to take the officers' affidavit without dislocating the traveling arrangements of 14 persons; but I was able to talk with Captain Larsen for ten minutes at Cork just as he was taking his train, and I caused the two affiants to be detained in order that a sworn statement might be provided. Salomon Troiche, the Porto Rican, has lived in San Francisco since the 6th year of his age, and is now 21 years old. He speaks English perfectly, and in addition proved to be highly intelligent and an excellent witness in every way. The Cuban, Rosa, was sworn only to give a little added weight to the affidavit, as he is of a very inferior type and contributed virtually nothing to the document.

The master stated to me orally that he was on the bridge when he heard the warning gun from the submarine, at 9 a. m., and that he immediately flew a flag signal to the effect that he would at once put off to visit the submarine. He estimated the distance as

[1] Not printed.

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nearly 3 miles at the time the shot was fired; but the submarine had come relatively close to the vessel by the time he reached the former. He considered that the Germans showed every courtesy consistent with the execution of their orders. His other statements were in general confirmation of the facts as incorporated in the affidavit of Troiche and Rosa.

This case merely confirms what was already clear, that when weather conditions are favorable, and there is neither attempt to escape nor alarm from admiralty patrols, the Germans make a virtue of extending civilities to the persons on board the ships they destroy. It does not have any contradictory bearing as to the perfectly unrelenting manner in which the submarines carry out their orders when the situation is adverse to them. I have no doubt that this same submarine in the *Blenheim* case would have forced the crew overboard in their two leaky boats without any compunction, had the weather been never so inclement.

It may be noted that in none of the cases reported by this Consulate, still, has a submarine been destroyed. The naval officers here are naturally reticent; and I hesitate to seek to pierce their reserve. Nevertheless, from such conversations as I have had with them, and from rumors in circulation here, I have formed the opinion that the submarine situation has been met with moderate, but only moderate, success. There is a strong rumor that a submarine crew was landed here last week; and various other rumors are afloat as to the number of submarines destroyed. The original submarine flotilla which opened the month here appears, as has been reported, to have exhausted its supplies by about the 8th; and would reach Germany about five or six days later. None of the recent cases have indicated that it has as yet returned to the field here; the situation during the past fortnight being only slightly worse than during January, and apparently being produced by about the same submarine force as operated prior to the German declaration of January 31.

The British naval units here have been greatly strengthened since February 1; and are perhaps twice as heavy now as they were on that date. At least six torpedo-boat destroyers of modern pattern, and four British submarines, have been based here freshly; and the crack light cruiser *Penelope* has become Admiral Bayly's flagship—although whether to supplement or to supplant the *Adventure* is not yet apparent. There seems to have been an accession of trawlers for convoy work, in addition to the swarm of trawlers on patrol work; and it is my impression that the British submarines are also used, for obvious reasons, in the convoying of ships.

Many large steamers are passing through South Irish waters unmolested.

I have [etc.] WESLEY FROST

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File No. 701.6311/269

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *March 14, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received March 16, 12.30 a. m.*]

1760. My 1746, March 6, 3 p. m. Minister for Foreign Affairs pressing daily to know why Tarnowski not fully received. Emperor Charles has asked Minister for Foreign Affairs for information and I can foresee prospect of difficulties here.

PENFIELD

File No. 841.857/409

The Consul at Hull (Hathaway) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HULL, *March 15, 1917.*
[*Received March 16, 12.30 a. m.*]

British steamer *Lucy Andersen*, Hartlepool to Göteborg with coal, sunk 60 miles north Rattray Head, March 12, gunfire two submarines. No evidence nationality, no warning, ship did not resist or attempt escape but was shelled continuously while crew took boats and rowed away, no measures safety crew. No passengers, crew of 18 uninjured. After 4 hours in boats picked up and landed Aberdeen next day. Porto Rican, Placido Dearce, aboard as cook.

HATHAWAY

File No. 300.115A13/3

The Consul at Plymouth (Stephens) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PLYMOUTH, *March 15, 1917.*
[*Received March 17, 3.25 p. m.*]

Summary affidavit Captain Norberk, steamer *Algonquin:* cargo foodstuffs, copper, tin, machinery, acids, formaldehyde, New York for London, attacked without warning by German submarine. *Algonquin* flying American ensign, American flag painted on ship's sides, weather clear, sea calm, firing ceased only after lifeboats were clear ship. Vessel sunk by shell fire and bombs. Captain made no attempt escape. Submarine stopped engines first shot. Crew 27 hours in boats, no hardships other than fatigue, none injured, no vessels sighted after attack. Affidavits chief mate, Frank Kerney, chief engineer, Charles Schultz, confirm captain's affidavit. Affidavit mess boy, James Finnerty, confirms other affidavits with addition that crew suffered severely from exposure to cold in lifeboats during night. Gives name of submarine *U–38.*

STEPHENS

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File No. 841.857/420

The Consul General at Marseilles (Gaulin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MARSEILLES, *March 17, 1917.*
[*Received 5.30 p. m.*]

David Wright, alleged American citizen, address care Mrs. Lala Grant, corner Oakley and Van Buren Streets, Jacksonville, Fla., fireman on British merchant steamer *Corso*, swears this vessel was attacked without warning by submarine, unknown nationality, about 90 miles east Malta, February 19 last about 12.30 p. m. Deponent was in forecastle when heard explosion and went immediately to lifeboat. Shortly after saw submarine flying no flag, did not see torpedo. *Corso* had general cargo from Bombay for Hull, was armed with small gun astern, had two gunners. Weather fair at time attack but high wind and sea rough few hours after. No measures taken insure safety crew. Crew remained lifeboats until 1.30 o'clock next morning until picked up. Deponent believes no attempt made escape and resist search. No casualties, but captain, chief engineer, and two gunners taken prisoners. No other American aboard.

GAULIN

File No. 701.6311/269

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 18, 1917, 6 p. m.*

1606. Your 1760, 14th, 3 p. m. Department appreciates difficulty of your position and hopes a way may soon be found to make it easier. This Government is sincerely desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Austria-Hungary, and in order to accomplish this is prepared to go as far as it properly can. The following recapitulation of the whole question is for your information and guidance in your conversations with the Foreign Office.

On the day of Count Tarnowski's arrival in Washington the Department received the Austrian note of January 31, which was almost identical with the German note. Shortly afterwards Count Tarnowski was informed that this Government obviously could not dismiss Count von Bernstorff and receive an ambassador from Austria-Hungary unless the latter Government receded from the position taken in its submarine note. Count Tarnowski agreed to this and suggested the opening of conversations in the hope that some solution might be found.

The Department instructed you to ask the Austro-Hungarian Government for a restatement of its position. At the same time Count

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Tarnowski was permitted to send secret messages to his Government through the Department and your Embassy in the conduct of these conversations.

The Austrian restatement transmitted in your 1739, March 2, 5 p. m., carried the following passages:

> The entire declaration is essentially nothing less than a notification to the effect that no merchant ship may navigate the sea zone accurately defined in the declaration; . . . that the Imperial and Royal Government is however unable to accept a responsibility for the possible loss of human life which may, nevertheless, result from the destruction of armed ships encountered in the enclosed zones. Moreover, it may be remarked that Austro-Hungarian submarines are operating only in the Adriatic and in the Mediterranean, and that therefore a prejudicing of American interests by Austro-Hungarian men-of-war is hardly to be feared.

The kernel of this communication appears to lie in the foregoing quotations, in that the Austro-Hungarian Government upholds the principle of the declaration of January 31, stating at the same time that the prejudicing of American interests by Austria-Hungary is "hardly to be feared."

The Austrian reply of March 2 was apparently given out officially in Vienna and thereby assumes a rather definite character. In the face of a positive declaration of this kind the American Government can not receive Count Tarnowski without still further exciting a highly aroused public opinion. The delicacy of the Austro-Hungarian Government's position is fully appreciated, but in view of the fact that Austria-Hungary has publicly declared her adherence to a method of warfare which is in direct conflict with the vital interests of this country, a method which has already resulted in the death of more than 200 American citizens, public opinion here would not welcome the reception of an ambassador at this moment.

Ever since his arrival all possible consideration has been shown Count Tarnowski. He has been received informally by officials of the Department whenever he so desired, and the question of his official reception has been frankly discussed with him on several occasions. Count Tarnowski is to-day cabling his Government through you to the effect that the Austro-Hungarian note had been received; that the President had been ill, and that he, Tarnowski, was advised by officials of the Department that it might be better to let the question of his reception rest for the present.

Tarnowski is greatly disturbed over his position.

You may say that this Government deplores the present situation and hopes that a way may be found in due course to eliminate existing difficulties, but that if the Austro-Hungarian Government considers the present situation is impossible of continuance, we shall be

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glad to receive any suggestions the Minister of Foreign Affairs may have in regard to the matter.

LANSING

File No. 300.115C49/4

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *undated.*
[*Received March 18, 1917, 11.30 p. m.*]

Thirty-three survivors, *City of Memphis*, do not include Captain L. P. Borum, four other Americans, and four non-Americans, but indications are that these are safe on board some merchant or admiralty vessel which has no wireless. Captain's boat did not separate from others till 1 a. m. to-day and was picked up empty at 10 a. m., weather meanwhile remaining moderate. Vessel cleared Cardiff, 16th, in ballast with 58 persons, including 29 Americans. At 3.55 p. m., 17th, submarine fired warning shot from 3 miles on starboard quarter. Vessel was stopped, submarine approaching to 1 mile fired once more, fragments striking vessel, ship then only being able read submarine signal to abandon ship. Instantly captain replied by long blast whistle signifying comprehension, then gave four short blasts signal to crew to take boats immediately, which was done in 5 minutes, about 4.15; no injuries. Submarine then came up, hailed captain's boat and then fired eight shots, sinking vessel at about 4.40 p. m.; apparent time conversation with captain's boat at present unknown, weather heavy, southwest swell, moderate southwest breeze, sky squally, weather improved during night. First officer's boat picked up by admiralty ship 3.45 a. m. to-day; chief engineer's boat 6.30 a. m. to-day by same vessel, landed Queenstown 4.30 p. m. to-day without accident. *City of Memphis* carried wireless but did not use same; carried no gun; no attempt to resist, escape. When captain is located he may have further evidence. Survivors here include first officer, Charles G. Laird; chief engineer, W. I. Percy; assistant engineer, Fred Bevill; M. J. Dierlam, third officer; W. M. Thompson, third engineer; and P. J. Donahue and T. J. Welch, wireless operators; and 8 other Americans; 10 Spaniards; 2 Danes; and one each Swede, Russian, Chilean. *City of Memphis* was stopped by submarine February 4 off Scillies (see report Consul Osborne). Failure to use wireless this time was due to experience of former occasion inducing belief that ship would probably be passed if wireless not started. Survivors will assemble Queenstown pending instruction from owners, Ocean Steamship Company, Pier 35 North River, New York. This to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

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File No. 841.857/423

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *undated.*
[*Received March 19, 1917, 7 p. m.*]

British tanker *Lucilline*, New York bound Calais with naphtha, 2,424 tons register, 35 complement, was struck by torpedo without warning at 2 a. m., March 13, about 40 miles west Bull Light. One man killed by explosion and latter wrecked one lifeboat, necessitating use of small gig which capsized [with?] 12 men, 1 man died fumes naphtha. Survivors saved by admiralty escort which towed *Lucilline*, bringing her shore two days later. *Lucilline* had neither wireless nor gun. Made no attempt escape but was under escort. Submarine not seen by *Lucilline's* crew but by escort. Weather was moderate sea, light breeze, moonlight alternating black clouds. Sole American, D. W. Townsend, seaman, 1122 Columbia Street, Seattle, survives uninjured. Have joint affidavit Townsend and third officer. This to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 857.857/100

The Vice Consul at Rotterdam (Krogh) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROTTERDAM, *March 20, 1917.*
[*Received 12.30 a. m.*]

Norwegian freight-steamship *Davanger* of Bergen, Norway, owned by H. Westfal Larsen, *en route* from New York to Rotterdam with cargo barley, having one American aboard, namely, Robert LeRoy Bragg of Angels Camp, Calif. (second steward, bearer Department passport No. 38,310, issued November 1, 1916), reported stopped by gunfire. Torpedoed, sunk by German submarine afternoon March 14 in North Sea about 30 miles from North Hinder Lightship. All officers, crew including Bragg, after spending 17 hours in lifeboats were saved. Am mailing Bragg's affidavit. Am I instructed endeavor obtain affidavits or copies thereof in case vessels are of foreign nationality and all lives aboard are saved?

KROGH

File No. 300.115C49/8

The Consul at Glasgow (McCunn) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

GLASGOW, *undated.*
[*Received March 20, 1917, 5 p. m.*]

Captain Borum with eight members of crew of *City of Memphis* arrived Glasgow, 20th. Captain reports *City of Memphis* was

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sunk 4 p. m., March 17, by German submarine 44 miles off Irish coast. No resistance offered; captain ordered to abandon ship immediately. Warned by two shots across bow, four boats were launched with difficulty in rough sea taking off all crew. Ship was subsequently sunk by gunfire, no other steamers in sight. No assistance offered crew by submarine. Eighteen hours in open boat before rescue. Ship was bound from Cardiff to New York in ballast, total crew 58 including 30 Americans. Remainder crew reported landed Ireland. Names crew landed Glasgow: H. O. Bevill, N. P. Clausen, Charles Walker, David Jackson, Fred Prutting, S. Ludvigsen, Manuel Lopez, Manuel Barbrito; no casualties reported here, full affidavit taken, Embassy advised.

McCUNN

File No. 300.115V68/2

The Consul at Plymouth (Stephens) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PLYMOUTH, *March 21, 1917.*
[*Received March 22, 8 a. m.*]

Summary affidavits, crew *Vigilancia*, ship from New York, February 28, for Havre with general cargo, sunk in seven minutes, 145 miles west Bishop on March 16, 10 a. m., by torpedo from submarine unknown nationality. Periscope submarine seen. No warning given. No other vessels in sight. Weather clear, moderate swell. Ship flying ensign and fully marked. Fifteen crew drowned in launching boats; of these, 6 were Americans, 5 Spanish, 2 Greeks, 1 Peruvian, 1 Venezuelan. Submarine unknown nationality followed lifeboats from 10 Friday night until 4 Saturday morning. Crew, landed Scilly Islands after 54 hours in lifeboats, suffered greatly from injuries and exposure.

STEPHENS

File No. 857.857/102

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *March 22, 1917.*
[*Received 5.30 p. m.*]

1948. Consul at La Rochelle reports Norwegian steamer *Girda* bound from Glasgow to La Palice, general cargo, sunk without warning by submarine by gunfire and bombs on 13th instant, about 12 miles from Chassiron Light, Ile d'Oléron. Two Americans on board, Bryson Georges and Lloyd Cain, one of whom slightly injured in foot. Consul states Americans departed for Marseilles be-

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fore he was able to take depositions. I have telegraphed Consul General at Marseilles to endeavor to find these men and obtain depositions and have instructed Consul at [*near?*] La Palice to obtain, if possible, needed additional information.

SHARP

File No. 856.857/32

The Vice Consul at Rotterdam (Krogh) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROTTERDAM, *March 22, 1917.*
[*Received 7 p. m.*]

Dutch tank-steamship *La Campine* of Rotterdam, owned by American Petroleum Company, *en route* from Rotterdam to New York with water ballast, of which vessel Gustav Claude, American citizen, was captain (bearer Department passport No. 25403, issued June 2, 1916), reported stopped by gunfire and sunk by gunfire by German submarine, forenoon March 13, in North Sea in safe zone 56° latitude north, 3° 25′ longitude east. Whole crew including captain after spending 26 hours in lifeboats were saved. Am mailing Claude's affidavit.

KROGH

File No. 300.115H34/

The Consul at Amsterdam (Mahin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

AMSTERDAM, *March 22, 1917.*
[*Received 11.30 p. m.*]

Standard Oil ship *Healdton*, from Philadelphia for Rotterdam, cargo oil, torpedoed without warning 8.15 evening of 21st, 25 miles north of Terschelling, Holland. Twenty of crew drowned, 1 died injuries, others more or less injured; 40 saved, 13 brought to Ijmuiden, others to northern Holland. Submarine seen after torpedoing. No doubt German. More details to follow.

MAHIN

File No. 763.72/3587

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

Department of German Interests WASHINGTON, *undated.*
[*Received March 23, 1917.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: The Political Department, Division of Foreign Affairs, instructs me and I have hereby the honor to notify the Government of the United States as follows:

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The Imperial German Government to-day gave notice of an extension of the submarine blockade according to which it will henceforth and without further notice oppose by every means in its power any navigation whatsoever of the waters of the Arctic Ocean lying east and south of the 75th degree of latitude north, with the exception of the Norwegian territorial waters. Neutral vessels navigating that zone would do so at their risk and peril. Steps, however, have been taken directing that neutral vessels already on their way to ports within the newly prohibited zone or intending to leave those ports should not until the 5th of April be attacked without previous warning.

Be pleased to accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 800.115I16/3

The Consul at Southampton (Swalm) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SOUTHAMPTON, *undated.*
[*Received March 23, 1917, 11 a. m.*]

Captain and crew of American submarined ship *Illinois* landed here from Guernsey this morning. They number 34, Americans 16. Vessel bound London, Port Arthur, Tex., in ballast. Submarine sighted 20 miles north of Alderney, March 18, 8 forenoon. Was shelled without warning, German submarine. Weather fair, no vessels in sight, no measures taken for safety of crew and towing refused. Shelling continued until crew was in their own boats. Did not try to escape or resist. One man slightly wounded. Ship finally sunk by bombs placed in and outside. Crew six hours in boats. Last 10 miles towed Alderney motor boat. Crew sent London immediately.

SWALM

File No. 857.857/103

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 23, 1917.*
[*Received 5.30 p. m.*]

Norwegian tanker *Malmanger*, 3,810 tons, bound New York to Avonmouth, kerosene, sunk by explosion 6 miles east of Fastnet, 22d, noon, remaining afloat till 5.30 p. m. No injuries or losses, no warning or attempt escape or resist, submarine not seen. Explosion may have been caused by mine. *Malmanger* was under escort. George Wilson Stead, 7 Parkway Avenue, Chester, Pa., engineer of

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Westinghouse Co., sole American on board, saved with all others. Have taken joint affidavit master, first officer, and Stead. This to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 300.115H34/6

The Consul at Amsterdam (Mahin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

AMSTERDAM, *March 23, 1917.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

Supplementing telegram 22d, *Healdton* lights showed name and American flag painted on sides, also flag flying at stern; two torpedoes, one entered amidships at name, other at flag; ship sank in few minutes, three boats lowered, one capsized, drowning occupants; one with 8 reached northern Holland, 1 man dying of injuries, another badly hurt; 13 in other boat 12 hours, suffered cold wind, choppy seas, brought by Dutch trawler to Ijmuiden; submarine appeared after boats lowered, offered no assistance, indistinct in darkness but undoubtedly German, disappeared when ship sunk, no other vessel in sight. Crew 41, 13 Americans, rest various nationalities; 21 lives lost, 7 Americans: third assistant engineer Johnson of Hoboken; second mate Chandler, New York; third mate Hudgins, Norfolk; oiler Levereaux, Michigan; cabin-boy Healy, San Francisco; sailors Smith, Chicago, Steiner, Pittsburgh. Ships papers and personal effects lost. Affidavits by mail.

MAHIN

File No. 857.857/107

The Consul at La Rochelle (Goodier) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LA ROCHELLE, *undated.*
[*Received March 23, 1917, midnight.*]

Norwegian steamship *Avra, en route* Penarth, Wales, to Blaye, France, with cargo of coal, sunk by submarine without warning on morning of March 19. Nationality of submarine not definitely known, suspected German. Two torpedoes fired, one striking bow, second amidships. Ship sank in about 30 minutes. Night cloudy. Long swell at sea. Crew took to lifeboats and were picked up by Greek ship, conveyed to La Palice, France. Attack made 8 miles southeast of Chassiron Light, Ile d'Oléron, about equal distance from coast of France. Crew of 22; 17 landed, 4 drowned, 1 missing. One American, Thomas A. Waters of 1306 Walnut Street, Philadelphia,

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Pa., on board at time, saved. Waters sustained four wounds of minor importance. Full report and depositions follow by mail.

GOODIER

File No. 701.6311/270

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *March 22, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received March 24, 1 a. m.*]

1781. Department's 1606, March 17 [*18*], 6 p. m. Continuing to do my best to temporize with Minister for Foreign Affairs. Endeavored to make Minister understand difficulties confronting situation at Washington which he generally admits while stating that Austro-Hungarian Government is confronted by increasing difficulties. He means pride of Emperor whose first ambassadorial applicant was Tarnowski and the pressure of the newspapers which can not much longer be controlled. Czernin had hoped his last note might clear the way for Tarnowski. It is unofficially conveyed to me that Austro-Hungarian Government is doing little with submarine warfare and will never molest American vessels. Informally I learn from high sources that Austria-Hungary wants America to continue in charge their interests in Russia and that change to another Government would be blow to humanity.

Superficially the attitude Austria-Hungary to us is all that could be desired but I fear Tarnowski affair can not be held in check much longer. Three times recently Emperor has spoken agreeably of our helpfulness to his people knowing that the statements would be brought to me. It is obvious that Austro-Hungarian Government can not break with Germany. If so the enemies of the Dual Monarchy would crush it in few weeks.

Foreign Office to-day sends Tarnowski through you long telegram dealing with his position. If you could cause him to see over [*our?*] difficulties as they exist, and so inform Vienna, the Foreign Office might longer hold matter in abeyance. As case now stands I foresee trouble for us.

PENFIELD

File No. 857.857/105

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *March 23, 1917.*
[*Received March 24, 3 a. m.*]

1955. Consular agent, Brest, reports sinking of Norwegian steamer *Ronald*, Cardiff to Civitavecchia with coal. He obtained

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signed statement from George Goldrainer, sailor, born Portland, Oreg., January 3, 1893 (bearer of American seaman's identification certificate), who states *Ronald* was not armed and did not carry troops. Submarine of German nationality gave warning and time for crew to take to boats. *Ronald* sacked and bombs placed on board, sank 15 miles north of Concarneau, no vessel in sight, sea smooth and weather fine. Declarant only American on board. No casualties. Vessel flew Norwegian flag and carried usual marks on both sides. Statement follows by mail.

SHARP

File No. 857.857/112

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *March 24, 1917.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

1959. American consular agent, Brest, reports sinking on 15th instant at 8 p. m., of Norwegian steamer *Wilfred*, from Newport, England, to Gibraltar with coal. He obtained signed statement of two Americans, Bill Southwood, born November 5, 1895, Wayne County, Ky., coal trimmer (bearer of seaman's identification certificate), and John Palmer, born June 28, 1892, Panama (sailor's papers lost, signed on as American), who state that *Wilfred* did not carry troops and was not armed. German submarine was seen; it allowed crew to take to boats. *Wilfred* displayed Norwegian flag and regular marks on both sides. Sank 20 miles from Ushant, no vessel in sight. No other Americans on board. Crew reached shore next morning, no casualties. Consular agent states sea was rough and weather cold; his report and the signed statement follow by mail. He has been requested to obtain additional information.

SHARP

File No. 763.72/3598

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

Department of German Interests IV. 4

WASHINGTON, *March 24, 1917.*
[*Received March 26.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: In continuation of my note of yesterday I am asked and I have the honor to inform your excellency that, according to a telegram received this day from the Political Department, the German Government's notice of the blockade of the Arctic Ocean is to be completed as follows:

The blockaded waters east of the 24th degree of longitude east and south of the 75th degree of latitude north.

Be pleased to accept [etc.] P. RITTER

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File No. 841.857/431

The Consul at Liverpool (Washington) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIVERPOOL, *March 26, 1917.*
[*Received 11 a. m.*]

Frederick Sweet, Nyantic, Conn., Herbert Raymond Walters, Mount Vernon, Wash., two of three Americans aboard, affirm sailed crew British steamer *Chorley*, Norfolk, Va., March 3, for Havre, France, unarmed, general cargo, no passengers. Evening March 22 violent explosion ascribed to torpedo without warning, 25 miles east Start Point, English Channel. Submarine not seen. No vessels in sight. Crew 27 abandoned ship in two boats, rescued in hour, landed Weymouth; weather, sea moderate. Minor injuries to Sweet, no casualties; no ship's officers in Liverpool. Affidavits mailed.

WASHINGTON

File No. 124.63/19a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 28, 1917, 3 p. m.*

1624. Department desires to consult with you on various matters in connection with the present situation. You will therefore report in Washington at the earliest possible date, entrusting the Embassy during your absence to Mr. Grew as Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*.

Referring to Department's 1606 of March 17 [*18*] you may say to Count Czernin that in view of the explicit acceptance and avowal by his Government of a policy which has led to our breach of diplomatic relations with Germany, the President finds it impossible, to his sincere regret, to receive Count Tarnowski.

Express again to Count Czernin our deep regret that the Austro-Hungarian Government should have felt itself obliged to join Germany in its submarine policy even though it be only a verbal and not a physical cooperation, and so interrupt relations which we had hoped might remain friendly in form as well as in fact. Count Czernin should understand that in his inability to receive Count Tarnowski the President is acting without feeling against Austria and merely on principle.

You may also inform Count Czernin that the Embassy will be glad to transmit any instructions which he desires to convey to Count Tarnowski, and that if it is desired to have Count Tarnowski return to Vienna, we would of course make all the necessary arrangements regarding safe-conduct.

LANSING

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File No. 841.857/438

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 28, 1917.*
[*Received 9 p. m.*]

British bark *Neath* with auxiliary steam power (4,690 tons), bound Mauritius to Havre with sugar, torpedoed without warning 8.45 morning 27th, 28 miles southeast Fastnet; sank in seven minutes, no losses or injuries, captain taken hostage by submarine. *Neath* carried no gun or wireless, no attempt escape, resist, weather fair with moderate off-shore wind, heavy swells, towage neither asked nor offered, boats picked up by admiralty vessel 3 miles off Baltimore 6.30, 27th; all persons saved. Captain landed uninjured Queenstown 2 a. m. to-day. Two Americans, namely, Clarence Bloom, boatswain of 2309 Steward Street, San Francisco, and Peter Webster, negro seaman of Pensacola. Have joint affidavit first officer and Americans. This to Ambassador, Consul General, Department.

FROST

File No. 841.857/443

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *March 30, 1917.*
[*Received 8.20 p. m.*]

British Booth freight liner *Crispin*, 2,483 tons, Newport News bound Liverpool with 686 horses, torpedoed without warning 14 miles off Hook Head 7.15 p. m., 29th. Sixty-eight out of ship's complement 112 were Americans; two boats missing, not improbably lost. Torpedo struck engine room starboard, explosion killing five men of whom two believed Americans. Submarine not seen but wake of torpedo seen by Americans. Vessel carried gun and wireless but latter was wrecked by explosion. Weather: moderate wind, overcast sky, very heavy swells sometimes breaking into boats. Vessel sank slowly but return on board not feasible owing to heavy sea. One boatload, 19 survivors, landed Queenstown including captain, chief steward, veterinary, and 10 Americans: R. H. Elser, Newport News; Carl Larkinson, 312 Pine Street, Augusta, Ga.; James Smith, 808 Rose Street, Baltimore; Bland Tinsley, 510 Juniper Street, Philadelphia; R. L. Hayes, 3313 Watson Ave., Covington; James Franklin, 612 West Forty-seventh Street, New York; Frank Kelly, 1703 North Castle Street, Baltimore; George St. Armand, 39 Wall Street, Worcester; Harry Davis, 714 Franklin Street, Baltimore; John Williams, 652 Twenty-fourth Street, Newport News.

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Other boats believed landing Milford Haven and elsewhere. Have wired Consul, Cardiff. This to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

File No. 841.857/448

The Consul General at Marseilles (Gaulin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MARSEILLES, *March 30, 1917.*
[*Received March 31, 9.35 a. m.*]

Mailing affidavits Roy Adams, born Elberton, Ga., September 29, 1894, residence 34 Mackintosh Street, Elberton; James Dennis, born October 25, 1876, Hampton, Va., address, 103 Black River Road, Hampton; Edward Raby, born New York, June 14, 1894, address, Route 3, Savage Crossing, Suffolk, Va. (bearer seaman's identification certificate No. 111, issued Consulate, Cardiff); former seaman, latter firemen on British steamer *Eptalofos*, sunk by submarine without flag or indication nationality, about 50 miles from Malta, March 23, weather fine, sea calm. *Eptalofos* bound Malta to Gibraltar in ballast, without passengers or troops, carried one gun, two gunners. Vessel torpedoed without warning by unseen submarine about 12.30 p. m. Raby on deck saw torpedo approaching. *Eptalofos* immediately stopped, crew entered lifeboats for which ample time. Submarine then appeared, took prisoners captain, first, second officers, four engineers, one gunner, and ordered crew steer for Malta, indicating course. No other assistance given by submarine. *Eptalofos*, being still afloat, submarine fired about 12 shells, vessel sinking in one hour at about 3.30 o'clock. Crew remained boats from Friday afternoon until reaching Malta Sunday, March 25 about 7 o'clock morning, sufficient food and drink in lifeboats. Crew arrived Marseilles night, March 28. No vessel in sight time of attack, no attempt by *Eptalofos* escape or resist search. No examination *Eptalofos* papers. Dennis suffering strained hip, caused by inrushing water stokehold when torpedo exploded; another seaman reported head cut by fall same moment; these only casualties. Evidence regarding display flag on *Eptalofos* contradictory. Believed no other Americans on board. Dennis and Adams state seamen's identification certificates issued them Consulate, Cardiff, February last, and Bordeaux, December last, respectively were lost on *Eptalofos*.

GAULIN

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File No. 124.67/13a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus)

[Telegram—Extract]

WASHINGTON, *March 31, 1917, 4 p. m.*

3467. Your 2563, March 23.[1] The following is secret and merely for your guidance in certain eventualities.

On March 28 the Austro-Hungarian Government was definitely informed that this Government could not receive Count Tarnowski as ambassador in view of the fact that Austria-Hungary upholds the ruthless submarine policy declared by Germany—a policy which has already resulted in the death of 225 American citizens. However, in view of Count Czernin's declaration that "Austro-Hungarian submarines are operating only in the Adriatic and in the Mediterranean, and that therefore a prejudicing of American interests by Austro-Hungarian men-of-war is hardly to be feared," and of this Government's realization that the acquiescence of Austria in Germany's submarine policy was the result of Prussian influence rather than the desire of the Government of Austria-Hungary, this Government has not felt the necessity of severing diplomatic relations with Vienna. Furthermore Penfield has been instructed to inform Count Czernin that this Government hoped to continue to maintain friendly relations with Austria.

Count Tarnowski, who has been in Washington since February 3 waiting to be received by the President, was March 29 advised that he could not be received and that, if he desired to return to Vienna a safe-conduct will be provided for him. On March 28 Penfield was called home for consultation, leaving the Embassy in the charge of Grew as Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*.

After the President's address to Congress when that body convenes on Monday next, it is possible that a state of war will be declared between the United States and Germany, in which event it is conceivable that the Austrian Government may be compelled to sever relations with the United States, and thus make it impossible for the Department to communicate freely with you. In this eventuality, therefore, these instructions are addressed to you to be observed only should a break with Austria become a fact.

This Government has had no controversy with Turkey and desires to maintain the friendly relations which have always existed

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1918, Supplement 2.

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between the two Governments, and there would appear to be no reason, therefore, for severing relations unless it be that the Turkish Government feels compelled to obey the mandate from Berlin. In that eventuality you should make clear the attitude of the United States.

If, however, your passports are delivered to you, you are to turn over the affairs of the Embassy to the diplomatic representative decided upon. The Department will advise you at the earliest possible moment regarding disposition to be made of the interests of other governments now in your charge.

You will return to the United States. The members of your staff will accompany you as far as Switzerland, there to await the Department's further instructions.

[Here follow detailed instructions regarding the disposition of Embassy affairs.] LANSING

File No. 763.72/3613

The Minister in Denmark (Egan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

COPENHAGEN, *March 31, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[Received April 1, 9 a. m.]

532. On March 30 German Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed Reichstag as follows:

I have written no communication to Carranza. I have only forwarded instructions to our representative in Mexico through a channel which seemed safe. We are now instituting investigations to find out how these instructions reached the hands of the American Government. I have instructed the Minister in Mexico to offer our alliance to that country and at the same time to suggest that Japan should join the alliance. I have distinctly pointed out that in spite of the submarine warfare we hope that America will maintain its neutrality. The American Government considers itself entitled to provoke the whole world against us before its country is at war with us. Under these circumstances America cannot blame us for seeking allies after there was a possibility of their declaring war upon us.

EGAN

File No. 763.72/3620

The Minister in Denmark (Egan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

COPENHAGEN, *March 31, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received April 1, 9 a. m.]

535. Following is the German Chancellor's speech from the Berlin *Morgen Post*, March 30, concerning America:

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Gentlemen: In the next few days the representatives of the American people meet who have been called together by President Wilson for an extraordinary session of Congress to decide the question of war or peace between the German people and America. Germany has never had the slightest desire to attack America and even to-day she has not this desire; she has never wanted war with America and she desires it as little as she ever did. But how then has this question come about?

We have told the United States more than once that we have renounced the unrestrained practice of the submarine in the expectation that England would not have brought us to use it and that she would have observed the laws of humanity and of international agreement in her blockade policy. This English blockade I expressly remember was pointed out by President Wilson and his Secretary of State Lansing as illegal and not defensible. (Hear! Hear!) Our expectations to which we have clearly adhered for eight months have been, as you all know, disappointed. England has not only not in the least given up her illegal and indefensible blockade policy but on the other hand has strengthened it, has in secret meetings with her allies declined our peace offer in a haughty manner and has proclaimed a kind of war which goes even further than our annihilation and that of those allied to us. Consequently we have resorted to the unrestrained use of the submarine and we must follow this policy. If the American people can find ground to declare war on the German people with whom they have been at peace for over a hundred years and if they will prolong by this the flow of blood it is not us who are responsible for this. (Applause.) The German people who feel neither hate nor enmity toward America will know also how to endure and overcome this.

EGAN

File No. 701.6311/272

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *April 1, 1917, noon.*
[*Received April 2, noon.*]

1800. Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning assured me with great distinctness that if America declares war against Germany the diplomatic relations of Austria-Hungary will immediately be severed. Count Czernin asked me promptly to communicate this statement to you.

Matter of Tarnowski has been fully arranged upon lines stated in your telegraphic instructions 1624, March 28. Tarnowski will now be immediately ordered to ask safe-conduct for self and suite and leave America earliest reasonable date, sailing probably for Copenhagen. I get impression from the Minister for Foreign Affairs that little is to be made of incident in Austro-Hungarian press and

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that he fully appreciates your expressions of regret and proffer of courtesies.

PENFIELD

File No. 841.857/456

The Consul at Liverpool (Washington) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIVERPOOL, *April 2, 1917.*
[*Received 1.50 p. m.*]

Consulate's 31st.[1] Captain, *Crispin*, states six officers made affidavits Queenstown. Captain just mustered crew. Ascertained one American colored fireman, J. Collier, address unknown, killed. The other colored fireman, reported cable 31st killed, is British. Affidavits mailed.

WASHINGTON

File No. 763.72/3637a

The Secretary of State to the Diplomatic Representatives in all Countries

[Circular telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 2, 1917.*

The President addressed the special session of Congress this evening in regard to the international situation. After briefly reviewing the submarine controversy with Germany, he pointed out that the present submarine warfare is a warfare against mankind; that in view of developments, armed neutrality is worse than ineffectual and is only likely to produce what it was meant to prevent; that we can not choose the path of submission and are arraying ourselves against wrongs which cut to the very roots of human life. With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step, he advised the Congress to declare the recent course of the German Government to be in effect nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States and proposed that it take immediate steps to put the country in a thorough state of defense and employ all its power and resources to bring the German Empire to terms and end the war. This will involve utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany; the extension of financial credits, material aid, and addition to armed forces of at least 500,000 men upon principle of universal military service. Legislative proposals along these lines will be promptly introduced. We have no quarrel with the German people, but only with the auto-

[1] Not printed.

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cratic government which has brought on the present situation. The world must be made safe for democracy which seems to be in the balance. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion; we seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.

The following Joint Resolution was immediately introduced and referred to the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees which meet to-morrow morning for its consideration:

Joint Resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same:

WHEREAS, the recent acts of the Imperial Government are acts of war against the Government and people of the United States;

RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and,

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to take immediate steps not only to put the country in a thorough state of defense but also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government and to bring the conflict to a successful termination.

LANSING

Address of the President of the United States Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, April 2, 1917 [1]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3d of February last [2] I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the 1st day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be

[1] Reprinted from the *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Cong., 1st sess. (vol. LV), p. 102.

[2] For address of Feb. 3, see *ante*, p. 109.

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given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe-conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same

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way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last,[1] I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavour to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon

[1] Extract from address of Feb. 26, *ante*, p. 150.

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it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch

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of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last[1]; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and

[1] Address, *ante*, p. 24.

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privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naïve majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honour.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as

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we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare

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against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and

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everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

File No. 300.115As7/1

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *April 2, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received April 3, 4.30 a. m.*]

1969. Foreign Office has just informed me that the American steamer *Aztec* was torpedoed at 9 p. m. last night far out at sea off Island of Ushant. That one boat from the steamer has been found with 19 survivors, who were landed this afternoon at Brest. Twenty-eight persons are still missing and although two patrol vessels are searching for them, the stormy condition of sea and weather renders their rescue doubtful. Foreign Office not informed of names of survivors. Will cable further details as soon as obtainable.

SHARP

File No. 841.857/458

The Consul at Cardiff (Lathrop) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CARDIFF, *April 4, 1917.*
[*Received 7 p. m.*]

Felix Morris, colored, American seaman on British unarmed steamer *Lincolnshire*, New York to France, cargo unknown to him, reports vessel torpedoed unwarned afternoon of March 29, 14 miles off Irish coast. Vessel sank six minutes after crew left. Weather clear, very cold, sea moderate, wind fresh, no vessel in sight. Submarine unseen. No passengers. Crew rescued after two hours by armed British vessel and landed Dunmore, Ireland. No casualties.

LATHROP

File No. 857.857/119

The Consul at Cardiff (Lathrop) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CARDIFF, *April 4, 1917.*
[*Received 8 p. m.*]

Frederick Kragel, American fireman, Norwegian unarmed steamer *Sandvik*, Goole, England, to Göteborg, cargo iron and iron ore, reports vessel sunk by submarine believed German, about noon, 27th,

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5 miles off Aberdeen. Warned, sank in 15 minutes after crew left. Weather clear, cold. Sea rough. Wind high. No vessel in sight. No passengers. Crew rescued after two hours by British mine sweeper and landed Aberdeen. No casualties.

LATHROP

File No. 300.115Az7/7

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *April 4, 1917.*
[*Received April 5, 8 a. m.*]

1974. Referring my No. 1970, 3d.[1] Following taken from deposition of Captain O'Brien, steamer *Aztec.* Nine-thirty p. m., April 1, 9 miles WSW Ushant Light, when on the bridge, captain saw a large flash on the port side forward of the bridge and simultaneously heard an explosion. The explosion was not very loud but appeared to have great force as the boat seemed to be lifted to one side. No submarine nor torpedo was seen. Ship settled back, began to sink forward, listing to starboard and continued to sink very rapidly. The explosion had disarranged the lighting system and wireless outfit. Ship was in complete darkness. All efforts were made to discover any presence of a submarine, nothing was seen. After 10 minutes the ship was completely under forward so the captain gave orders to stand by the boats to abandon the ship. The moon was shining, but the sky was overcast with frequent hail and rain squalls. A light westerly gale was blowing and sea was very rough. About 9.40 the captain gave the order to abandon the ship. Three boats were launched; boats one and three were on the starboard side, two on the port side. Captain tried to get ship's papers, but when he returned on deck boat number two was gone according to the mate. She had been broken up in getting away from the ship, being on the weather side. Boats one and three were successfully launched, containing all the remaining members of the crew. Owing to darkness and rain it was impossible to tell who was in number three boat. Number one boat contained 19 men; Lieutenant Gresham, 11 of the armed guard, the first mate, the third mate, the third engineer, the boatswain, the wireless operator, the messman, and the captain. He saw no trace of number two boat; number three boat was lost sight of after 15 minutes. The *Aztec* was visible for about 20 minutes and then disappeared in a rain squall.

[1] Not printed.

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The *Aztec* had her colors flying over the stern, but carried no lights at time of sinking. After three hours number one boat was picked up by a French patrol boat, which, after unsuccessfully searching until after daylight for the other two boats, proceeded to Brest, where the survivors landed on the 2d instant.

SHARP

File No. 300.115M69

The Consul General at Genoa (Wilber) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

GENOA, *April 5, 1917.*
[*Received 9.30 a. m.*]

Unarmed American steamer *Missourian*, 4,981 net tonnage, master, William Lyons, built Sparrows Point, owners, American Hawaiian Steamship Company; 53 crew all told, including master and officers, 32 American citizens, balance various nationalities, according records this office; sailing from Genoa, April 4, in water ballast, bound for United States, sunk without warning[1] according to telegram just received from master as follows: "Dated Porto Maurizio, 5th. American Consul, Genoa. Sunk without warning, crew saved, leave for Genoa 7 o'clock p. m., April 5. Lyons." As soon as master and crew arrive will prepare and transmit full report as required.

WILBER

File No. 841.857/461

The Consul at Cork (Frost) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CORK (QUEENSTOWN), *April 5, 1917.*
[*Received 2.15 p. m.*]

Leyland horse transport, *Canadian*, from Boston bound Liverpool, 1,200 horses, sunk without warning by four torpedoes at intervals of 10 minutes, 8 miles off Skelligs, 2.30 p. m., 4th, carrying 56 Americans. No injuries or deaths except that captain is missing, believed stayed too late on the vessel. Weather was bright moonlight, brisk wind, moderate swells; no attempt escape, resist. Boats picked up in one hour. Wireless was used but no opportunity to use gun. One hundred fifty-three survivors land Queenstown noon to-day including surgeon Burns, American, whose affidavit was taken in *Iberia* case. Am taking affidavits. This to Ambassador, Consul General.

FROST

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[1]According to a later telegram the sinking occurred April 4, 4.30 p. m.

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File No. 841.857/462

The Consul at Hull (Hathaway) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HULL, *April 5, 1917.*
[*Received 8.15 p. m.*]

British steamer *Cannizaro*, to Hull, general cargo, torpedoed without warning March 28, 10 a. m., 150 miles southwest Scilly Islands, latitude 49° N., longitude 10° W. All rescued uninjured. American fireman, William Samuel Jones of San Francisco, in crew; no passengers. Wake of torpedo seen after explosion. Submarine appeared 20 minutes later, believed German from build. No vessels in sight until *Ilvington Court*, 5 p. m., which rescued crew 7 p. m. and landed Falmouth next day. No measures safety crew. *Cannizaro* carried one gun, but no chance resistance or escape. Weather hazy with occasional rain, moderate wind, sea choppy all day. Ship sunk by gunfire after crew left. HATHAWAY

File No. 763.72/3680

The Ambassador in Turkey (Elkus) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CONSTANTINOPLE, *April 2, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received April 6, 6.10 a. m.*]

2587. Your 3467, March 31, 4 p. m.[1] To-day being Minister for Foreign Affairs' reception I called upon him for usual business and pending matters. In the course of the conversation he showed great desire to know what Congress would do to-day. After several issues were mentioned, I sounded him as to whether Turkey would follow the German lead in case war broke out between the United States and Germany. He replied that the relations of the United States and Turkey were friendly, more so now than for some time, and there is no reason why they should not so continue. The Turkish Government had, therefore, not taken into consideration the emergency of a war with the United States. This reply in no wise commits the Turkish Government, and I am still of the opinion that it is not possible to positively know beforehand what Turkey will do. Enver is expected to arrive from Berlin to-day, probably the bearer of Germany's desire as to Turkey's future action in this matter. It is stated that some German officers here have said that if the United States declares war against Germany, Turkey, as Germany's ally, will have to declare war against America. These officers say that Enver also has so stated. On the other hand, the German Ambassador and diplomatic officers are said to have declared that in case of war between the United States and Ger-

[1] *Ante*, p. 191.

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many, Turkey should continue her normal diplomatic relations with the United States, as these Germans are said to be apprehensive of internal disturbances and consider presence of American diplomatic mission here as a guaranty against anti-German rising or against further massacres of Christians. These same Germans, however, are reported to surmise that should there be war between the United States and Germany, latter will compel Austria-Hungary to declare war against the United States.

Should it become necessary to sever diplomatic relations with Turkey, I respectfully suggest that American interests here be confided Swedish Minister who is active, familiar with America, and experienced in his relations with the Turks. His wife is American. His staff is small but I will, if Department approves, leave Heck and Wirth to assist him in American affairs, both having volunteered to remain. I recommend Dutch Minister at Sofia to take charge of American interests in Bulgaria.

Twenty-five Americans from interior, mostly women and children, are here and leaving for America. Morton strongly advises against anybody leaving here in the *Scorpion* because of extreme danger of mines in the Black Sea and the Straits.

ELKUS

No. 1864

Proclamation of April 6, 1917, of the Existence of a State of War between the United States and Germany

[Extract [1]]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them have resolved, by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives bearing date this day "That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared"; . . .

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government; and I do specially direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war; and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens that they, in loyal devotion to their country, dedicated from its founda-

[1] Printed in full in *Foreign Relations*, 1918, Supplement 2, section dealing with the treatment of alien enemies, with which it is mainly concerned.

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tion to the principles of liberty and justice, uphold the laws of the land, and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecuting the war to a successful issue and in obtaining a secure and just peace; . . .

THE STATUS OF NEUTRAL SEAMEN ON ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS OF BELLIGERENT NATIONALITY—TREATMENT OF CAPTURED AMERICAN SEAMEN BROUGHT TO GERMANY BY THE "YARROWDALE" AND THE "MOEWE"

File No. 763.72111Y2/4

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 19, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received January 20, 7.50 p. m.*]

4909. Evening papers state—

English steamer *Yarrowdale* brought to Swinemünde as prize with 469 prisoners on board taken from ships captured by German auxiliary cruisers, that among the crews of captured ships are 103 neutrals, and that such of these as were taken on board enemy armed ships and accepted pay on such ships will be held as prisoners of war.

It is probable that Germany will take position that all armed ships are war vessels and can therefore be sunk without notice, and if America recognizes right to hold Americans captured on these ships as prisoners of war that Germany will consider America recognizes right to sink armed merchant vessels without notice.

GERARD

File No. 763.72111Y2/4

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Germany (Gerard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *January 22, 1917, 4 p. m.*

5809. Your 4909, January 19, 7 p. m. Please telegraph immediately whether there are any American citizens among prisoners brought to Swinemünde by the *Yarrowdale*. If so, their names and American addresses.

LANSING

File No. 763.72111Y2/7

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 26, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received January 27, 7 p. m.*]

4929. One of correspondents here learned yesterday from an Undersecretary of State that there were some Americans among the

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107 neutrals brought to Swinemünde on *Yarrowdale*, and that there was a big row on as to what position should be taken by Government with reference to them. I sent notes to Foreign Office requesting information as to whether Americans were among these prisoners on January 20, 24, 25, and to-day, but no answer.

GERARD

File No. 763.72111Y2/9

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *January 30, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received January 31, 3.30 p. m.*]

4949. Department's 3809, January 22, 4 p. m. Following note received from Foreign Office to-day. Please note that although it refers to my note of 25th, my first note regarding this subject was written [January 20 . . . ?] on subject of Turkey.

Foreign Office,
Berlin, January 28, 1917.

The undersigned has the honor to inform his excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the esteemed note of the 26th instant (Foreign Office No. 16102) that in pursuance of information furnished by the Imperial Navy, there are a number of American citizens among the crews of the sunk armed English merchantmen *Voltaire*, *Mount Temple*, and *Georgic* brought to Swinemünde with the prize *Yarrowdale* and thereupon taken away as prisoners of war. In order to ascertain the names of the Americans it is necessary to examine the lists of the crews; these lists have been requested; unfortunately they are not at present in Berlin but elsewhere, in the hands of certain military authorities.

Undersigned will send further advice at an early date and the undersigned avails himself [etc.] (Signed) Stumm

GERARD

File No. 763.72111Y2/7

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Germany (Gerard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 2, 1917, 5 p. m.*

3857. Your 4929, January 26, 11 a. m., and 4973, January 31, 9 p. m.[1] You are instructed to take up the matter personally with Zimmermann or Hollweg and insist upon being informed immediately whether any Americans are among the prisoners brought in on the *Yarrowdale*.[2] Let nothing be undone to determine this fact at

[1] Telegram of Jan. 31 not printed.

[2] The names of the American citizens on the *Yarrowdale* were given to Ambassador Gerard by the German Foreign Office Feb. 1, and the telegram containing them reached the Department Feb. 2 at 6 p. m. (File No. 763.72111Y2/10).

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the earliest moment. If there are Americans among the prisoners, emphatically, vigorously insist both formally and in person upon their release, as there is no authority in law for the imprisonment of neutrals taken on board enemy merchantmen unless the vessel takes part in hostilities. See rules laid down in Hague Convention XI.

LANSING

File No. 763.72111Y2/12

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *February 4, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[Received February 5, 4.15 p. m.]

4992. I have just been informed by Count Montgelas of the Foreign Office that the Americans taken in on the *Yarrowdale* will be released immediately on the ground that they could not have known at the time of sailing that it was Germany's intention to treat armed merchantmen as ships of war.

GERARD

[For telegram from the Ambassador in Germany, No. 5002, February 5, stating "Reports here German ships and crews have been seized and Foreign Office says prisoners on *Yarrowdale* will not be released until news comes that these reports are not true;" and reply, through the Ambassador in Spain, February 6, stating that the reports are untrue; that "The German Government, therefore, has absolutely no ground on this account to withhold release of Americans on *Yarrowdale;*" and that "the United States Government expects that no further obstacle will be interposed to their immediate release," see *post*, pages 587, 588.]

File No. 763.72111Y2/16

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *February 12, 1917.*

SIR: Upon cable instructions from my Government, dated February 11, I have the honor to transmit to the American Government the following communication from the German Government.

The immediate release of about 70 Americans, brought in as prisoners of war by the steamer *Yarrowdale*, is conditional to the German vessels in American waters not being seized and their crews not being interned.

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

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File No. 763.72111Y2/17

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *February 17, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

355. Minister for Foreign Affairs reports that German Minister for Foreign Affairs told Spanish Ambassador, Berlin, that the American prisoners, S. S. *Yarrowdale*, and such other nonbelligerents will be liberated in a very short time.

WILLARD

File No. 763.72111Y2/17

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 20, 1917, 3 p. m.*

269. Your 355, February 17. Transmit following to Spanish Ambassador at Berlin through Foreign Office:

If *Yarrowdale* prisoners have not been released, please make a formal demand in the name of the United States for their immediate release. If they are not promptly released and allowed to cross the frontier without further delay, please state to the Foreign Minister that this policy of the Imperial Government, if continued, apparently without the slightest justification, will oblige the Government of the United States to consider what measures it may be necessary to take in order to obtain satisfaction for the continued detention of these innocent American citizens.

LANSING

File No. 763.72111Y2/18

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *February 25, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 10 p. m.*]

370. Department's 269, February 20, 3 p. m. Foreign Office has just informed me *Yarrowdale* prisoners were released 16th instant.

WILLARD

File No. 763.72111Y2/22a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 27, 1917, 4 p. m.*

291. Reported in press that German Government has stated that *Yarrowdale* prisoners can not be released owing to breaking out

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among them of an infectious disease. Ask Spanish Government to instruct Ambassador to ascertain if statement is true and request permission to send representative of Spanish Embassy to make investigation and report actual condition of men. Owing to seemingly unnecessary delay in the release of these men there is a growing feeling of irritation. Hope this matter can be taken up promptly. LANSING

File No. 763.72111Y2/19

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests XVI 2 WASHINGTON, *March 2, 1917.*

SIR: Referring to my note of February 12, 1917, I am instructed and have the honor to communicate to your excellency the following cable, dated March 1, 1917, from the German Government:

The transfer already arranged of American sailors from *Yarrowdale* to the frontier has not as yet been possible because one of the British sailors in camp of Brandenburg, likewise from *Yarrowdale*, and interned with the American sailors, was found to be suffering from typhus exanthématique. Their transfer to Swiss frontier will probably take place March 7 when quarantine comes to an end. Spanish Embassy, Berlin, has been invited to have doctor of confidence visit the Americans. This afternoon, two veterinaries and two doctors from the *Yarrowdale*, who were in officer prisoner camp at Karlsruhe, arrived at Warnemünde for departure to Denmark.

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 763.72111Y2/2

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *March 7, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received March 8, 5 p. m.*]

399. Department's 290, February 24 [*27*], 3 p. m.[1] and 292 [*291*], February 27, 4 p. m. Spanish Ambassador Berlin reports that Spanish Embassy doctor visited *Yarrowdale* prisoners at Brandenburg on 1st instant and stated that conditions were as reported by German authorities and approved of the quarantine. The case of typhus occurred on February 20 and quarantine will end March 7 unless new cases occur. The doctor said men complained of diet and were glad to hear of approaching release and had no other complaint. Of the 57 Americans only 5 were in the hospital suffering from

[1] Not printed.

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slight colds and 5 men of different nationality are under medical observation.

WILLARD

File No. 763.72111Y2/27

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *March 12, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

408. Spanish Ambassador states that on March 8, 59 Americans of *Yarrowdale* detained at Brandenburg left Germany via Sweden [*Switzerland?*] and one other from another camp was also released.

WILLARD

File No. 763.72111Y2/26

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *March 12, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

636. Fifty-nine Americans from *Yarrowdale* arrived Zürich yesterday afternoon.

STOVALL

File No. 763.72111M72/6

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *March 23, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

678. Wolff official despatch announces that auxiliary cruiser *Moewe* has returned to a German port with 592 prisoners. These prisoners constitute remainder of crews from ships sunk by *Moewe*, part of which reached Germany on *Yarrowdale*.

I suggest that steps be taken immediately through appropriate Spanish diplomatic channels to ascertain if any Americans are among these 592 men and, if so, that permission be granted for them to leave Germany at once. In this connection please see my telegrams regarding treatment in Germany accorded crews from *Yarrowdale*.[1] All *Yarrowdale* men testified that alleged quarantine was German pretext for their detention as no contagious diseases had developed among them.

STOVALL

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[1] Not printed.

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File No. 763.72111M72/–

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 24, 1917, 6 p. m.*

349. For Berlin. It is reported that the German auxiliary cruiser *Moewe* has returned to Germany with 592 prisoners taken from ships sunk by that vessel. Please ascertain from German Government whether there are any American citizens among these prisoners and, if so, facilitate their immediate departure from Germany.

POLK

File No. 763.72111M72/7

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 31, 1917, 5 p. m.*

376. Department's 349, March 24, 6 p. m. Department has received further information in regard to prisoners taken to Germany by auxiliary cruiser *Moewe* to the effect that at least 50 American citizens are now held there. Urge the Foreign Office to obtain full report from Spanish Ambassador, Berlin, as to their number, condition, and place of imprisonment, and to instruct him to make every effort to secure their prompt release and departure from Germany.

LANSING

File No. 763.72111M72/8

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

MADRID, *April 16, 1917, 10 a. m.*

[*Received 9.45 p. m.*]

481. Referring to the Department's 376, March 31, 5 p. m. German Minister for Foreign Affairs informed Spanish Ambassador that he did not know number of Americans on *Moewe* but would inquire. As to their liberation, Ambassador refers to memorandum of German Foreign Office, substance of which he telegraphed Spanish Legation, The Hague, for transmission to the Department.

[Here follows substance of memorandum, text of which is printed *infra* as enclosure to despatch No. 879 of the Chargé in the Netherlands, received May 15.]

WILLARD

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File No. 763.72111M72/8

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 26, 1917, 4 p. m.*

435. Your 481, April 16, 10 a. m. Request Foreign Office to instruct Berlin immediately to visit camps where *Moewe* prisoners interned and report fully by telegraph. Department should be informed of their names, where interned, their physical condition, and amount of food and clothing furnished them.

LANSING

File No. 763.72111M72/9

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

No. 879 THE HAGUE, *April 18, 1917.*

[*Received May 15.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy and translation of a communication dated April 14, 1917, from the Royal Spanish Minister at The Hague, enclosing certain correspondence regarding the American citizens captured by the German cruiser *Moewe*, which the Spanish Ambassador at Berlin forwarded to The Hague for the information of this Legation.[1]

I have [etc.] MARSHALL LANGHORNE

[Enclosure—Translation]

Memorandum of the German Government Relative to the Treatment of Neutral Members of Crews of Enemy Merchantmen

Various neutral governments have made representations to the Imperial German Government because German naval forces have made prisoners of war of seamen of their respective nationality belonging to the crews of armed enemy merchantmen. In so doing the neutral governments have relied partly on existing treaties and partly on general principles of international law to which this procedure is contended to be repugnant.

I

Germany has not concluded with any power special treaties regarding the treatment of neutral nationals who perform service on board of merchantmen of enemy powers during a war carried on by Germany. The German Government is not aware of any such treaties between other countries.

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[1] The German memorandum of Mar. 30, 1917, only, is printed.

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The sole treaty which might be considered in this connection is a collective treaty, the ninth Hague convention of October 18, 1907, regarding certain restrictions of the right of capture in maritime war. Article 5 of this convention provides that neutral seamen serving on board of enemy merchant ships can not be made prisoners of war and that officers can not be made prisoners unless they refuse to promise not to serve any more on an enemy ship.

This treaty stipulation is, however, not binding on any of the belligerent powers in the present naval war. For pursuant to Article 9, the convention does not apply unless all the belligerents are contracting parties; now a considerable number of the belligerents, among them Russia and Italy in particular, have not ratified the convention. Thus the convention has no validity in the present war, so that no neutral power can rely on the provisions of Article 5.

II

The action of the German naval forces is likewise unimpeachable according to general principles of international law, for these principles undoubtedly permit neutral seamen serving on enemy merchantmen to be made prisoners of war. In the proceedings relative to the ninth Hague convention this was universally conceded.

Article 5 of that convention originated in a motion of the British delegation, in the course of the discussion of which it was established, especially by the British and the Italian delegations, that the intention of the proposal was to create a privilege theretofore unknown which constituted a marked advance over the existing legal status. (Consult *Akten und Dokumente der zweiten Internationalen Friedenskonferenz*, Band III, pp. 978, 1074.[1]) In agreement with this the report of the committee set forth in detail that according to present day practice of international law the crew, the officers, and the captain of a captured enemy merchantman would be treated as prisoners of war regardless of whether the crew were of neutral or enemy nationality. In its recommendations the report points out that this fully established practice had undergone various [modifications] and terms the resolutions of the examining committee the expression of the universal wish to bring about a moderation, that is to say a change, of the existing practice. (See *ibid.*, pp. 1027–1028.[2])

[1] Deuxième Conférence Internationale de la Paix, *Actes et Documents* (La Haye, 1907), vol. III. pp. 978, 1074; English translation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (New York, Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 965, 1061.

[2] *Actes et Documents*, pp. 1027–1028; Carnegie Endowment translation, pp. 1012–1013.

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It follows that Germany is undoubtedly justified in applying the existing stricter rules in the treatment of neutral crews of enemy merchantmen in the present naval war.

III

Heretofore the German Government has merely made prisoners of war of such neutral seamen only as had permitted themselves to be hired for service on *armed* enemy merchantmen. It has already expressed its intention of making these seamen prisoners of war in its memorandum of February 8, 1916, relative to the treatment of armed merchantmen,[1] in which it declared that it would consider such vessels as belligerents. There was moreover agreement at the Second Hague Peace Conference, that the privilege introduced by Article 5 of the convention mentioned could not be extended to the neutral crews of such enemy vessels as took any part in hostilities.

If the German Government has occasionally made exceptions to the rule of treating neutral members of the crews of enemy merchantmen as prisoners of war, this was done for humanitarian reasons and after taking into consideration the circumstance that the men concerned had no knowledge of the armament of the ship or of its consequences in international law when they were hired. The German Government is, however, no longer in a position to permit any such exceptions, since its attitude regarding this question and the general armament of enemy merchantmen has in the meantime become generally known.

IV

The German Government must further keep a free hand for decision as to whether it will not in future treat also the neutral members of the crews of unarmed merchantmen as prisoners of war. It would not only be quite justified in so doing according to the principles of existing international law, as shown above, but such action would also be responsive to the action of the enemies of Germany, since they are conducting naval warfare recklessly and pitilessly in every respect; in addition, the enemy governments have claimed the entire merchant marines of their countries for war purposes, so that every neutral accepting service in an enemy marine aids the war purposes of the enemy.

V

In view of this situation the German Government expressly directs the attention of the neutral governments to the fact that every one of their nationals performing service on board of an enemy merchant-

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 163.

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man exposes himself to the danger of becoming a prisoner of war if the ship is captured. It therefore suggests that the neutral governments warn their subjects not to enter the merchant marine of powers at war with Germany.

BERLIN, *March 30, 1917.*

File No. 763.72111M72/8

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 21, 1917, 5 p. m.*

480. No reply has been received to Department's 435, April 26, 4 p. m. This Government is most solicitous of the welfare of the American prisoners of war in Germany and requests most urgently a complete report in their regard. Department has already received a list of the prisoners through the International Red Cross and American Red Cross, which shows that about 127 Americans are confined at certain camps. This list was prepared by the War Ministry, Berlin, on April 17. Request that instructions be issued to Spanish Ambassador at Berlin immediately to visit camps and route his report through American Minister at Berne, who is interested in relief of prisoners.

LANSING

File No. 763.72111M72/11

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *May 23, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 5.40 p. m.*]

569. Department's 480, May 21, 5 p. m. Foreign Office note just received states that Spanish Ambassador, Berlin, reports that A. Midea of Neufahrwasser, born October 30, 1854, and J. Benson born at Beverly, Martensburg, January 15, 1882, captured by *Moewe* on Norwegian vessel *Staut* were liberated March 28. Fifty-eight others captured on armed British vessels *Esmeraldas* and *Brecknockshire* will be held by Germany as prisoners of war for reasons given in memorandum of German Foreign Office to Spanish Embassy dated March 30 and forwarded to Department through Legation at The Hague, Embassy's telegram 481, April 16, 10 a. m. These are held at Brandenburg, and Spanish Ambassador hopes to receive early permission to inspect conditions. Copies of lists and notes from German Foreign Office to Spanish Ambassador have been sent to American Legation, The Hague, for transmission to the Department.

WILLARD

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RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH EUROPEAN BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES AS AFFECTED BY THE WAR IN GENERAL AND BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WARFARE

Expressions of Approval of the President's Suggestions of December 18, 1916, to Belligerent Governments—Responses to the Notification of the Severance by the United States of Relations with Germany—Replies to the German Notification of Resumption of Unrestricted Submarine Warfare

File No. 763.72119/230f

The Secretary of State to the Diplomatic Representatives in All Neutral Countries

[Circular telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 20, 1916.*

Department's circular December 18 regarding peace.[1] Please deliver quoted note to the Government to which you are accredited for its information.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/326

The Chargé in Brazil (Benson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *January 8, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received January 9, 12.15 a. m.*]

This Embassy has received to-day, in reply to a note communicating text of President's note to belligerents, a note dated January 6 in which the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs states:

I did not fail to bring the text of the said note to the high attention of the President of the Republic, and I am authorized to say that the Government of Brazil, a hearty advocate of international peace and concord, is not indifferent to steps looking toward the reestablishment and stability of such peace and concord. These pacific sentiments, in which the whole Brazilian nation participates, place the Government in the happy situation of being able, without embarrassment to itself, and without lack of consideration toward others, to reserve the right to await the opportunity to cooperate or act in that sense in each instance, which may come under its examination, or which may involve its sovereign rights.

BENSON

File No. 763.72119/360

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *January 12, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received January 12, 3 p. m.*]

Communication received at the Legation, January 9, 10 a. m., from Brum, Minister for Foreign Affairs in Uruguay, in reply to peace note of President Wilson:

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[1] The President's communication of that date to the belligerent governments. *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 97–99.

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I wish to indicate the sympathy with which Uruguay looks upon all questions that, having the good will of the belligerents, will tend to stop this state of war and initiate the reign of peace and right among all the nations of the world.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72119/384

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *January 19, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 9.15 p. m.*]

Department's circular of 20th December, my despatch December 26.[1] I received last night following from Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs:

Mr. Minister: It has been an honor to me to receive your excellency's note of December 20 last. . . .

I have read with the greatest care and have made known to the President of the Republic the important communication of the Honorable Mr. Lansing, which reveals at first sight the noble motive that has inspired it. My Government, on being acquainted with it, makes the most sincere wishes that the initiative of President Wilson may produce the results sought with regard to the reestablishment of peace, and holds the idea of the American Government and people on the necessity of procuring, if possible, the future tranquillity of the world and is firm in the interest manifested for the means that urgently must be adopted to free the smallest and weakest nations from the danger of injustice and violence to which they are exposed. The moment having arrived which the [Government of the United States] considers opportune to give practical form to those very noble purposes, which after reestablishing normal conditions will tend toward the reign of peace by justice, Peru will lend to them her most active sympathy, consistent with its traditions and with the sound doctrines to whose service she has always put her most devoted efforts.

May your excellency deign to transmit to your Government the gratefulness of mine for the very valuable information which it has been pleased to give; and accept [etc.] E. de la [Riva] Aguero.

MCMILLIN

[For the circular telegram of February 3, 1917, 1 p. m., instructing the diplomatic representatives in neutral countries to notify the governments to which they were accredited of the severance of relations with Germany and to say that the President "believes that it will make for the peace of the world if the other neutral powers can find it possible to take similar action," see *ante*, page 108.]

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[1] Despatch not printed.

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File No. 763.72/3206

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *February 4, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received February 5, 1.30 a. m.]

Your February 3, 1 p. m., received last night and communicated at once. Panaman Minister for Foreign Affairs last night and Panaman President and other officials to-day expressed cordial approval and offers of cooperation. Sentiment generally is that of sympathy, the correctness and justness of the President's action. Germany has never had a diplomatic representative here, only consular officers. Is any action regarding them desired?

Canal Zone authorities have taken under detention officers and crews of the German vessels which have been in Colon harbor and have placed American guards in charge. They have likewise detained a number of Germans and are planning to do the same with certain Germans in the cities of Panama and Colon, planning to send them to the United States to avoid possible injury to canal.

At my suggestion Acting Governor of Panama Canal, commanding officer of the Canal Zone, and I, with others, held a conference at length this morning and with Panaman President and advisers this afternoon. All precautions are being taken and Panama authorities are cooperating.

I heartily congratulate the President.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/3207

The Minister in Cuba (Gonzales) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HABANA, *February 4, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[Received February 5, 2 a. m.]

Cuban Government will follow United States, taking action officially whenever you deem it advisable. Secretary of State Desvernine was visiting President at his country place this morning and it was noon before I could inform him of the Government's action. He brought a message of cordial sympathy from President Menocal.

At the suggestion of Secretary of State I accompanied him to the President's country place this afternoon. The President, with great cordiality, said that whatever Cuba had in moral and material support was at the service of the United States and he would sever relations with Germany at whatever time you deemed it advisable. He wished it understood that Cuba's decision to this effect was taken at noon to-day.

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At my suggestion President will, from to-morrow, have a close watch kept on certain Germans here and all suspicious arrivals and will have secret-service men work at all likely places for supply bases along coast. . . . GONZALES

File No. 763.72/3216

The Chargé in Brazil (Benson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *February 5, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 8.30 p. m.*]

Department's circular telegram February 3, 1 p. m. Immediately upon his return to Rio de Janeiro this morning I had an interview with the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs and handed him a note notifying his Government of the action taken by the Government of the United States. The Minister stated that Brazil will not accept the German note and will protest. He said that Brazil is now negotiating, with a view toward concerted action, with certain South-American powers, and added that, at a conference which he had had with the President of the Republic, it had been decided that in any event Brazil would support the action of the United States. He concluded by saying: "Pan America must stand together." BENSON

File No. 763.72/3233

The Minister in Honduras (Ewing) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

TEGUCIGALPA, *February 5, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received February 6, 2.30 p. m.*]

Instructions [of February 3, 1 p. m.] complied with. Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon called to give me assurances of sympathy with action taken and expects to reply formally simultaneously with other governments Central America except Costa Rica. German influence strong on account of control of Amapalá and important investments. Am I authorized to guarantee protection of the Government of the United States in case of future aggression resulting from proposed action?

EWING

File No. 763.72/3237

The Minister in Bolivia (O'Rear) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LA PAZ, *February 6, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 7.45 p. m.*]

Note received from Bolivian Government announces that it is thoroughly in accord with view of the Government of the United

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States on Germany's submarine policy but declares it has not been notified by German Government. As soon as it is advised by Germany, will immediately notify me of policy adopted by Bolivia.

O'REAR

File No. 763.72/3250

The Minister in Guatemala (Leavell) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

GUATEMALA, *February 7, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 4.30 p. m.]

Confirming my cipher telegram February 5, 10 a. m.[1] Have received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs official note saying that under instructions of the President of the Republic, he informs me that the Government of Guatemala—

is disposed to cooperate with the Government of the United States in order to obtain the high purposes which it proposes to secure in favor of the peace of the world and therefore at the right time it will take a similar attitude to the one which has been taken by the Government of the United States to whom it is bound by the closest and most perfect ties.

Full report by mail.[1]

LEAVELL

File No. 763.72/3255

The Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *February 7, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[Received February 8, 12.30 a. m.]

Your circular February 3, 1 p. m. received and complied with February 4. Minister for Foreign Affairs reply received to-day at noon as follows:

The important communication which your excellency, in the name of his Government, has judged he should deliver to me in person on Sunday, the 4th instant, has been submitted to the council of Secretaries of State. Its terms have been carefully weighed; the situation which they determine has been fully examined.

The Haitian Government notes that notwithstanding the rupture of the relations between the United States and Germany, the President of the United States "can not decide to believe that the German war vessels will actually carry out the threats which are made against neutral commerce; but, if that is done, the President will ask from Congress the authorization to use the national power for the protection of American citizens."

In the presence of these grave eventualities, the Haitian Government, obliged to safeguard the national interests, desirous of serving the personality of the world, and of bringing its sincere contribu-

[1] Not printed.

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tion to everything which will be attempted to hasten the end of the catastrophe which afflicted humanity for almost three years, is entirely disposed, following the appeal addressed by the United States to the neutral powers, to adopt, in the forms and conditions outlined by the National Constitution, such attitude as will be determined by the development of the new events and which will be necessary to attain, as soon as possible, these higher [objects].

In praying you to transmit to the American Government all the sympathy of the Haitian Government in the present junctures, I renew [etc.].

The Legation's note and above reply thereto appearing in daily press simultaneously with the receipt of the latter at the Legation, I called upon Minister for Foreign Affairs at once for explanation. He stated reply should have been delivered at the Legation yesterday noon, expressed profound regrets at delay, and has ordered investigation.

BLANCHARD

File No. 763.72/8261

The Minister in Cuba (Gonzales) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HABANA, *February 8, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[Received 2.50 p. m.]

The President has handed me reply of Secretary of State, to my announcement on Sunday of the United States' action, expressing most cordial sympathy of Cuba for the United States.

German Government yesterday delivered note to Cuba on the submarine warfare. Pending hearing from you, in reply [*regard?*] to when expedient to sever relations, they did not take that step, but have sent note of vehement protest opening way for severance of relations.

GONZALES

File No. 763.72/8238

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Honduras (Ewing)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 8, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your February 5, 6 p. m. I am pleased with the sympathetic attitude of Honduras and the other Central American governments, but the Government of the United States is not in a position to guarantee protection in case of aggression resulting from the proposed action.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72/3262

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *February 8, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 7.15 p. m.*]

Supplementing my February 4, 4 p. m. The following are the paragraphs of a note received from Panaman Minister for Foreign Affairs acknowledging my note pursuant to Department's telegram February 3, 1 p. m.:

The Government feels that the final conclusion reached by His Excellency the President of the United States of America, painful though it may be, is the only line of conduct compatible with the honor of the American nation and for the security of neutral commerce which can not be left to the mercy of a declaration of one of the belligerents.

It is to be hoped that it will not be necessary for the United States of America to resort to force for the defense of its interests and for the defense of the universally accepted principles of international law, but if it should occur I can assure your excellency that Panama will faithfully carry out the engagements it has contracted with that nation and will cooperate in the most efficacious manner for the defense of the canal.

Detention of certain Germans in the Republic of Panama, against which I advised, will not be carried out for the present.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/3274

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *February 8, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 8 p. m.*]

I have had an audience with the President on the Argentine answer to the German note and on the answer they shall make to mine probably to-morrow. The Minister for Foreign Affairs stayed at my request and took a memorandum of the conversation. In the main the President said that the Argentine conception of international law and the intellectual attitude they would assume was at one with ours; but that we were in front of the conflict, while their remoteness and the absence of concrete injury to Argentine rights made the form of their reply appear different. But that diplomatic intelligence would clearly perceive that their reply to Germany was *au fond* identical with ours. That this reply, "to use my own words," left all doors open; and in case of future concrete injury to Argentine interests they were prepared to take any steps the

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situation might require at any time. Our ends were the same. But they said that their written reply must be almost limited to the quotation of their reply to Germany. It might express sympathy for the United States in the present situation; but it would be difficult even to incorporate also a phrase of sympathy for our ends, in a public correspondence at so critical a juncture. In conclusion and apart the Minister for Foreign Affairs assured me that the United States "might trust him accordingly."

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/3266

The Chargé in Brazil (Benson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *February 8, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received February 9, 1.30 a. m.*]

Further to my February 5, 2 p. m. I have to-day received from the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs a reply to this Embassy's note of the 5th instant transmitting the information contained in the Department's circular telegraphic instruction of February 3, 1 p. m. In the first two paragraphs of this note the Minister for Foreign Affairs thanks the Embassy for the communication and repeats the information therein contained, and then goes on as follows:

I desire to hereby confirm my verbal conversation with you, in which I had occasion to state that the Brazilian Government, in response to the note which it received from the Government of Germany announcing the blockade of the coast of the enemy countries, declared that, for various reasons, it would not recognize this blockade as effective, and protested against it and its consequences.

On these grounds, the Government of Brazil will place upon the Government of Germany the responsibility for all incidents in connection with Brazilian citizens, merchandise, and ships, when it shall be verified that the recognized principles of international law, or of conventional obligations between Brazil and Germany shall have been disrespected.[1]

BENSON

File No. 763.72/3264

The Minister in Paraguay (Mooney) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ASUNCION, *February 8, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received February 9, 1.45 a. m.*]

Department's February 3, 1 p. m. The Paraguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs has privately informed me that he is in full sym-

[1] Translation corrected to accord with the text later received by pouch (File No. 763.72/3469).

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pathy with the position of the United States. The Paraguayan Government has not yet taken action on the question and having but little interest in sea commerce may abstain from formally expressing its attitude.

MOONEY

File No. 763.72/3271

The Ambassador in Chile (Shea) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SANTIAGO, *February 8, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received February 9, 9.30 a. m.*]

The following is a translation of reply of the Chilean Government to the German communications regarding blockaded zones and submarine warfare within those zones:

In the judgment of the Government of Chile the measure proposed is equivalent to a restriction of the rights of neutrals which this country cannot respect because it is contrary to principles long consecrated to the benefit of countries that are foreign to armed conflicts.

The acceptance on the part of Chile of the measure taken by Germany would remove it from the line of strict neutrality which it has followed during the present European conflict.

Chile, therefore, reserves to itself its liberty of action to claim respect for all of its rights should an act of hostility be committed against its ships.

SHEA

File No. 763.72/3328

The Argentine Ambassador (Naón) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. DE–6 WASHINGTON, *February 9, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: Pursuant to instructions received from my Government I have the honor to address your excellency and enclose a copy of the note by which the Argentine Government answers the German Government's note of January 31 last, announcing the unlimited resumption of submarine warfare and the blockade of Great Britain, France, and Italy.

I avail myself [etc.] R. S. NAÓN

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs (Pueyrredon) to the German Minister (Bussche)

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your excellency's note, date February 2, 1917, in which, announcing the Imperial Government's decision of January 31 last to the representatives of the neu-

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tral powers at Berlin, you give notice that, owing to the exigencies of the war, maritime traffic will, from then on and with every available weapon, be hindered in the blockade zones surrounding Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the western part of the Mediterranean. The Argentine Government deplores that His Imperial Majesty should have seen fit to adopt such extreme measures and declares that it will, as it has ever done, adjust its conduct to the principles and fundamental rules of international law.

File No. 763.72/3278

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

MONTEVIDEO, *undated.*

[*Received February 9, 1917, 2.40 p. m.*]

In pursuance of Department's instruction, circular February 3, 1 p. m., immediately communicated with Foreign Office which made reply late yesterday and transmitted therewith copy of note handed the German Chargé d'Affaires at same time relative to German notification of change in character of submarine warfare.

Note of Uruguayan Government states:

The Uruguayan Government, which has previously supported the efforts made by the United States in defence of the rights and interests of neutrals, recognizes the justice and nobility of the sentiments which have served as guide to President Wilson in this emergency. The Government of Uruguay has answered the note of the German Government rejecting the doctrine upon which it relies to carry on submarine warfare without restrictions.

In the enclosed copy your excellency will find the grounds upon which the Uruguayan protest is based.

The Uruguayan reply proceeds at once to combat vigorously the point of view assumed by Germany, stating:

. . . . . .

In view of these circumstances and after a careful and tranquil consideration of the case, the Uruguayan Government believes it a duty to inform the German Government that it can not accept for its citizens, commerce, and vessels the restrictions imposed upon it through the undefined zone of blockade and the form of the submarine campaign.

It still hopes that the Imperial Government will maintain its actions within the limits of right, respecting those principles of humanity and justice so often upheld by its best thinkers which have been the bases of the friendly relations cultivated without alteration by our two countries; but, notwithstanding this hope, this Government reserves the right, which the great German inter-

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national jurist called indisputable, to take appropriate measures not only against procedure which is contrary to international usages but also against arbitrary excesses which menace. Baltasar Brum.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/3286

The Ambassador in Chile (Shea) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SANTIAGO, *February 9, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received February 10, 12.30 a. m.*]

Your February 3, 1 p. m. I received this afternoon a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to my note of the 4th instant, which after referring to my note, continues:

It is inferred from the foregoing that the declaration of the German Empire relative to the establishment of zones of blockade on the European coasts has for the United States a double significance; a general one, which is the restriction of the rights of neutrality, and another that concerns the United States privately, the renewal of acts which the United States had previously and clearly condemned and against which a warning had been expressed in a note of April 18, 1916, to ignore which would result in a rupture of diplomatic relations.

Replying to the query contained in your excellency's note relative to the attitude that will be assumed by Chile in view of the declaration of Germany, to which reference has been made, it is my duty to inform your excellency that Chile defined its situation in a note to the German Empire dated the 8th instant. (Here insert quoted portion my telegram February 8, 10 p. m.) My Government considers that this attitude also [serves] the purposes of [juridical] unity pursued by the United States in favor of the general rights of neutrality and the high purposes of world peace which are referred to in the above-mentioned note of your excellency.

SHEA

File No. 763.72/3295

The Chargé in Colombia (Belden) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BOGOTÁ, *February 9, 1917, midnight.*
[*Received February 10, 5 p. m.*]

Department's telegram February 3, 1 p. m. Colombian Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day acknowledged note without reference to similar action. Commercial interests anxious. Some apprehension exists as to invasion of Colombian territory by the United States to protect canal if there is war. Germans here will agitate this issue.

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I believe therefore that the approval of Colombian treaty at this time would be advantageous. See my telegram of February 3, 11 a. m.[1]

I have urged consuls to watch Germans.

BELDEN

File No. 763.72/3297

The Minister in Bolivia (O'Rear) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

LA PAZ, *February 8, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received February 10, 9 p. m.*]

At the request of Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs I have the honor to transmit the text of the note sent by Bolivian Government to the German Minister and which has been published in all the newspapers:

. . . . . .

Looking at that situation through the light that is projected by the unquestionable rights of commerce and neutral traffic and the imprescriptible rights of civilization and of humanity, the prohibition of the neutral merchant traffic on an unlimited zone or the warlike aggression against neutral merchant vessels can not be considered without a protest. And it is such a protest that the Government of Bolivia wishes to consign in this reply, adding that it has resolved to consolidate its attitude in the present diplomatic emergency with that of the Government of the United States.

. . . . . .

O'REAR

[For the proposals of the *de facto* Mexican Government for terminating the European war, transmitted to the Secretary of State on February 12, and the replies of the Secretary of State, February 17 and March 16, see *ante*, pages 44, 54, 67.]

File No. 763.72/3302

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

LIMA, *February 11, 1917, 9 p. m.*
[*Received February 12, 1 p. m.*]

Department's circular February 3, 1 p. m.,[2] my February 5, 8 p. m.[3] Following is Peru's reply to Department's February 3, 1 p. m.:

February 9, 1917.

Mr. Minister: I have had the honor to receive the important communication dated the 4th instant which your excellency, by instructions of your Government, was pleased to send to me. . . .

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[1] Not printed; see *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 292 *et seq.*
[2] *Ante*, p. 108.
[3] Not printed.

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In answer, it is pleasing to me to express to your excellency that my Government duly appreciates the legality of the principles and of the motives which guide that of your excellency in the present emergency, which are in perfect conformity with its referred to note of April 18 last, and form the protection of the rights of all the neutral nations, seriously threatened with the new methods of maritime war which it is proposed to establish. I hope that a modification of these can yet be obtained, opening the way to sentiments of justice and harmony which will prevent bringing to America the horrors of a war without parallel in history.

Thanking your excellency for the highly esteemed information of which you have been so worthy an organ, I am pleased [etc.]

E. de la Riva Aguero

McMillin

File No. 763.72/3303

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

Lima, *February 12, 1917, 12 noon.*

[*Received 9.10 p. m.*]

Peru's answer to Germany's notification of unrestricted submarine warfare is more vigorous than her reply to Department's February 3, 1 p. m. After reciting former Peruvian protest it concludes:

To-day, before the new and unlimited menace which the proposal of the German Government creates for neutral commerce within the closed zones, I regret to find myself obliged, with greater reason than before, to reserve anew the interests of my Government and of my fellow citizens and to declare that it can not accept the resolution of the Government of your excellency which is before me, on account of considering it unquestionably opposed to international law and to the legitimate rights of the neutrals.

The recent odious case of the Peruvian boat *Lorton*, regarding which my Government saw itself obliged to place before that of your excellency a formal complaint, proves all the error and injustice of the submarine campaign which it is proposed to generalize in the inacceptable form of closing enormous zones of free sea and under the gravest menaces against the life and interests of the neutrals.

McMillin

File No. 763.72/3323

The Minister in Ecuador (Hartman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

Quito, *February 13, 1917.*

[*Received February 14, 2.10 a. m.*]

My telegram February 6, 3 p. m.[1] The note of the Minister for Foreign Affairs was delivered yesterday afternoon. It does not state

[1] Not printed.

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or indicate the attitude of Ecuador toward the suggestion of the President that all other neutral powers take action similar to that taken by the United States. I understand that this note was written after the subject was submitted to the President of Ecuador and the Council of State. Omitting preliminary recitals the following is the complete text of the note as translated:

Very commendable and worthy of applause has been the determination of the neutral powers that have endeavored to mitigate the rigors of the present disastrous war; as equally are not censurable the principles announced by the Government of the United States in the note of April 18, 1916, directed by the Secretary of State to the German Foreign Office through the medium of Ambassador Gerard in Berlin, as regards the inalienable rights of neutrals, the immunities of noncombatants, and the sacred rights of humanity, universally and during all time recognized by civilized nations.

My Government can never consent that any of the belligerents shall impair or fail to recognize the rights that, as a neutral, international laws and treaties assure to it. Having faithfully complied with the obligations which the strictest neutrality imposes upon it, my Government can not well renounce the rights which grow out of that neutrality, which, in [truth] are but the inherent attributes of national sovereignty.

However, perhaps if some form of joint American action, looking toward the legitimate defense of the rights of neutrals were to be discussed, it would be of great interest to the Government and to know the views of your excellency's Government and of the other American governments in a matter of such a great importance.

HARTMAN

Suggestions by Paraguay, Ecuador, and Argentina for a Conference of American States—Attitude of the de facto Mexican Government Regarding the German Proposal for an Alliance—Offer of Mexico's Good Offices to Restore Relations between the United States and Germany.

File No. 763.72/3837

The Minister in Paraguay (Mooney) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ASUNCION, *February 15, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received February 16, 2.10 p. m.*]

Department's February 3, 1 p. m. The answer of the Paraguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs states that the unrestricted prosecution of submarine warfare will be greatly damaging to neutral rights, and asks that the attitude of the neutral American states be determined in a convention called to consider the question. Transcript of answer and a translation thereof by mail.[1]

MOONEY

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[1] Not printed.

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File No. 763.72/3358

The Ecuadoran Minister (Elizalde) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. 2 WASHINGTON, *February 19, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor to inform your excellency that I have received the following telegram from my Government:

Quito, February 17, 1917.

Minister of Ecuador, Washington. We have answered the cablegram from Mexico as follows: The initiative that we, the American countries, took to secure the union of all in the matter of maintaining the rights of neutrals and allaying the rigors of war, is proof of the conviction they entertain that individual action is fruitless, as joint action will be fruitful. What is lacking is to determine in what form joint action is to be exercised. That may be determined through the immediate meeting of American congress in Uruguay, for instance, for the purpose of agreeing upon measures likely to guarantee the rights of the continental neutrality and allay the rigors of the struggle. Officially lay this idea before the Secretary of State of the United States and the American representatives at the capital where you reside and ask them to forward it to their respective Governments. Minister of Foreign Relations

The text of the above inserted telegram will have shown to your excellency the object of this note, in the sense of submitting to your excellency's Government's consideration the idea of an immediate meeting of an American congress on continental cooperation in maintaining neutral rights and alleviating, as far as possible, the rigors of war.

None of the reasons on which my Government bases its proposition at the present time, or which lead it to believe that it may bring forward at this juncture the results of American continental union which it promotes, will surely escape your excellency's high ability.

Should your excellency's Government lend its weighty patronage to the defensive and altruistic undertaking the proposition implies, it may be presumed that the most complete success will very soon crown the joint efforts of all the American peoples.

I avail myself [etc.] R. H. ELIZALDE

File No. 763.72/3382

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *February 24, 1917, 5 p. m.*

[Received 8.45 p. m.]

There was introduced in the National Assembly this afternoon a bill authorizing Panaman President to adopt measures for coopera-

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tion with us in the event of war with Germany, and there was adopted unanimously a resolution expressing sympathy with the present position of our Government and stating that Panama can not remain indifferent in any international conflict in which the United States is engaged and will cooperate with it to the fullest extent. Panaman Minister at Washington will communicate full text.[1]

PRICE

File No. 862.20212/70a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 26, 1917, 11 a. m.*

10. The Department has obtained possession of text of telegram sent by Zimmermann, German Secretary of State, to the German Minister to Mexico, which was sent by way of Washington and, we are informed, was forwarded by Bernstorff on January 19.[2] It states in substance that it is the intention of the German Government to begin unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1; that in spite of this plan the German Government will endeavor to keep the United States neutral, but if they do not succeed the German Government make an offer of an alliance with Mexico as follows: To make war together; to make peace together; Germany to give financial aid and to agree that Mexico is to recapture Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico. Settlement of details are left to the German Minister. German Minister is instructed to inform the President of Mexico of this proposal most secretly as soon as war with United States is certain and to suggest that he should, on his own initiative, approach Japan with some suggestion for an understanding, which is not quite clear, and, at the same time, offer to mediate between Japan and Germany.

You will at once see General Carranza or, if that can not be arranged immediately, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Read to him the substance of the German note and state that it is probable that the contents of this note will be made public in the United States immediately and suggest as your personal opinion that it might be well for the Mexican Government to make some comment.

Merely for your guidance. The Department does not feel that it can properly withhold from the public the text of this German message. Its publication, however, may cause great consternation and it is possible, unfortunately, that, with the intense feeling aroused,

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[1] It was not received from him; copy forwarded by the Minister in Panama with his despatch No. 1271 of Feb. 27; not printed (File No. 711.19/74).

[2] *Ante*, p. 147.

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there may be included a degree of uncertainty in regard to the attitude of Mexico unless the Mexican Government can make some statement which might be published simultaneously tending to show their disinterestedness. POLK

File No. 862.20212/70

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *February 26, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received February 27, 5 a. m.*]

9. Your telegram 10, February 26, 11 a. m. General Carranza is in Jalisco. I called upon Minister for Foreign Affairs this evening and read to him the substance of the German note. He said that he had no knowledge of any representations of the character referred to and that if such representations were made they must have been made directly to Carranza; that the German Minister had several times recently asked him when Carranza would return to the city. Minister for Foreign Affairs went directly to the telegraph office to confer with Carranza. At the Minister's urgent request I gave him a synopsis of German note in Spanish to be used in his telegraphic conference with Carranza. I also suggest going to see General Carranza if deemed desirable. Will report further developments as soon as possible. FLETCHER

File No. 763.72119/481

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *February 27, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 1.40 p. m.*]

Mediation by Latin-American powers suggested now that United States has broken off diplomatic relations with Germany. *La Nación* opposes it and hints at German influence. Argentine initiative asserted. STIMSON

File No. 763.72/3394

The Minister in Salvador (Long) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SAN SALVADOR, *February 27, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 5 p. m.*]

Department's circular of February 3 and this Legation's February 10, 5 p. m.[1] In note received last night Salvador states that she expects to observe the most scrupulous possible neutrality.

LONG

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[1] Latter not printed.

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File No. 763.72119/486

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *March 3, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 1.15 p. m.*]

My February 27, 11 a. m. Trustworthy information is that the projected Latin-American conference under the initiative of Argentina would be restricted to the expression of a desire for peace. Chile and Uruguay certainly, and Brazil probably, will decline to participate if the United States is excluded. Argentina's move will probably be fruitless.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/3439

The Minister in Honduras (Ewing) to the Secretary of State

No. 420 TEGUCIGALPA, *February 17, 1917.*
[*Received March 6.*]

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith the reply of the Honduran Government to the note delivered February 4 last, in compliance with the Department's cabled circular instruction of February 3 last.

This reply was received late yesterday and is submitted in the original Spanish together with a translation made in this office.

I have [etc.] JNO. EWING

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs (Vásquez) to the American Minister (Ewing)

TEGUCIGALPA, *February 16, 1917.*

MR. MINISTER: After giving the most careful consideration to the important note of your excellency, dated the 4th of the current month, which served to communicate to me the breaking off of relations by the Government of the United States with that of Germany, on account of the recent announcement by Germany of a renewal of submarine warfare, without distinction, against merchant ships, the President of the Republic has given me instructions to reply to your excellency in the following terms:

The Government of Honduras finds justified the action of the Government of the United States on breaking off its diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government of Germany, on account of the submarine warfare which Germany is making against merchant ships of belligerents or nonbelligerents without distinction, in contravention of the rights of humanity and the principles of international law.

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The Government of Honduras believes that the declaration of the United States Government will produce the effect of guaranteeing, on the part of Germany, the neutral merchant marine in free waters; but in case that this should not happen and on that account should supervene more serious difficulties between the United States and Germany, Honduras will hasten to declare her attitude in such conflicts.[1]

Praying your excellency to please transmit, if you deem it proper, this declaration to the friendly Government of the United States, it is a pleasure to me to reiterate [etc.]

MARIANO VÁSQUEZ.

File No. 763.72/3438

The Minister in Nicaragua (Jefferson) to the Secretary of State

No. 339 MANAGUA, *February 9, 1917.*
[*Received March 6.*]

SIR: In accordance with the Department's telegraphic circular instruction of February 3, 1917, relative to the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, I have the honor to report that immediately upon receipt of the same I transmitted a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, F. O. 181, of February 4, 1917, a copy of which I am herewith enclosing.[2] I also have the honor to enclose a copy and translation of the reply of the Foreign Office thereto.

I have [etc.] BENJAMIN L. JEFFERSON

[Enclosure—Translation—Extract]

The Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs (Urtecho) to the American Minister (Jefferson)

MANAGUA, *February 5, 1917.*

MR. MINISTER: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your attentive communication of yesterday, in which by instructions from the Department of State you are pleased to give to my Government the important information which I have immediately delivered to His Excellency the President of the Republic.

. . . . . .

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[1] By a second note of Mar. 10, the Minister of Foreign Affairs added the following paragraph to this declaration:

> The Government of Honduras declares its sympathy with the principles and rights which the Government of the United States has undertaken to defend in relation to the submarine warfare extended by Germany without distinction against belligerent and nonbelligerent vessels, and expresses its most fervent hope that an outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Germany may be averted.

Transmitted by the Minister in Honduras as enclosure to his despatch No. 429, Mar. 14, 1917, received Mar. 29 (File No. 763.72/3607).

[2] Not printed.

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On taking due consideration of the important thoughts which I have been permitted to repeat herewith exactly, it is my duty to present to your excellency the profound sorrow which such deplorable circumstances have caused my Government, and its firm hope that the course of the developments in relation to that set forth by the Department of State in the esteemed note of your excellency, to which I am now replying, may be thus, and not otherwise, that it may be in accord with the great principles of humanity and justice, and of guaranty and respect for the rights of neutrals, in accordance with the well known doctrine observed and firmly maintained by the illustrious Government of your excellency, always animated by the most sane and generous propositions in favor of universal peace.

I take this opportunity to extend the fervent wishes of my Government for the unalterable peace and increasing prosperity of the United States of America, and to reiterate [etc.]

J. A. URTECHO

File No. 862.20212/89

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *March 10, 1917, 10 a. m.*

[*Received March 11, 2 a. m.*]

13. Returned last night from Guadalajara. Spent several days in the company of the First Chief who expressed a very sincere desire to arrange all matters which have arisen or may arise in a spirit of accommodation. On the subject matter of your No. 10, February 26, 11 a. m., he was extremely cautious. He said that Mexico had not received up to the present time from Germany any proposition whatever of alliance; that for his part his sincere desire was that the war should not come to this side of the Atlantic; that the peace note of Mexico [1] was based on this hope, and upon the humane motive of helping as far as possible to reestablish peace, and in compliance with the highest duties of self-preservation and defense. He spoke at length of his great desire to have the neutral powers accept some plan, not necessarily his, which would bring peace and did not seem to fear Germany's future policy in case neutrals should or could impose peace at this time. He said that you had not replied to his note; that he hoped you would accept in principle, and if you will so accept he would suggest that conference of all the neutral powers be called in Washington where all are represented diplomatically with a view to discovering the

[1] *Ante*, p. 45.

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most convenient form of contributing to the early restoration of peace in Europe, and he said it was immaterial whether the ideas proposed in his note should be adopted or others which the conference might deem more appropriate. In answer to my direct question as to his attitude in case Germany should propose an alliance, he said that Mexico desires to avoid becoming involved in the war and again referred to his note, but he avoided saying directly that such a proposition would be rejected. Personally I do not think Mexico would under present circumstances accept alliance referred to but I think First Chief wishes withhold categorical statement to that effect in the hope of inducing our Government to accept his peace proposals or a peace conference of neutrals.

While both he and Minister for Foreign Affairs were very careful and guarded in their utterances, I gathered that their sentiments inclined somewhat toward Germany. As I was leaving the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday, in reply to my statement that I was rather sorry I would not be able to send to the President a frank and categorical statement of Mexico's attitude if an alliance with Germany should be proposed, he said that his Government wished to proceed step by step and that no doubt after a report had been received to their note the First Chief would confer with me again after having returned to the Capital next week, and he said that in any case Mexico's conduct would be just and correct whether any statement was made or not; that they believed that actions spoke better than words.

Please advise me opportunely of any action on the Mexican note.

FLETCHER

File No. 763.72/3491

The Venezuelan Minister (Dominici) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *March 7, 1917.*
[*Received March 12.*]

MY DEAR MR. LANSING: Immediately after the last regular meeting of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, when you had the courtesy to make a statement in reference to the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany, I cabled my Government a synopsis of your statement, and, as it was informally agreed after the meeting by the members of the Board then present, I requested instructions from my Government as to what action I should take at the meeting that was to be held to-day.

I have now the pleasure of informing you that my Government, while maintaining a strict neutrality, has authorized me to express its sympathy with any action tending to enforce respect for the rights of neutrals and the principles of humanity.

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I am further instructed to state that the position of the Government and people of Venezuela towards the Government and the people of the United States is that of sincere, loyal, and lasting friendship, and that they still earnestly hope that the great American nation may not be drawn into actual war.

As the regular meeting of the Board has been postponed for another week, not wishing to delay this communication any longer, I hasten to convey to you the sentiments of my Government.

I am [etc.] SANTOS A. DOMÍNICI

File No. 763.72119/507

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

No. 1266 PANAMA, *February 23, 1917.*
[*Received March 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose for the information of the Department a copy of the reply sent by the Panaman Foreign Office to the Mexican Government in response to the suggestion from the latter that neutral governments discontinue sending munitions and supplies to the belligerents in the present European conflict.[1]

Among other things Secretary Garay states:

It does not agree, however, to reproach neutral countries for having made use of their legitimate rights, nor does it desire to disturb their maritime or continental commerce, as this task devolves upon the belligerent powers, who may do so in their right to defend themselves.

I have [etc.] WM. JENNINGS PRICE

File No. 763.72119/481

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram—Extract]

WASHINGTON, *March 14, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your February 27, 11 a. m. You are instructed immediately and discreetly to investigate and report upon the activities of the Government of the Argentine Republic in regard to mediation by Latin-American powers referred to in your cablegram. . . .

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/481

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Chile (Shea)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 14, 1917, 6 p. m.*

You are instructed discreetly to investigate and report by cable upon the activities of the Government of the Argentine Republic in

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[1] Not printed.

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regard to bringing about mediation by Latin-American powers, now that diplomatic relations have been broken off between the United States and Germany. Also report concerning the attitude of the Government to which you are accredited in this connection and how reports have been received in the country where you are located as to the activities of the Argentine Government.

Repeat to Lima and Montevideo.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/504

The Ambassador in Chile (Shea) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SANTIAGO, *March 15, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received 7.30 p. m.]

In reply to your telegram March 14, 6 p. m. Minister for Foreign Affairs assures me that Chile will have nothing to do with peace movement being promoted by the Argentine Republic. Brazilian Minister here also assures me that his country will not join the movement. They do not regard it as serious here. No editorial discussion, news despatches generally from Buenos Aires.

SHEA

File No. 763.72119/508

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

BUENOS AIRES, *March 16, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[Received 11.45 p. m.]

Department's March 14, 6 p. m.; my March 3, 11 a. m. Reliable information is that little or no progress has been made. Idea of conference still entertained by Argentina but slight activity in promoting it. Probable that project will be abandoned. . . .

STIMSON

File No. 763.72119/513

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *March 17, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[Received March 18, 4.10 a. m.]

26. Minister for Foreign Affairs called me this afternoon to the Foreign Office and asked me to telegraph confidentially to the Department that Mr. Carranza, in view of the position taken by our Government with respect to the Mexican note,[1] believed that joint

[1] See *ante*, pp. 45, 54, 67.

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action on the part of neutrals without the cooperation of the United States would be fruitless but would like, nevertheless, to place the good offices of his Government at the service of the United States if they could be utilized in the restoration of diplomatic relations with Germany or in any other way which would tend to prevent hostilities between Germany and the United States. He said that Mr. Carranza wished to make this offer confidentially and purely unofficially. Minister for Foreign Affairs further said that this was being done entirely without the knowledge of the German Minister. He said that Mexico had a deep national interest in the maintenance of peace between Germany and the United States and stood ready to do anything possible to that end. He said that he felt sure the United States Government would understand that this offer was being made not to help Germany but sincerely and with the highest motives and in the interest of American peace, and that Mexico would be willing to act alone or in conjunction with any other government similarly inspired, but that no other government had been consulted or advised as to this step.

FLETCHER

File No. 763.72119/515

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *March 20, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 3.30 p. m.*]

Uruguayan Government has not received formal notice of proposal by Republic of Argentina in regard to bringing about mediation by Latin-American republics. High officials, Uruguayan Government, do not look with favor upon this plan. Public men are indifferent to it. Newspapers speak unfavorably of it. No organized efforts are being made in support of plan by agencies of the Argentine Republic.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72119/525

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *March 24, 1917.*
[*Received 3.05 p. m.*]

Department's March 14, 6 p. m.[1] Argentina's activities to bring about mediation had a courteous reception and reply from Peru which will probably be represented at the conference, but I find

[1] Repeated by the Ambassador in Chile, *ante*, p. 240.

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not much confidence in favorable outcome. Peruvian officials do not believe a Latin-American conference can be more potent than United States in such efforts. They think only present good attainable will be by united action, insisting on maintaining neutrality, and observance by belligerents of neutral rights under international law. A very high official said the conference ought not tender or suggest mediation.

McMillin

File No. 763.72119/534

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

Mexico City, *April 3, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 6.30 p. m.*]

54. My telegram 26, March 12 [*17*], 10 p. m. Minister for Foreign Affairs telegraphed yesterday to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador in reply to his message of February 17 that Mexico accepts the idea that an American congress should meet in Uruguay for the purpose of agreeing upon the means which should be adopted to bring about European peace. He also telegraphed Colombian Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to telegram dated March 1 that Mexico accepted Ecuadoran proposal. These two apparently are the only American republics which are supporting Mexican peace propaganda and seem to be acting together. This action at this time is significant especially in view of the fact that Aguilar stated to me as reported in my telegram above referred to that Mexico believed such a conference would be fruitless. . . .

Fletcher

File No. 763.72/8651

The Minister in Costa Rica (Hale) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

San José, *April 3, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received April 4, 4 a. m.*]

Carlos Lara, Tinoco's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has sent to me by the hands of Mr. Keith a holograph document in Spanish, of which the following is a translation:

Government of Tinoco expresses desire to make known that without taking into account recognition on behalf of the Government of the United States in any emergencies which arise between Germany and the United States by reason of the relations in which these two countries find themselves to-day, Government of Costa Rica not only is disposed to observe towards the United States a benevolent neutrality but also to prevent development upon its territory of any hostility against them.

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Keith informs me that Lara asked him to ask me to send to the Department a message of the above import and that Lara put it in writing at Keith's request. HALE

File No. 763.72/3970

The Cuban Minister (Céspedes) to the Secretary of State

[A copy of the following telegram from the Cuban Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Desvernine) to the Cuban Minister at Washington was left by the Minister at the Department of State on April 5, 1917.]

HABANA, *April 5, 1917.*

You can inform his excellency the Secretary of State that the Government of Cuba is completely identified with the Government of the United States in the reasons which assist it to assume the attitude it has adopted; and profoundly grateful for the constant proofs of sincere friendship which that Government has given Cuba, only awaited to learn its friendly opinion, the President having already ordered that the message he will address to Congress be drawn up asking for constitutional authorization to consider the Republic in a state of war with Germany. He has moreover called the presidents of both Houses to confer with him, as also the Committee on Foreign Affairs and prominent leaders in politics in order to obtain an immediate approval.

With regard to the interior situation you can inform that during the last three weeks there has been hardly any destruction of property and that hundreds of rebels are daily submitting to the Government, a situation from which the conviction is drawn that in a very brief period the nation will be entirely pacified.

Congress convened yesterday without any abnormal occurrence.

The President desires you to come to Habana immediately to confer. [File copy not signed]

Responses to the Notification of a State of War between the United States and Germany—Severance of Relations with Germany, in Terms Amounting to a Declaration of War, by Panama, April 7—Declaration of War with Germany by Cuba, April 7—Severance of Relations with Germany by Brazil, April 11, in Consequence of the Sinking of the "Paraná"—Severance of Relations with Germany by Bolivia, April 13—The Sinking of the Argentine Ship "Monte Protegido"

File No. 763.72/3697a

The Secretary of State to the Diplomatic Representatives in All Countries except Russia

[Circular telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 6, 1917.*

On April 6 Congress declared and President proclaimed that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial

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German Government. So inform the government to which you are accredited.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3692

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *April 6, 1917, 9 p. m.*
[Received April 7, 5.15 a. m.]

Pursuant to my suggestions Panaman President is sending a message to President Wilson to-night, and to-morrow the exequaturs of all German consuls in Panama will be canceled (there being no diplomatic representative), and an appropriate proclamation will be issued.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/3729

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *April 7, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[Received April 8, 5.30 a. m.]

Panaman President to-day issued a proclamation of alliance and cooperation with the United States in the war with Germany. After the preface and reference to the action of the National Assembly the following is set forth:

Therefore, I, the President of the Republic of Panama, declare that the Panaman nation will lend its emphatic cooperation to the United States of America against the enemies who may execute or attempt to execute hostile acts against territory of Panama, the Panama Canal, or which in any manner may affect or tend to affect the common interests of the two countries. The Government will adopt measures adequate to these ends as circumstances may demand and considers that it is a patriotic duty for all Panaman citizens to facilitate the military operations which the forces of the United States may need to undertake within the limits of our country designed for the defense of the common rights and interests of the two nations. It is the duty of foreigners, resident or transient, to submit themselves to this declaration under the penalties established by the laws of the country and by international law.

The foregoing followed by canceling exequaturs German consuls [to be] complete Monday. I venture to suggest that action of Panama be gotten into the press despatches for Latin America.

PRICE

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File No. 763.72/3723

The Minister in Cuba (Gonzales) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HABANA, *April 7, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received April 8, 5.30 a. m.*]

Congress convened at 4 o'clock this afternoon. Thirty minutes later Senate unanimously passed measure authorizing the President to declare war on Germany. Fifteen minutes after six, House unanimously passed the act, members standing and cheering. Act becomes effective on publication by the President in *Official Gazette* to-night. Act gives fullest power to the President allowed under the Constitution. Measures providing funds Quartermaster General, imposing war taxes must be introduced separately.

Part of preamble follows:

The fact that the United States of America has declared on the 6th instant the existence of a state of war between it and the Imperial German Government presents the exact and due opportunity for setting such situation since the historic ties and the gratitude which bind us to the great American Republic impel us to take the field where she is going to struggle for the right to use the high seas, the freedom of commerce, the respect due neutrals, and international justice.

The act follows:

ARTICLE 1. A state of war is hereby formally declared to exist as from this date between the Government of Cuba and the Imperial German Government and the President of the Republic is hereby authorized and directed to employ all the forces of the nation and the resources of our Government to make war upon the Imperial German Government for the purpose of upholding our rights, safe-guarding our territory, providing for our security, preventing any acts which may be done to our injury and defending navigation of the high seas, the freedom of commerce, the rights of neutrals, and international justice.

ARTICLE 2. The President of the Republic is hereby authorized to dispose of the land and sea forces in such manner as he shall deem necessary, utilizing the existing forces, reorganizing them or creating new ones, and to dispose of the economic resources of the nation as required.

ARTICLE 3. The President of the Republic will report to Congress the measures which he shall adopt in fulfillment hereof.

GONZALES

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File No. 763.72/3736

The Minister in Cuba (Gonzales) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HABANA, *April 7, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received April 8, 5.30 a. m.*]

The President is ready send to Washington commission embracing several members general staff to confer as to Cuba's part. Wishes notification on this point. Protective measures taken as far as practicable.

German hemp factory near Matanzas where activity suspected and German Army officer located occupied by Government forces to-night.

At my suggestion order for registration of every German in the country telegraphed military district commanders. Orders issued arrest German reserve officers in Cuba.

The President wished delay occupying interned ships till Congress acted, but at four o'clock this afternoon having advices attempt be made sink ships in mouth of harbor and finding steam raised on the *Bavaria*, he seized the boats. Two boilers on *Bavaria* ruined, officers and crews placed in Cabañas fortress. Immediate need is number of high-power gasoline boats to patrol coast and keys where there is abundant shelter for submarine bases.

GONZALES

[For the letter from Mr. Fernández Guardia, representing the Tinoco government, to the Secretary of State, April 9, 1917, expressing support of the action of the United States and offering the use of Costa Rican ports and waters to the American Navy, see *Foreign Relations*, 1917, page 321.]

File No. 763.72/3729

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 9, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your April 7, 10 p. m. Is proclamation of President considered in Panama as a declaration of war against Germany and do you so construe it? Report by cable.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72/3758½

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *April 9, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received April 10, 8 a. m.*]

The following is the part of the proclamation which precedes that sent in my telegram of April 7, 10 p. m. The two constitute the whole:

The Congress of the United States of America has declared that a state of war exists between that country and the German Empire and such declaration imposes upon the Republic of Panama grave and unavoidable obligations.

If any other country were affected the elemental duty of Panama would be to maintain itself within the limits of a strict neutrality, but it being a conflict in which is involved the United States of America, a nation which by virtue of a perpetual public treaty guarantees and maintains the independence and sovereignty of Panama and has constructed within Panama territory a wonderful work necessary for the commerce of the world and whose preservation is essential for the development and progress of our country, neutrality is impossible.

Our clear and indisputable duty in this dreadful hour of human history is that of a natural ally whose very existence is linked in a perpetual and indissoluble manner with the United States of America and this is the meritorious attitude which it is incumbent upon us to adopt. And as such a situation creates danger for our country it is the duty of the Panaman people to cooperate with all the energies and resources at its disposal for the protection and defense of the Panama Canal and to safeguard the territory of the nation.

The attitude of the Panaman people was foreseen and interpreted by the National Assembly in a resolution unanimously approved on the 24th of February last and confirmed afterwards in the introductory clause and in the text of law 46 of 1917 and the moment has arrived for the executive power to act in accordance with the declaration of the supreme body of the Republic.

Exequaturs of all the German consuls canceled by decree completed to-day, defining Panama and Germany as belligerents.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/3769

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *April 10, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received April 11, 3.30 a. m.*]

Your April 9, 5 p. m. Proclamation of the President is so considered and I construe it to be a declaration of war in its legal effect.

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Confirmation of said construction was obtained this afternoon from Panaman President in the presence of Panaman Minister for Foreign Affairs and Secretary of Government and Justice.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/3764

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *April 10, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received April 11, 5.30 a. m.*]

77. Department's circular of April 6. Foreign Office note received this morning states after preamble of acknowledgment of my note:

The Mexican Government laments that it has not been possible for the Government of the United States to settle in a peaceful manner its difficulties with the German Empire.

At the same time it gives me pleasure to inform your excellency that the Mexican Government, inspired by the same desires expressed in the note of February 11 addressed to the neutral governments,[1] will omit no means nor effort whatever which may contribute in any way to the advent of peace.

Copy will be forwarded immediately by pouch.[2]

FLETCHER

File No. 763.72/3770

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 10, 1917, 9 p. m.*
[*Received April 11, 6.30 a. m.*]

Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs called [me] to the Government office at 8 this evening to say that a Cabinet meeting had just resolved on the answer of Argentina to my note announcing a state of war between the United States and the German Government, which answer was written by the President himself.

Mr. Ambassador: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note communicating that the Congress of the United States declared and the President proclaimed that state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government.

The Government of the Argentine Republic, in view of the causes which have induced the United States of America to declare war with the German Empire, recognizes the justice of that resolution inas-

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[1] *Ante*, p. 45.
[2] Complete note, as received by pouch, not printed.

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much as it is based upon the violation of principles of neutrality made sacred by the rules of international law which have ever been considered as the definitive conquests of civilization.

Accept [etc.]

The above note, undated, was delivered to me in person by Pueyrredon at 8.20 p. m. He said that he would cable it to Naón.[1] The Minister further said and authorized me to cable that Argentina would justify this departure from strict neutrality not only by her friendship to the United States but because she was in a sense party to a written promise of the German Government, notice of the breach of which had been served upon her by Germany itself.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/3729

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 12, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your April 7, 10 p. m. Inform Government of Panama that action of President in issuing proclamation of cooperation with the United States against any hostile acts in Panama affecting this Government is viewed with great satisfaction. You may say further that the President has expressed his personal gratification at this spontaneous action on the part of Panama in allying itself with the Government of the United States in the protection of independence and justice for the Americas and accepts this action as an additional token of the steadfast friendship already existing between our two Republics.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3723

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 12, 1917.*

Your April 7, 10 p. m. has been considered by the President, who is sending direct the following message to the President of Cuba:

I am greatly impressed by the unanimity with which the Cuban people through their constituted Congress have unhesitatingly cast in their lot with the nations of the world who are championing the rights and liberties, not alone of neutrals, but of all mankind. We rejoice, Cuba having gained the prize of self-government through

[1] Argentine Ambassador at Washington.

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sacrifice and blood is in a position to appraise, as all regenerated peoples do, the worth of that prize, and stands ready to aid in confirming its existence for the welfare of mankind. Woodrow Wilson.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3807

The Salvadoran Minister (Zaldivar) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *April 12, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY: I take pleasure in repeating to your excellency, the following cablegram which was received on yesterday at this Legation.

American Legation to-day communicated that state of war exists with Germany. Inform Secretary of State that El Salvador will maintain her neutrality, which fact, however, does not prevent Salvadoran Government from presenting, at same time, its sympathy and good wishes towards the people and Government of the United States.

With assurances [etc.] R. ZALDIVAR

File No. 763.72/3810

The Ambassador in Chile (Shea) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SANTIAGO, *April 12, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 10 p. m.*]

Your circular telegram 6th. In answering Embassy's [note], Foreign Office states Chile will continue to maintain her neutrality in this new conflict.

Leading editorials last few days change tone, commend South American solidarity, reaffirming unanimity of ABC nations, and commending the action of Brazil in breaking relations with Germany.

SHEA

File No. 763.72/3826

The Brazilian Ambassador (Da Gama) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 12, 1917.*
[*Received April 13.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have this moment received from my Government instructions to advise that of your excellency that on yesterday his passports were handed to the Minister of Germany at Rio de Janeiro and a telegram was sent to our Minister at Berlin

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instructing him to ask for his, thus bringing to an end the diplomatic relations of Brazil with that Empire.

By note of February 9 last, Brazil protested against the manner in which the German Government seeks to hamper maritime commerce with the enemy countries and declared that Government responsible for injuries to persons or property of Brazilian citizens in the lawful exercise of their rights on the high seas if proved to be in violation of the principles of international law or of the conventions signed between the two countries. And in order to remove all doubts on that point our Legation at Berlin, on February 13, notified the German Government that "we consider essential to the maintenance of relations with Germany that no Brazilian vessel be attacked in any way and under any pretext whatsoever, even that of carrying contraband of war, the belligerents having included everything in that category."

My Government was grieved to learn of the sinking of the Brazilian steamer *Paraná* at 11 p. m. on the 3d of this month while approaching the port of Cherbourg at reduced speed and showing the regulation lights and also in large illuminated letters the word "Brasil." The ship was not summoned to stop for an examination of her papers and cargo, was torpedoed without warning, five cannon shots being fired into her besides. Although nearby and in full sight, the submarine extended no assistance to the shipwrecked crew. Several Brazilians lost their lives, others were injured in that brutal attack on a ship of a neutral country. The President of the United States of Brazil judged that the incident left no room for explanations or diplomatic negotiations with the Government of Germany towards which that of Brazil has ever fulfilled its promises and obligations freely entered into and, to his regret to be sure, resolved to break our diplomatic and commercial relations with the German Empire.

I avail myself [etc.] DOMICIO DA GAMA

File No. 862.85/50

The Consul General at Rio de Janeiro (Gottschalk) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *April 12, 1917, 12 p. m.*
[*Received April 13, 6.30 a. m.*]

The Federal Government decided to-day to take possession German shipping in all ports of the Republic, replacing their crews tomorrow by naval detachments. Measure tactfully described as merely preventive of possible self-inflicted damages by German crews. GOTTSCHALK

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File No. 763.72/3838

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *April 13, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 4.30 p. m.*]

Department's circular 6th. The response of Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Department's April 6, though dated the 11th, was not delivered until night of the 12th. It is as follows:

Lima, April 11, 1917.

Mr. Minister: I have had the honor to receive the important communication of the 7th instant, which by instructions of your Government you have been good enough to send me for the purpose of informing that of Peru that the day before the American Congress declared and the President, Mr. Wilson, proclaimed that the state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government.

In answer, it is just to myself to express to your excellency that my Government deplores that that of the United States of America has seen itself obliged to adopt the extreme resolution of which your excellency has deigned to notify me, in defense of its vital interests and of incontrovertible principles of international law.

With our intense desires for the prompt termination of the enormous conflagration at which we are present, allow me renew to you, Mr. Minister, the assurances [etc.] E. de La Riva Aguero

McMILLIN

File No. 763.72/3856

The Bolivian Minister (Calderon) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 14, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that my Government, on yesterday, delivered his passports to the German Minister and declared the diplomatic relations between Bolivia and the German Empire to be broken off.

When my Government received the communication of the Imperial Government of Germany relative to the unrestricted use of its submarines, it not only protested against such a resolution but declared that on this question it stood with the Government of the United States in defense of the neutral rights and the laws of mankind ignored by the German Government. The rupture of relations consummated to-day is the natural consequence of the attitude taken by Bolivia which gladly sides with the Government of the United States in the holy cause of the defense of right and justice against the mastery of force and violence.

I avail myself [etc.] I. CALDERON

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File No. 763.72/3765

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 14, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your April 10, 10 p. m.[1] The Secretary of War requests Department of State to inform the Government of Cuba that he will be glad to see the accredited Cuban commission to which you refer in your April 7, 11 p. m.,[2] at any time convenient to the commission.

You will further convey to the Cuban Government appropriate expression of the gratification of the United States at Cuba's desire to cooperate in sending such a commission to the United States.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3850

The Minister in Paraguay (Mooney) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ASUNCION, *April 14, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[Received April 15, 5.30 a. m.]

The Paraguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to my advice of a state of war between the United States and Germany, says in part as follows: "It is my duty to make known to you that Paraguay and its Government in these moments accompanies the United States and its Government with the most lively sympathy."

Copy of reply by mail accompanied by translation.[1]

MOONEY

File No. 763.72/3853

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *April 14, 1917, midnight.*
[Received April 15, 12.10 p. m.]

Foreign Office informs me in reply to my communication of declaration of state of war between the United States and Germany that Uruguay recognizes that the United States has been forced by action of Germany in violation of neutral rights and principles of humanity to take such course but adds that this Republic will not alter its present attitude of neutrality inasmuch as its rights have not yet become the object of an act of aggression on the part of Germany. The Minister for Foreign Affairs further states that Uruguay is in entire accord and sympathy with the views and action of the United States.

JEFFERY

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[1] Not printed.
[2] *Ante*, p. 247. The commission arrived May 1.

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File No. 763.72/3860

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 15, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 4 p. m.]

Brigantine *Monte Protegido*, under Argentine flag, sunk off Scilly Islands by German submarine; will probably not cause intervention. Captain and crew all Norwegian but severance of diplomatic relations with Germany likely at any moment.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72111N39/48

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *April 15, 1917, midnight.*
[Received April 16, 6.45 a. m.]

95. Carranza declared before Congress to-night that Mexico would observe strict neutrality in the present war.

FLETCHER

File No. 763.72/3826

The Secretary of State to the Brazilian Ambassador (Da Gama)

No. 118 WASHINGTON, *April 16, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 11th [*12th*] instant whereby you acquaint me with the severance by your Government of the diplomatic relations between Brazil and the German Empire because of the unjustifiable sinking of the Brazilian steamship *Paraná* by a German torpedo boat, without warning or exercise of visit and search according to the rules of international law, and with the loss of Brazilian life.

This act, in flagrant disregard of all the accepted tenets of international law and of the fundamental law of humanity, is but another instance of the ruthless international unmorality of the German Government and its utter contempt for the established rights of neutrals. The United States discerns in it a parallel to the repeated overt acts of savagery committed against American ships. My country has been constrained to treat these deeds as constituting a manifest aggression by Germany against a pacific neutral state which renders the continuance of normal relations impossible. The destruction of the *Paraná* puts Brazil in the same category with the United States as a victim of unjustifiable wrong-doing. For us, no recourse was open save the recognition of the fact that war was actually being made upon our flag, and nothing remained for us but fulfilment of

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the duty to meet the shameful attack by taking up arms in accordance with the dictates of the law of civilized nations, thus meeting criminal aggression by a resolute defense of our national rights which are those of mankind.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72/3862

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 16, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 1.10 p. m.*]

The Argentine answer to Brazil note published yesterday says that the Argentine Government which has just pronounced its judgment with respect to, and in defense of, the principles of universal international law, duly appreciates the attitude assumed by Brazil, based exactly on those conceptions, and expresses to her its frankest sentiments of cofraternity.

STIMSON

Argentina's Initiative toward Calling a Conference of American States; Attitude of the United States—Offer of Support in the War by Guatemala in Exchange for Assurances against Possible Consequences; Acceptance by the United States—Similar Assurances to Haiti

File No. 763.72119/558

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 16, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 2 p. m.*]

My telegram March 16, 6 p. m.[1] I am informed on good authority that the invitation of commercial conference of American nations here now includes United States as well as Guatemala, Ecuador, and other countries not diplomatically represented here.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/3865

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *April 16, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 11 p. m.*]

The Uruguayan Government has expressed its sympathy for the Brazilian Government on the occasion of its having broken off relations with the Imperial Government of Germany.

JEFFERY

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[1] *Ante*, p. 241.

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File No. 763.72119/562

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 17, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received 4.45 p. m.]

My April 16, noon. I now have copy of Argentine note of invitation to "The Nations of America": In order to procure a mutual understanding owing to the war . . . to concert a uniform opinion . . . establish ties whose cordial nature strengthen the situation and aspect of the American states in the general concert of the nations.

Shall I cable note in full? It will probably be sent to-morrow. No date will be fixed until all reply.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/3971

The Guatemalan Minister (Méndez) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 18, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: In a letter dated the 10th of this month of April and received by me to-day, the President of Guatemala tells me:

In consequence of the declaration of war on the Imperial German Government by the United States of America, my Government, ever true to its long standing friendship with the American Government and people, among the series of measures it will order in evidence of the fact that it will face every responsibility attending its identifying itself with the principles proclaimed by the Washington Government, has decreed, as a preliminary and in order to guard the country against any attempt from abroad, a suspension of the guarantees in the border departments, in keeping with paragraph 18, Article 77 of the Constitution. Thus will an effective watch be kept over every element who would disturb the peace and who will be prevented from crossing into the neighboring countries with preconceived purposes. On the other hand, standing firmly and consistently with the American nation, as you well know and as the inclosed memorandum the original of which was delivered to the most excellent the Minister of the United States further evidences, I only trust that upon receipt of this communication you will lay before the Department of State my intentions as set forth in the said memorandum, which are incorruptible and sincere, to which end I hope that the American Government will be pleased to offer to me all suggestions that it may deem suitable in the matter.

In compliance with the letter of the President of Guatemala, I have the honor to enclose a copy of the memorandum therein referred to, and beg the Secretary of State to be so good as to give me the

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requisite indications to have the action of the Government of my country continue to demonstrate by practical acts that it has identified itself with the principles which the enlightened American Government has proclaimed for the good of mankind and with the applause of the world's conscience.

To that end, I take pleasure in placing myself entirely at your excellency's disposal to report to the President and Government of Guatemala all that may contribute to continuing in Guatemala the realization of the expression of the fervent wish by which the country is animated to adhere to and uphold the lofty and noble attitude of the American Government.

I avail myself [etc.] JOAQUÍN MÉNDEZ

[Enclosure—Translation]

Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs (Toledo Herrarte) to the American Minister (Leavell)

MEMORANDUM

The Government of Guatemala, faithful to its traditional and unalterable friendship with the Government of the United States of America and convinced, moreover, that it defends the cause of justice and right, declares: that it is disposed to cooperate with the American Government and people in the most loyal and unrestricted manner, to the successful ending of the war which has been brought on them by the conduct of the Imperial German Government.

In consequence of the above principle it has already decreed, under date of the 7th instant, the suspension of guaranties in those departments of the Republic bordering on neighboring states, which will enable it to exercise complete control and strict vigilance over all foreigners who may endeavor to subvert order or to cross over into contiguous countries with suspicious purposes.

Furthermore, the Government of Guatemala is ready to sever its diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government and to do everything which may be considered necessary for the triumph of the American arms. In all those measures or dispositions which the American Government may deem conducive to the success of the above purpose, it will be aided by the Government of Guatemala with the greatest promptitude, energy, and efficacy.

The Government of the United States can readily understand that the Government of Guatemala in taking this attitude not only brings upon itself the hatred and ill will of the German element residing in this Republic, an element which, with hostile purposes, is working in Mexico and in the neighboring Central-American nations, but exposes itself to the attacks of the above-mentioned countries, who

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have been awaiting a favorable opportunity to disturb the present state of affairs in Guatemala and thus cause her ruin and loss of prestige.

Therefore, the Government of Guatemala, in order to safeguard the sacred interests entrusted to it and to be able to take upon itself before the nation and before history the great responsibilities which the present situation entails, proposes to the American Government the conclusion of a pact of alliance which could be offensive and defensive, or only defensive, and which in the present circumstances could be brought about by a simple exchange of notes of mutual assurance between diplomatic representatives duly authorized to that effect.

GUATEMALA, *April 8, 1917.*

File No. 763.72119/558

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 18, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your telegram April 16, 12 noon, referring to your March 16, 6 p. m., apparently on another subject, not understood. To what commercial congress do you refer?

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3934

The Minister in Nicaragua (Jefferson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MANAGUA, *April 18, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 9.15 p. m.*]

The Legation has just received a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs expressing on behalf of President Chamorro and his Government entire sympathy for the United States in the present conflict with Germany and applauds the President of the United States for his magnanimity.

JEFFERSON

File No. 763.72/3987a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 19, 1917, 5 p. m.*

In view of fact that Government of Cuba has decided to send a commission to the United States to confer with this Government concerning best methods for its cooperation in the present conflict

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with Germany, it is felt that a very favorable impression would be created here by some similar step on the part of Panama. You may therefore suggest in a discreet manner to Government of Panama that full powers might be sent to Minister Porras to act as commissioner or chief of a commission to cooperate with this country.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/568

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 20, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 2.30 p. m.*]

Your April 19, 5 p. m. The proposed congress of American nations to be called upon the initiative of Argentina to meet at Buenos Aires was first called peace congress (see my February 27, 11 a. m., and March 3, 11 a. m.[1]), then called only a commercial congress (see my March 3, noon,[2] your March 14, 6 p. m., my March 16, 6 p. m., and my April 16, noon[3]), and now called officially Congress of the Nations of America (see my April 17, 1 p. m.[4]). All of these telegrams refer to the same subject.

The idea has been accepted so far by Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru but the invitations are not yet issued.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72119/570

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 20, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 7.15 p. m.*]

My April 20, noon. The Minister for Foreign Affairs called me to his office this afternoon to ask if my Government would look with sympathy on a conference of neutral American nations to come to an understanding on their attitude toward the war, which conference excluded the United States. Brazil and Cuba would have to to be included because as he said they had already been invited at the time the United States severed relations with Germany; but he intimated that they might not attend. He then read to me the proposed formal invitation in the precise form described in my April 17, 1 p. m. and said that they did not wish to send it until I had

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[1] *Ante*, pp. 235, 236.
[2] Not printed.
[3] *Ante*, pp. 240, 241, 256.
[4] *Ante*, p. 257.

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heard from the United States; and he asked what I thought. I told him that I should have to cable for instructions; and anyhow I feared that the omission of the United States would excite comment unless the reasons he gave were fully published; to which he replied that they would be. He asked how soon I might get an answer, and I said not before Monday. He stated that he expected that said congress would come to an agreement morally favoring the United States and Allies much like the last Argentine note to the United States. I asked him what reason he had to think so and he replied that he was sure of it. He argued that such a conclusion of the congress would have little effect if the United States were party to it.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/3952

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Guatemala (Leavell)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 21, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your April 10, 10 a. m., and April 19, 10 a. m.[1] On April 18 the Guatemalan Minister was informed by the Department that the Government of the United States would give to Guatemala full support in whatever action she might take in the present conflict with Germany, it being clearly understood that President Estrada Cabrera had placed his services at the disposal of the United States.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/513

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 21, 1917, 7 p. m.*

123. Your 26, March 17, 10 p. m.[2] Please avail [yourself?] of early opportunity to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the kind offer of General Carranza to mediate between this Government and Germany. You may inform him that this Government thoroughly appreciates the helpful spirit which prompted his offer and the friendly messages which accompanied it. As he is aware, for nearly three years this Government has patiently sought to secure the safety of American citizens upon the seas relying upon the obligation of the German Government to observe the rules of international law and upon the solemn promises of that Government to

[1] Neither printed; the former transmitted the substance of the memorandum communicated by the Guatemalan Minister on Apr. 18, *ante*, p. 257.

[2] *Ante*, p. 241.

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protect innocent lives. The deliberate violations of law by the Imperial Government, the slaughter of American citizens and the wanton attacks on American vessels by German submarines, in utter disregard of the promises given, have defeated the President's efforts to preserve friendly relations and have forced this country to abandon a neutrality which it could no longer maintain and maintain its honor and rights.

At the time General Carranza's offer was received the situation was such that mediation did not seem practicable. The President therefore deferred instructing you in regard to the matter in the hope that a favorable opportunity might arise which would permit of a more responsive communication to General Carranza's tender of good offices.

It is deeply regretted that events have not developed in a way to make for the acceptance of General Carranza's counsel and assistance. The President hopes, however, that he may always rely upon the same friendly spirit of conciliation in dealing with the many important matters concerning Mexico and the United States.

LANSING

File No. 862.20212/270a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 21, 1917, 8 p. m.*

124. The President desires that you take an early opportunity to discuss the present situation very frankly with General Carranza. You may say that this Government relying upon his declaration of Mexico's neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany confidently expects his Government to prevent Mexican territory from becoming a base of hostile acts toward the United States. General Carranza is, of course, aware that numbers of German subjects have passed and are passing from the United States to Mexico. Their known activities in the latter country cause this Government to be apprehensive of complications which the President is anxious to avoid. Appreciating the frank avowal of neutrality by General Carranza it seems needless to express the hope that he will take prompt and effective steps to prevent illegal acts of German subjects in Mexico which may interrupt or injure the trade of countries friendly with Mexico, jeopardize the lives and property of their citizens, or in any way compromise the neutrality of Mexico.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72119/587b

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 22, 1917, 2 p. m.*

Your April 17, 1 p. m. Cable translation of note. Your April 20, noon, and April 20, 4 p. m. You may say to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to his inquiries regarding the attitude of this Government toward a conference of American nations, in which the United States was not included, that he will readily see the impossibility of any expression of views on the part of the Government of the United States, particularly at the present time.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4000

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 22, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received 11 p. m.]

My April 15, 11 a. m.[1] The Government newspaper to-night says that Argentine Government sent peremptory instructions to the Minister, Berlin, to demand apology for sinking brigantine besides money indemnity, and anticipating Germany's [refusal?] says that Argentina's course is clear.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/4011

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 22, 1917, midnight.*
[Received April 23, 6 a. m.]

Department's April 22, 2 p. m. The text of the translation of the Argentine note of invitation follows:

I take pleasure in communicating to your excellency that the Government of the Argentine Republic proposes a reunion of the nations of America in order to procure a mutual understanding, owing to the war which continues daily to increase its extension over the world. In the face of such extraordinary events, this Government believes that the American nations should concert a uniform opinion in this respect, realizing the desire to establish ties, whose cordial nature

[1] *Ante*, p. 255.

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would strengthen the situation and aspect of the American states, in the general concert of the nations.

The idea has been accepted by Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Paraguay, and Peru. The replies of the rest of the nations are expected; there having been, up to the present time, no refusals.

The Argentine Government will await the acceptance of all the remaining American countries before proposing the date of the international reunion.

I would be grateful to your excellency for communicating to me the idea of your Government as regards this initiative.

With assurances [etc.]

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/4053

The Guatemalan Minister (Méndez) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 20, 1917.*
[*Received April 25.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor to inform you that the President of Guatemala has requested me to convey to you his deepest gratitude and to beg that you will be good enough to repeat these expressions to His Excellency President Wilson, for the statements which I had the honor to make to him on the part of the Department of State, that the American Government is disposed to assist the Government of Guatemala in the attitude which it has assumed in the state of war which exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government.

The President of Guatemala, who is desirious of continuing his support of the principles proclaimed by the United States of America, accepts with the greatest pleasure the assistance offered in a manner as friendly as it is effective, by the illustrious American Government.

I avail myself [etc.] JOAQUÍN MÉNDEZ

File No. 763.72119/579

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *April 25, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 3.10 p. m.*]

Your April 22, 2 p. m. Yesterday I told the Minister for Foreign Affairs the substance of your reply to his question concerning the proposed conference of American nations excluding the United States. He seemed much disappointed, reminding me that the Argentine Government in its answer to my note had taken an attitude of taking sides with the United States in a manner unprecedented in its history. He then asked me a great many questions as to the

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meaning of the State Department's answer; whether it meant that it disapproved of the conference *in toto* and whether it would have made any difference in the answer if the United States had been included in the invitation. I, of course, told him that he could interpret the meaning of the reply as well as I could myself, but that it did not seem necessary to suppose that it meant any more than it said. I adverted to the fact that there had appeared in the Buenos Aires press a telegram from Washington said to be given out by the Department to the effect that the United States would not take part in such a conference for fear of giving offense to the powers of the Entente. He said that that should not be the case, hinting strongly that the design of the Argentine Government in calling the conference was to line up the American republics with the attitude taken by President Wilson. I asked him whether he wished me to send any further question to my Government and he said that he would let me know to-day after conversing with the President.

STIMSON

File No. 862.20212/273

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *April 25, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received April 26, 2 a. m.*]

133. I have just had an hour's conversation with President-elect Carranza in the course of which I read to him paraphrases of your telegrams No. 123, April 21, 7 p. m., and 124, April 21, 8 p. m. He thinks it will be a good plan if the representatives of the Allied powers now in Washington, along with the preparation of plans for the prosecution of the war, could agree upon an outline of terms of peace; that these terms might be communicated through their diplomatic representatives in the United States to the Latin-American neutral powers who would act as mediators in their presentation to the German Government. He intimated that it might be possible, if these neutrals found the terms just and equitable, that in presenting them to Germany they might state that unless accepted these neutral nations would take sides with the Allies. He said that this was a thought which has occurred to him but that he did not wish to make the suggestion in any official way and asked me to telegraph it to you for such consideration as it might merit.

In the course of the conversation I explained to him fully the considerations which had driven us into the war and pointed out to him the danger which Mexico and other American nations would incur from an inconclusive peace, which would leave the military

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party in Germany as a standing menace to all nations who wished to work out their destinies in unarmed peace. I think he is coming to a juster appreciation of the great issues involved in the war and of Mexico's interest as affected thereby.

The Mexican Government receives every day by telegraph a synopsis of what is said in the leading papers of the United States relating to Mexico, and he complained of the misstatements and decidedly distrustful and hostile attitude of our leading papers with regard to Mexico in its relation to the war and asked me to endeavor to put things in their true light before the Department which he hoped might discourage the circulation of absurd and baseless stories about Mexico. He said that he was very much pleased with the interview I had given out yesterday and that it would have an excellent effect in reestablishing mutual confidence.

He stated that he would be very glad to receive any evidence or information we might have showing German activities tending to compromise Mexican neutrality, and that he would take immediate steps to frustrate them. He said that the recent taking over of various British railways was not to be regarded in any way as hostile to Great Britain or the enemies of Germany, but that such measures became necessary in connection with the activity of the various insurrectionary bands operating along those railways and for the safe movement of traffic.

I feel sure that Mr. Carranza fully realizes the desirability and necessity of Mexico maintaining strictly its neutrality.

His attitude was frank, cordial, and rather encouraging.

FLETCHER

File No. 763.72/4084

Memoranda of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State (Stabler)

April 21, 1917.

On Saturday, April 21, Mr. Ménos, the Haitian Minister, called at the Latin-American Division by appointment and informed Mr. Stabler that he had received a cable from his Government stating that the President of Haiti had held numerous conferences with General Cole, of the forces in occupation, in connection with Haiti's entrance into the war with Germany on the side of the United States; that General Cole had conveyed to the President a statement that it would be advisable for Haiti to take this step, but that the President, in view of possible opposition, desired to be assured of proper aid and assistance in case the Government of Haiti decided to break relations with Germany and declare war. Mr. Stabler said that he would immediately take up this matter with the Secre-

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tary who would then instruct him to answer Mr. Ménos' inquiry in the premises. Mr. Ménos said he would be glad to have this information as soon as possible.

April 24, 1917.

Mr. Stabler spoke with the Secretary this morning with reference to Mr. Ménos and requested to be informed as to whether the Government of the United States would give proper aid to the Government of Haiti, should she break off relations and declare war with Germany. Mr. Lansing instructed Mr. Stabler to state to Mr. Ménos that the United States would give all aid to Haiti in such eventuality.

As General Cole had cabled the Navy Department requesting the same information, Mr. Stabler asked Mr. Lansing if he was authorized to give the Navy Department the same information as Mr. Ménos in order that they might answer the cable. Mr. Lansing told Mr. Stabler he might do this.

Mr. Ménos called at the Department this afternoon at the request of Mr. Stabler and was informed by the latter that the United States would give all proper assistance to him in case of a declaration of war with Germany. Mr. Ménos asked what specific aid the United States might give. This Mr. Stabler said it was impossible at the moment to say as the question of furnishing aid was one which depended entirely upon the circumstances which might arise.

In speaking with Mr. Ménos Mr. Stabler, as is the custom, used the French language and informed him that the United States would give Haiti *tout appui* which he considered a correct translation of what the Secretary had instructed him to say. Mr. Ménos said would this mean in English "all proper assistance." Mr. Stabler said it would.

At the Pan American Union on the occasion of the reception by the Secretary of State to Mr. Balfour, Mr. Ménos spoke to Mr. Stabler and informed him that he had sent a telegram to his Government, based on a conversation he had had with Mr. Stabler, and had said that the United States would give *appui convenable* to Haiti, in case of her breaking off relations and declaring war. Mr. Stabler said that of course was one translation, but that as he had informed him, the translation should be *tout appui.*

File No. 763.72/4084

The Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *April 26, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

Pursuant to cable received from Minister Ménos stating that Department promised Haiti *appui convenable*, Minister for Foreign

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Affairs called to ask this Legation to ascertain precisely what support the United States would give to Haiti in the event of her declaring war against the Imperial German Government. Respectfully urge early reply.

BLANCHARD

File No. 763.72/4084

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 27, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your April 26, 3 p. m. Haitian Minister was informed that in eventuality mentioned the United States would give "all proper assistance." It is obvious that the form this might take would depend upon circumstances and such necessities as might arise, but generally speaking this Government would use every effort to prevent Haiti from suffering injury as a result of her action.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4167

The Secretary of the Navy (Daniels) to the Secretary of State

No. 28517
Op–23

WASHINGTON, *April 27, 1917.*

SIR: It is requested that the Navy Department be informed at the earliest possible moment after the change of relations between the United States and any foreign government has taken place. This information is highly desirable in order that the vessels on detached service in foreign countries can be informed and act in accordance therewith. This Department at the present time has not been informed officially by the Department of State regarding the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Turkey, and also as to whether the Department of State is expected to decline or accept the offer of the Costa Rican Government of its harbors and ports for use by the United States naval vessels.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS

File No. 763.72/4415

The Guatemalan Minister (Méndez) to the Secretary of State

[Copies of the following translations of telegrams exchanged between the Guatemalan Minister at Washington and President Estrada Cabrera of Guatemala, were left by the Minister at the Department of State on April 27, 1917.]

WASHINGTON, *April 25, 1917.*

THE PRESIDENT, GUATEMALA: The Secretary of State in behalf of the President, appreciating and highly thankful for your good will,

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suggests that, in the presence of German plots which endanger the safety and independence of Central America and in the community of the principles proclaimed by the United States, Guatemala sever relations with the Imperial German Government and place its waters, harbors, and railroads at the disposal of the United States to be used in the mutual defence of both countries.

JOAQUÍN MÉNDEZ

GUATEMALA, *April 26, 1917.*

THE MINISTER OF GUATEMALA, WASHINGTON: Replying to your cablegram of yesterday, it affords me pleasure to say to you that without any prompting and in the most spontaneous manner all that you suggest in your cablegram is done. All that is wanting is that you ask of the Department of State of the United States that in communications made to you there and to Minister Leavell here at the same time, it be pleased to tell us that it accepts and agrees to our participation and what are the terms of defensive alliance. I understand, as I already said to you in a letter, that an exchange of notes of receipt will suffice for this.

MANUEL ESTRADA CABRERA

File No. 763.72/3971

The Secretary of State to the Guatemalan Minister (Méndez)

No. 70 WASHINGTON, *April 28, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of April 18,[1] transmitting a copy of a memorandum expressing your Government's desire to cooperate with the United States in its activities occasioned by the state of war existing between the United States and Germany, which memorandum was handed to the American Minister at Guatemala City by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala.

You quote from a letter in which the President of Guatemala requests you to ascertain how he can best support the United States in this conflict, and you offer me your services in reporting to your President and Government all that may contribute to the fulfilment of Guatemala's wish to uphold this Government in its efforts to achieve a just peace.

In reply I beg to say that your note and its enclosure have been read with profound gratification, and to request you to convey to the President of Guatemala this Government's high appreciation of his valued assistance and warm reciprocation of his sentiments of friendship.

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[1] *Ante*, p. 257.

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Thanking you for your courteous offer of your services in communicating the wishes of the United States to the President of Guatemala, which it will afford me pleasure to avail myself of when occasion shall arise, I avail myself [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

File No. 862.85/58

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 29, 1917, 11 a. m.*

Ascertain and cable attitude of Cuban Government toward disposing of German vessels to the United States which are understood to have been seized by that Government, and if these vessels are not seized what the attitude of the Cuban Government will be toward seizing or requisitioning them.

If Cuba is willing to dispose of these vessels the United States Shipping Board recommends the following method of procedure:

(A)

It should be suggested that Cuba take the following steps, by proper legislation or order:

(1) Authorize her proper officials to seize the vessels, and on proof that they are of enemy nationality, assume title thereto on behalf of the Cuban Government.

(2) Provide by appropriate legislation for a board of competent appraisers (who need not be citizens of Cuba), to be appointed by the President of Cuba, to assess their present value (unaffected by seizure or prospect of seizure by the Government), and report the same to the President of Cuba.

(3) Authorize the President of Cuba to sell the ships to the United States, at a price not less than that fixed by the board of appraisers.

(B)

Congress should be requested to authorize the United States Shipping Board, with the consent of the President, to purchase vessels from the Cuban Government, at a reasonable price to be determined by the Shipping Board.

(C)

The Shipping Board should make a formal offer to buy the ships from the Cuban Government, on the following terms:

(1) The vessels to be delivered immediately;

(2) The Board to pay the Cuban Government the price determined upon by the Cuban Board of Appraisers (provided the personnel of the board is first approved by the Shipping Board), plus all reasonable and necessary expenses incurred in the seizure, condemnation, and sale, with interest from the date of delivery.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72/4282

The Panaman Minister (Porras) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 30, 1917.*
[*Received May 1.*]

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transcribe to your excellency the cablegram I have received from my Government respecting the commission of which Messrs. Eusebio A. Morales and Julio Arjona Q., are members and I am President, to the end that your excellency may have notice of the powers amply given me in regard to the cooperation of Panama with your excellency's Government in the war against the Imperial German Government.

That cablegram amplifies the powers conferred upon Messrs. Morales and Arjona and qualifies them to negotiate with your excellency in all that Panama may do as an ally and friend.

The cablegram reads as follows:

Government vests you as President, commission with power to represent Panama discussion war measures for protection Canal Panama territory. Report whether commission has been received by Secretary of State or when it will be.

I beg your excellency to accept [etc.] BELISARIO PORRAS

Severance of Relations with Germany by Guatemala, April 27—Settlement of the "Monte Protegido" Case between Argentina and Germany—Argentine Invitation, May 9, to the Latin-American States for a Conference; Attitude of the United States—Severance of Relations with Germany by Honduras, May 17; by Nicaragua, May 19

File No. 763.72/7781

The Guatemalan Minister (Méndez) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 27, 1917.*
[*Received May 1.*]

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have just received the following cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guatemala:

Minister Méndez, Legation of Guatemala, Washington. The Government of Guatemala to-day broke off relations with the German Empire, handing his passports to Minister Lehmann and canceling the exequaturs of the German Consul accredited to Guatemala. Advise the American Government. Toledo H[errarte].

In communicating the action of my Government to your excellency, I take pleasure in reiterating that Guatemala, from the first, has adhered to and supported the attitude of the United States in the

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defense of the rights of nations, the liberty of the seas, and of international justice, and that it has always considered itself in unity with your great nation in the lofty principles which it has so wisely proclaimed for the good of humanity.

Therefore, Guatemala takes the greatest pleasure in offering to the United States of America her territorial waters, her ports and railways for use in common defense, as also all elements which may be available for the same purpose.

I avail myself [etc.] JOAQUÍN MÉNDEZ

File No. 763.72/4110

The Secretary of State to the Guatemalan Minister (Méndez)

No. 72 WASHINGTON, *May 1, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note dated April 28 [*27*], 1917, in which you inform me that your Government on April 27 broke off relations with the Imperial German Empire, handing his passports to Minister Lehmann and canceling the exequaturs of the German consuls in Guatemala.

In communicating the action taken by your Government, you express gratification in reiterating that from the first Guatemala has adhered to and supported the attitude of the United States in the defense of the principles of international law, of the rights of nations, and the freedom of the seas; that it has always considered itself in unity with the United States in the principles which this Government has proclaimed for the good of humanity, and that Guatemala, therefore, takes great pleasure in offering to the United States of America her territorial waters, her ports, and railways for use in common defense, as also all elements which may be available for the same purpose.

In reply I have the honor to state that this step on the part of the Government of Guatemala, in defense of the principles of international law and the rights of humanity, as also in safeguarding the independence of Central America, marks a new era in the relationship between the American peoples, and the Government of the United States has received the information of the action of the Government of Guatemala with deep gratitude and appreciation.

I have the honor to state that the Government of the United States accepts with gratitude the friendly offer of the Government of Guatemala to place at its disposition its territorial waters, ports and railway communication, for the purpose of carrying out its plans for common defense, and assures the Government of Guatemala of its lasting friendship and earnest and steadfast support.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

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File No. 763.72/3856

The Secretary of State to the Bolivian Minister (Calderon)

No. 46 WASHINGTON, *May 1, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of April 14,[1] by which you inform me that on the previous day your Government delivered his passports to the German Minister at La Paz and declared its diplomatic relations with the German Government to be discontinued.

Your statement that your Government not only took this action as a protest against Germany's illegal submarine warfare, but declared that in this matter it stood with the United States in defense of the rights of neutrals, is profoundly gratifying to this Government, which warmly appreciates the supporting attitude of Bolivia, evidencing as it does that Bolivia, inspired by the same motives that moved the United States, desires no less than the United States, to see maintained a strict observance of the principles of peace and justice and a due regard for the rights of mankind.

Requesting that you will assure your Government of the high value which the United States attaches to its friendly attitude, I avail myself [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72/4213

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *May 1, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[Received 3.45 p. m.]

Socialist party by close majorities voted yesterday against intervention in the war, whereupon leaders resigned.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72111N39/55

The Chargé in Brazil (Benson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 1, 1917, noon.*
[Received 9.45 p. m.]

Presidential decree No. 12458 of the Government of Brazil dated April 25, 1917, and published in the *Diario Official* of April 29, resolves that—

until further orders to the contrary shall be issued the rules set forth in the circular which accompanied decree No. 11037 of Au-

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[1] *Ante*, p. 253.

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gust 4, 1914 shall be observed and Brazilian authorities shall comply therewith during the present state of war between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government.

See Embassy's despatch No. 423 of August 11, 1914.[1]

BENSON

File No. 763.72/4167

The Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy (Daniels)

WASHINGTON, *May 2, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of April 27, 1917, relative to the offer made by the *de facto* Government of Costa Rica through its representative in Washington of the harbors and ports of that Republic for the use of the United States in the prosecution of war against Germany.

In reply to your inquiry in this connection I have the honor to inform you that due to the fact that no recognition has been accorded the Tinoco government in Costa Rica by the Government of the United States, no action has been taken upon the offer to which reference is made.

I have [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
FRANK L. POLK
Counselor

File No. 763.72/4327a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Salvador (Long)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 2, 1917, 6 p. m.*

You are informed that on April 27 last the Government of Guatemala severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Empire, handing the Minister and his entourage their passports and canceling the exequaturs of German consuls in Guatemala. The Guatemalan Government has offered the use of her ports, territorial waters, and railway communications to the Government of the United States in the conduct of war with Germany, which offer the United States Government has accepted with gratitude, and has assured Guatemala of its support.

Repeat to Managua, Tegucigalpa, and San José.

LANSING

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[1] Not printed.

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File No. 763.72/4279

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *May 2, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received 11.30 p. m.*]

Press reports that Germany has agreed to indemnify Argentina for loss of sailing vessel *Monte Protegido* and will salute the Argentine flag.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/4321

The Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *May 3, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

Minister for Foreign Affairs called to ask if, in eventuality mentioned in my April 26, 3 p. m.[1] at conclusion of war the great powers would intervene in favor of admission of Haiti to the peace congress, stating that an affirmative reply would enable the Government to win over certain opposition which the bureaus of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies report to be existing in the National Assembly. Respectfully urge early reply.

BLANCHARD

File No. 838.032/28

The Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *May 4, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 8.30 p. m.*]

National Assembly met to-day; war message of the President of Haiti read, discussed, and referred to committee for report.

BLANCHARD

File No. 763.72/4391

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *May 5, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 3.15 p. m.*]

My May 2, 7 p. m. Administration exultant over their "diplomatic victory" over Germany caused by the firm attitude of Argen-

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[1] *Ante*, p. 267.

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tina which *La Epoca* says, extorted a reparation which the German Government would not accord to the United States and "places Argentina again at the head of South-American nations." Reply of Argentine Government accepting German Government's promise of monetary reparation and salute to flag was cabled to Berlin last night and closes with "ratifying the friendly sentiments which have always existed between the two countries."

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/4321

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 5, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your May 3, 3 p. m. You will immediately call upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs and inform him that the Government of the United States has been closely watching the attitude of the Government of Haiti with reference to the present situation and wishes that Government to understand that it must decide promptly whether or not Haiti will align herself with the United States, France, and other great powers in the fight for humanity in the present world-wide conflict.

You will also make it clear that any action by Haiti, such as has been recommended by its President to the National Assembly, must be done immediately in order to be beneficial and to be appreciated by the other nations.

Further delay on the part of Haiti would tend to place her in a difficult position as neutral countries must depend upon their own resources in time of war.

You will inform General Cole of the receipt of this telegram and will show it to him.

POLK

File No. 763.72/4434

The Minister in Honduras (Ewing) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

TEGUCIGALPA, *May 7, 1917, noon.*
[Received 5 p. m.]

In an interview with the President of the Republic, Saturday, I received assurance of Honduran cooperation in every way possible without violation of treaty of Washington which Honduras considers as obligating her to be the last of Central-American states to become belligerent. The President stated that Honduras has not made any alliance and will not unless with the United States.

EWING

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File No. 763.72/4495

The Venezuelan Minister (Domínici) to the Secretary of State

[A copy of the following extract from the message of Provisional President Marquez Bustillos of Venezuela to the National Congress, was handed by the Minister to the Secretary of State on May 8, 1917.]

There has been no interruption in our diplomatic relations with the nations whose friendship we have always cultivated, and we are at peace with all. We have adjusted our conduct to the precepts of international law by maintaining the strictest neutrality in the gigantic struggle in which for nearly three years the great European nations have been engaged, and no one can reproach us with the slightest violation of our duty as neutrals. In conformity with this line of conduct, when on February 23 of this year the German Legation by order of its Government informed our Foreign Office of the unusual extension that said Government had resolved to give submarine warfare in open disregard of the practices accepted until now, it was answered that Venezuela would adjust its conduct to the principles of international law regulating the rights and duties of neutrals. Until now nothing has taken place whereby we have directly suffered in consequence of the operations of the German submarines; we have not found ourselves, therefore, involved in the complications that have forced the United States to go to war against the German Empire. Venezuela, consistent with its policy of respect to right, preserves unimpaired the right of defending the life and property of its citizens and follows the course of events with a solicitous regard growing out of the principles in the defense of which the United States has entered the war, as well as on account of the traditional friendship which binds it to this nation and the general interests common to the republics of the continent.

File No. 763.72119/590

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *May 9, 1917, 9 p. m.*
[Received May 10, 4 a. m.]

Local cable office received a letter for the Panaman Minister for Foreign Affairs from the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs suggesting a meeting of the nations of America for the purpose of procuring an understanding about the war and of formulating a uniform decision concerning it. He states that the idea has been accepted by Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. Expression from Panama is requested. Please cable what is meant by it and what you would have Panama say in replying.

PRICE

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File No. 763.72119/592

The Minister in Honduras (Ewing) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

TEGUCIGALPA, *May 10, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 6.30 p. m.*]

Last night the Minister for Foreign Affairs received telegram from the Argentine Republic inviting Honduran Government to participate in a consultation to determine Latin-American joint action regarding war policy. Honduras accepts understanding that united support of United States is contemplated.

EWING

File No. 763.72119/596

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *May 11, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received midnight.*]

Supplementing my May 11, 3 p. m.[1] Salvador's reply same as Honduras's. Nicaragua simply applauds the initiative. Guatemala [accepts?] in principle and states that it will appoint a delegate as soon as details are known.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/4548

The Minister in Nicaragua (Jefferson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MANAGUA, *May 10, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 9 p. m.*]

President Chamorro called me for consultation this morning with reference to cablegram received by him from Chargé d'Affaires Cuadra informing him that the Department had indicated to him its desire that Nicaragua pass a similar decree to Guatemala's, concerning her attitude towards Germany. Please confirm at once by cable and briefly outline main points Department wishes embodied in decree in order that President Chamorro may submit it to Congress.

Nicaraguan Congress will probably adjourn next week.

JEFFERSON

File No. 763.72/4548

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Nicaragua (Jefferson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 11, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your May 10, 3 p. m. You are instructed to inform President Chamorro that this Government would view with gratification such

[1] Not printed.

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action on the part of Nicaragua as has been taken by Guatemala. Guatemala's action was outlined to you in Department's telegram of May 2, 6 p. m., repeated to you by the Legation at San Salvador.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4574

The Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *May 11, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 9 p. m.*]

My May 4, 3 p. m. National Assembly this noon unanimously adopted report of committee recommending that Executive power be authorized, first, to protest in the name of humanity against German submarine warfare; secondly, to hold the German Government responsible for the lives and interests of Haitian citizens traveling upon the high seas, to demand, if occasion arises, reparation and guaranties; thirdly, to adopt a benevolent policy towards the United States of America and to sever, if there be need, diplomatic relations with the German Empire.

BLANCHARD

File No. 763.72119/592

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Honduras (Ewing)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 12, 1917, 2 p. m.*

Your May 10, 2 p. m. You may discreetly inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras that a fortnight ago the American Ambassador to Buenos Aires reported to the Department that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic had approached him stating that his Government proposed to call a conference of American nations to discuss a policy regarding the war but that he desired to know what would be the attitude of the Government of the United States towards this conference, adding that inasmuch as the United States was a belligerent power it of course would not be included in this invitation. The Department instructed the Ambassador to inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine that it was obviously impossible for the Government of the United States to make any expression of its views particularly at this time.

You may also inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs that, inasmuch as the Republic of Cuba has declared war against Germany, that the Republic of Panama has severed relations with Germany and placed itself side by side with the United States in cooperation during the war, that as the Government of Guatemala and the

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Government of Brazil have broken relations with Germany, that the Government of Bolivia has done likewise, it would appear that such a conference as that outlined by the Argentine Republic could not be considered as representing Latin-American feeling, as many nations had already outlined their policy.

You may also intimate to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that this Government is regarding with the most careful scrutiny the attitude of the Government of Honduras at this time and will continue to so regard her future action.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/590

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 12, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your May 9, 9 p. m., and May 11, (?) a. m.[1] The Ambassador at Buenos Aires has reported to the Department that in February of this year the Government of the Argentine made overtures to certain Latin-American nations in an endeavor to call a peace conference to be held at Buenos Aires. After the breaking of relations by the United States with Germany the proposal of the Argentine Government to hold a peace conference was abandoned and it was said she was endeavoring to call a commercial conference of American nations. Later the Ambassador reported that the Government of the Argentine had informed him that it was desired to call in Buenos Aires a conference of the nations of America to decide upon what course should be pursued in the present war.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine asked the American Ambassador to ascertain the views of the Government of the United States in regard to this conference, saying that as the United States was now a belligerent it would not be included in the invitation to attend the conference.

In reply the Ambassador was instructed to inform the Government of the Argentine Republic that it was obviously impossible for the Government of the United States to give any expression of its views at the present time. The Ambassador reported that this reply was disappointing to the Government of the Argentine and nothing further has been heard by this Government regarding the conference.

It is suggested that the Government of Panama reply to the Government of the Argentine that its decision in regard to the war has already been made, that it has broken off relations with Germany

[1] The latter not printed.

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and placed itself on the side of the United States for cooperation in the war.

You are informed that the Department understands that neither the Government of Cuba nor the Government of Brazil looks favorably upon this proposed conference.

This Government desires that Panama take the action outlined above and that it have no participation in this conference.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/599

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *May 14, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 8.30 p. m.*]

Supplementing my May 11, 11 p. m. Costa Rica accepts and applauds, and by another telegram to Amaral Murtinho, Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs asks him accept appointment as her delegate if not incompatible.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/4282

The Secretary of State to the Panaman Minister (Porras)

WASHINGTON, *May 15, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 30th ultimo in which you quote a cablegram from your Government appointing you as President of the Panaman Commission to the United States with power to represent Panama in the discussion of war measures for the protection of the canal and Panaman territory.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72/4663

The Minister in Haiti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *May 15, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 2.35 p. m.*]

Foreign Office notifies this Legation that pursuant to resolution adopted by National Assembly, as reported in my May 11, 3 p. m., it has telegraphed to the Haitian representative in Berlin recommending to him to ask for his passports if he does not obtain a satisfactory response from the Imperial German Government.

BLANCHARD

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File No. 763.72119/587½

The Argentine Ambassador (Naón) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *May 17, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: As I promised you this morning, I have the pleasure of sending to you a paraphrase of the cable received by me to-day. As I stated to you, I am most interested in discussing this subject thoroughly and if the President and you yourself would think advisable, I would be very glad and highly honored to pay a visit to the President with that object in view.

As I stated to you this morning the most earnest desire both of my Government and of myself would be completely to remove any misunderstanding, no matter how slight it might be, that may have arisen by the initiative to which that cable refers. I beg you to advise me whether an interview with the President could be arranged.

With my kindest regards [etc.] R. S. NAÓN

[Enclosure]

Paraphrase of Telegram Received by the Argentine Embassy

The Argentine Embassy has received official information in regard to a meeting of the American nations at the initiative of the Argentine Government with the purpose of trying to come to an understanding between them on the occasion of the present war and its aggravation from day to day. The Argentine Government thinks that the American nations should concrete an uniform judgment in that regard, bringing into realization the earnest desire of establishing ties capable of strengthening their situation and personality in the general concert of the nations. The idea has been accepted by Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua, San Salvador, Ecuador, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Haiti, and the Department of Foreign Affairs is expecting the responses of the other nations in order to propose the date for the international meeting. The Argentine Government will be desirous to know the thought of the Government of the United States about this initiative and thinks that it is most interesting that it realizes the true spirit and purposes of such a meeting, lending to it its moral adherence.

The fact that the Government of the United States of America was already in war with Germany when the idea of this meeting was initiated was the reason why it did not receive the same invitation sent to the other American nations.

It is unnecessary to say that in initiating this idea the Argentine Government has not been prompted in any way or shape whatsoever to separate itself from its traditional policy toward the United States which has always been consequent [*sic*] and frank. The most con-

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stant cordiality and friendship of our relations with the American people as well as our plain recognition of the justice of its position publicly stated when the state of war with Germany was declared, are facts conclusive enough to prove that any act initiated or seconded by the Argentine Government can not be interpreted as in any way unfriendly by it toward the United States.

File No. 763.72119/606

The Venezuelan Minister (Dominici) to the Secretary of State

[A copy of the following reply of the Venezuelan Government to the Government of Argentina, was handed by the Minister to the Secretary of State on May 17, 1917.]

[*File copy undated*]

I am in receipt of the courteous information conveyed by your excellency that the Government of the Argentine Republic has taken the initiative for a conference, the object of which is to reach an understanding among the nations of America because of the present war. My Government sincerely appreciates your excellency's courteous communication, but at the same time has the honor to inform you that, notwithstanding its warm sympathy for everything that might tend to strengthen the bonds of American solidarity, it can not accept the invitation, as the cooperation of Venezuela towards the realization of the idea initiated by the Argentine Republic is not within the line of conduct which from the beginning of the war my Government has resolved to follow.

[File copy not signed]

File No. 763.72/13420

Memorandum of the Counselor for the Department of State (Polk)

[Extract]

May 17, 1917.

On May 15 the Brazilian Ambassador read me despatches from his President and from his Minister of Foreign Affairs bearing on the future attitude of Brazil in this war. The gist of both messages was that Brazil was prepared to abandon its position of neutrality towards Germany. One note stated that they would be willing to grant our warships the right to refit in their ports, and the Brazilian Government might take over a portion of the patrol of the northern coast of Brazil. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs put it, Brazil would give their moral, economic, and political support to the United States in exchange for some trade guaranties and for some agreement, not necessarily a treaty, covering the position that this Government would take in case Germany should later consider Brazil an enemy as a result of this action.

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The Ambassador said he realized that it would be difficult to be specific as to what this Government would do to protect Brazil in case of attack by Germany, but he would like to bring the matter up for discussion and consideration. I asked him what he meant by trade guaranties, and in substance they mean that this Government would see they continued to receive from the United States necessary supplies, particularly wheat and coal, and that shipping used in trade with Brazil would not be withdrawn for use in transatlantic trade to a degree that would seriously embarrass Brazil. I asked him if he had any details as to the amount of shipping and foodstuffs and merchandise they would require. He said he had not but would make some investigations and let me know. He said that he had received this telegram last week, and he would like to have some sort of message to send his Government this week. . . .

The Ambassador returned to-day and said that although he did not yet have information as to food supplies necessary, he would like to have some message to send his Government as they were holding Congress until they could get a reply from us.

F[RANK] L. P[OLK]

File No. 763.72/4723

The Minister in Honduras (Ewing) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

TEGUCIGALPA, *May 17, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 9 p. m.*]

The President to-day decrees adherence to United States and diplomatic relations with the German Government broken, followed by second decree regarding public safety declaring Republic in *estado de sitio.*

EWING

File No. 763.72/4762

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 18, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received May 19, 3 a. m.*]

Minister for Foreign Affairs has received me cordially, and has shown copy of telegram from Da Gama [1] received to-day, stating that Department is very favorable to Brazil's cooperation with the United States as suggested during Ambassador's recent interview with Secretary Lansing.

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[1] Brazilian Ambassador at Washington.

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Minister intimates that if satisfactory cooperation can be effected his Government will revoke neutrality decree reported in Embassy's May 5 [*1*], noon [1] and take other measures which we may suggest.

Please acquaint yourself with naval attaché's telegram of to-day's date to Naval Intelligence Office. His suggestion regarding German interned ships if accepted will increase the probability of Brazil's entrance into the war.[2]

MORGAN

File No. 763.72/4858

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 22, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received May 23, 10.35 a. m.*]

President of Brazil sent to Congress this afternoon the following message:

Gentlemen of the National Congress: In the message which I sent to the National Congress on the 3d of the present month, I stated that I had issued decree No. 12458 of the 25th of April last relative to the neutrality to be observed by Brazil in view of the existing state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government.

I issued this decree, although commercial and diplomatic relations with Germany had been suspended in accordance with decree No. 11037 of August 4, 1914, which set forth the international agreements of the two conventions at The Hague to which Brazil had been a party, defining the rights and duties of neutral powers and persons, but avoiding in this document the terms used in previous acts of this nature and directing only that the Brazilian authorities observe and comply with the rules of neutrality until such a time as they should be otherwise directed.

The government could go no further; but the Brazilian people through their vested legislative authority can, without bellicose intentions but with firmness, take into consideration the fact that one of the belligerents is an integral part of the American continent and that with this belligerent we are united by a traditional friendship and by the same political ideals in the defense of the vital interests of America and the principles of international law.

This has been the universal principle to which Brazil has adhered. The Republic remains faithful to the uninterrupted traditions of its foreign policy; to-day it can not repudiate the idea which inspired the note of protest of the Empire of Brazil, bearing the date of May 15, 1866, when a European squadron bombarded a South American city.

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[1] *Ante*, p. 273.

[2] This telegram reads: "Brazil unable repair interned merchant vessels. Suggest purchase or charter. . . ." (File No. 763.72/4762.)

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Our tenet then was this: That the nations of this continent, whose wealth and population are spread over extensive and undefined coast-line, require more than others that the principles of modern civilization shall be maintained and shall constitute their most efficient protection.

Emphasizing finally that the policy of continental solidarity is not a policy of this epoch of government nor of this régime but a traditional policy of the Brazilian nation, I submit the case to the judgment of the National Congress, convinced that if perchance any resolution is adopted it will strengthen more than before the happy understanding which exists between Brazil and the United States.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72119/607

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *May 22, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received May 23, 3 a. m.]

Your telegram May 12, 5 p. m. Panaman Minister for Foreign Affairs answers Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day:

I have the honor to inform your excellency that the line of conduct observed by my Government respecting the war has been clear and unequivocal. Relations were broken with Germany and common cause made with the United States, offering them all cooperation. These circumstances virtually exclude the Republic of Panama from the reunion which your excellency proposes to convoke and with respect to which you courteously solicit our ideas.

PRICE

File No. 862.85/73

The Minister in Cuba (Gonzales) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HABANA, *May 24, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 1.15 p. m.]

Your May 22, 7 p. m.[1] German ships, as previously explained, have been seized and taken possession of by Government of Cuba. They are prizes of war. There is no title of transference. President Menocal says Cuban Government is not considering making money out of these ships and does not care sell to shipping companies. If the United States wishes to use them it can have them on any terms it wishes. If not he will have them used in trade between United

[1] Not printed; see telegram of Apr. 29, 1917, 11 a. m., to the Minister, *ante*, p. 270.

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States and Cuba. He has offers near quarter million dollars per month rental.

GONZALES

File No. 763.72/4893

The Chargé in Costa Rica (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SAN JOSÉ, *May 24, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

Yesterday *de facto* President summoned ex-Presidents, President Constitutional Assembly, and Cabinet to confer on the question of break with Germany. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of War, and the President Constitutional Assembly were in favor of immediate break without waiting for recognition, but it was finally decided that dignity of the country was inconsistent with such action. As indicated in previous telegram, it is plainly intimated that break would be made in case of recognition from us.

JOHNSON

File No. 763.72/4905

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

No. 1384 PANAMA, *May 11, 1917.*
[*Received May 25.*]

SIR: I have the honor to report that a most satisfactory meeting was held last Monday afternoon at the summer home of the President of Panama for a general talk and conference relating to measures for the proper defense of Panama and the Canal Zone, and to the situation generally, incidental to the war with Germany.

The meeting was held pursuant to my suggestion to the military authorities of the Canal Zone, and in making the suggestion I had the idea in view that such a conference, from time to time, would serve to add very materially to the interest and enthusiasm of the Panaman officials. The suggestion was very heartily accepted by Brig. Gen. E. H. Plummer, Commanding General of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone, and it was equally acceptable to the Panaman authorities when I took the matter up with them after General Plummer concurred in it. I enclose a copy of my note making the suggestion.[1]

The Department will remember from my despatches prior to this we have had conferences at my suggestion, but this one was on a larger scale with more officials formally invited.

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[1] Not printed.

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General Plummer called to the conference the Governor of the Panama Canal; Commander Cone, the Marine Superintendent of the Canal; Capt. H. D. Mitchell, Chief of the Canal Zone Police and Detective Service; Maj. Oliver Edwards of the Staff of the Commanding General; Capt. Chas. E. T. Lull, who has succeeded Major Edwards as intelligence officer; Maj. J. K. Miller, the Provost Marshal, and Maj. H. A. White, the Judge Advocate on the Staff of the Commanding General. The Secretary of the Legation, Mr. Curtis, accompanied me and I also asked Mr. Alban G. Snyder, the American Consul General here. President Valdez and all his Cabinet were present with the exception of Sr. Dr. Morales, who is in Washington, and in addition there were present Sr. Ernesto Arias, the Captain of the Port of Panama; Sr. Rodolfo Estripeaut, the Commandante of the National Police of Panama; the Governor of the Province of Panama, and the Mayor of this city.

I opened the conference by stating the general object of it, chiefly that of conferring for the purpose of better and more effective cooperation, and stating to President Valdez that we would be most pleased to hear from him and to have any suggestions that might occur to him, saying incidentally that his knowledge of local conditions in the Republic of Panama was, of course, much better than we could have and also highly valuable. The President responded that they stood ready and willing to do their best and to cooperate with us to the extent of their ability, and very gratifyingly stated that they preferred to defer to our military authorities for all plans of defense of a military nature, on account of their better acquaintance with the subject.

The matter of the development of agriculture in the Republic and of improving the food supply was discussed at some length; the question of adopting a censorship of the mails, which had already been taken up with the Foreign Office of Panama; the matter of adopting the registration, similar to that being carried on in the ports of the Canal Zone for people who might be going and coming in small vessels that touched in Panaman ports, were all taken up and full accord was found on the part of the Panamans.

General Plummer agreed to transmit in writing suggestions relating to the matters mentioned and methods akin to them.

The meeting was a very harmonious one, and I am sure productive of much good.

I have [etc.] WM. JENNINGS PRICE

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File No. 763.72119/608

The Secretary of State to the Diplomatic Representatives in Central and South America, except Argentina, Mexico, Panama, Cuba, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic

[Circular telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 25, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Bring to attention of Government to which you are accredited following telegram sent by Department to Embassy at Buenos Aires, April 22 last:

[Here follows the text of telegram printed on page 263.]

For your own information and discreet use should occasion arise, the Department, after careful consideration, does not consider that such a conference would serve any useful purpose at this time.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/615

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *May 25, 1917, 4 p. m.*

[*Received 7.30 p. m.*]

Supplementing my May 11, 11 p. m.[1] Nicaraguan Minister for Foreign Affairs now cables Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs as follows:

Referring again to the attentive cablegram of your excellency of May 9, relative to the coming reunion of American nations, I am pleased to communicate the acceptance of my Government, availing myself of the opportunity to inform you of the policy adopted here in favor of United States.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/4918

The Nicaraguan Chargé (Cuadra Zavala) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *May 19, 1917.*

[*Received May 26.*]

SIR: I have the honor to communicate to your excellency that I have received cable instructions from the President of Nicaragua in which he directs me to inform you that last night the Congress of

[1] *Ante*, p. 278.

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Nicaragua passed a resolution by the terms of which relations have now ceased between the Government of Nicaragua and the Imperial Government of Germany, and which also authorized the Executive of Nicaragua to offer to the Government of the United States, for the use of the present war, the ports and territorial waters of Nicaragua. It affords me personally much pleasure to perform this duty because it not only gives additional proof of the friendship of Nicaragua for the United States, but also because I am glad to see my Government thus aiding in the struggle for liberty and democracy which the United States is now so nobly conducting.

With renewed assurances [etc.] JOAQUIN CUADRA Z[AVALA]

File No. 763.72/4942

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 26, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received May 27, 5.10 a. m.*]

Embassy's telegram of May 22, 6 p. m.[1] President Braz sent the following message to Congress this afternoon:

I submit to your consideration with the accompanying authenticated documents the information received from the Brazilian Legation in Paris, regarding the sinking by a German submarine of another Brazilian merchant steamer. The Brazilian nation is fully aware of the attitude which the Government adopted upon receiving from Germany the declaration that she intended to establish a blockade by submarines of the west, as well as of a part of the southern, coast of Europe, thereby curtailing the freedom of the seas and extending indiscriminately to all parts of the world war in its most violent form. The Brazilian Government at that time presented its protest and upon the occasion of the torpedoing of the *Paraná* broke diplomatic and commercial relations with Germany. The torpedoing of a second ship, without warning, and the fear that our fleet and our foreign trade will continue to suffer, obliges the Government to resort to measures of defence, upon the nature of which the National Congress will decide. The members of the Government, in bringing this matter to the attention of Congress, do not seek to evade responsibility or to refrain from expressing an opinion thereon. They believe that the employment of the merchant ships of German nationality anchored in Brazilian ports is urgently necessary apart from any idea of seizure, which would not accord with the spirit of our legislation and would be at variance with the general feeling throughout the country. The employment of such ships is warranted by the principles of the Hague convention of October 18, 1907. These vessels would be held as compensation until it should be proved that they constitute private property (which even in time of war should be respected and which Brazil will respect), or that they are the property of companies of an official nature or under official supervision.

[1] Not printed.

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In any case it appears to this Government that measures should be taken immediately to safeguard the public interest and the dignity of the nation. MORGAN

File No. 763.72/4962

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 28, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received May 29, 3.30 a. m.*]

Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, in accordance with recommendation of its Foreign Relations Committee, passed to-day a resolution authorizing this Government to withdraw the neutrality decree of April 25 last.

In order to indicate the solidarity Brazil and the United States and to emphasize the cordiality of relationship, the revocation of the neutrality decree affecting the Allies has been postponed but will probably be considered in connection with congressional action upon the President's message reported in Embassy's telegram of May 26, 6 p. m. MORGAN

File No. 763.72/4984

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 29, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 6.30 p. m.*]

Foreign Relations Committee of Brazilian Chamber has recommended that Congress authorize the Executive power to utilize German merchant vessels anchored in Brazilian ports; also to take measures to defend Brazilian foreign commerce, arranging the matter with friendly nations so as to assure freedom of importation and exportation, revoking for this purpose present neutrality decrees when such action may be expedient.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72/5016

The Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs (Vásquez) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

TEGUCIGALPA, *May 17, 1917.*
[*Received May 31.*]

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to inform your excellency—

that, in view of the conflict that has sprung up between the United States and the Government of the German Empire, the Government of Honduras, impelled by the cordial friendship exist-

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ing between Honduras and the United States of America, by their common interests and the sentiment of American solidarity, has resolved to join the cause upheld by your excellency's Government in that conflict. It therefore tenders its decided cooperation in every possible way and further declares that if your excellency's Government deems it suitable to enter upon a convention on that subject, the Government of this Republic will forthwith instruct its Minister at Washington to that effect.

Trusting that your excellency's Government will accept this spontaneous declaration, my Government even now assumes the attitude which befits the situation.

This declaration was communicated to-day to the American Legation at this Capital with a request that it be cabled to your excellency's Government.

I cherish the hope that the attitude taken by the Government of this Republic will be acceptable to your excellency's Government as a token of the sincere and loyal friendship maintained by Honduras with the United States of America.

It gives me [etc.] MARIANO VÁSQUEZ

File No. 811.33/124

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *June 1, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 11.30 p. m.*]

Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs advises that if American Fleet, which is reported to be in South Atlantic, should call at port of Montevideo, it will be received as a friend and not as a belligerent by the Uruguayan Government.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/4918

The Secretary of State to the Nicaraguan Chargé (Cuadra Zavala)

No. 36 WASHINGTON, *June 2, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of May 19,[1] in which you state that you are instructed by the President of Nicaragua to inform me that the Nicaraguan Congress has passed a resolution severing the relations of the Nicaraguan Government with the Imperial German Government, and has authorized him to offer to the Government of the United States the use of the ports and territorial waters of Nicaragua during the present war.

In reply I have the honor to say that it affords me pleasure to accept, on behalf of this Government, your Government's highly

[1] *Ante*, p. 289.

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valued offer. I beg to request that you will convey to President Chamorro this Government's thanks for, and high appreciation of, the aid thus extended by his administration, and my heartfelt gratification at the new bonds of amity thus added to the ties of friendship that so happily exist between the two Governments.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72119/625

The Minister in Haïti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *June 2, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 2.10 p. m.*]

Your May 25, 4 p. m. Minister for Foreign Affairs states that Haitian Government has been approached regarding conference and will reply, expressing regret that in view of the financial situation of the Republic of Haiti it will be unable to be represented at the conference.

BLANCHARD

Revocation by Brazil, June 2, of the Decree of Neutrality as between the United States and Germany; Seizure of German Ships in Brazilian Ports—Severance of Relations with Germany by Haiti, June 17—Opening of the Ports and Waters of Uruguay to American Naval Forces

File No. 763.72/5070

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 2, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 3.15 p. m.*]

Brazilian Senate passed yesterday, in the form received from the Chamber, bill revoking decree of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany and authorizing the Government to utilize interned German merchant vessels. The decrees of neutrality relating to the other Allies remain unaltered. President signed bill last night and the act is already in force.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72119/627

The Minister in Bolivia (O'Rear) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LA PAZ, *June 2, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 7.05 p. m.*]

The Bolivian Government has cabled the Argentine Government that it considers time inopportune for conference of American republics and if such a conference is held Bolivia can not participate.

O'REAR

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File No. 641.326

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 2, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 10.10 p. m.*]

Brazilian Government endeavoring to persuade British Government to remove prohibition on importation of coffee to Great Britain, which latter declines to remove on the ground that all available shipping space is needed for food necessities and that England has a sufficient supply of coffee for five years. Though Brazilian Government does not expect that the amount of coffee exported to England will be greatly increased, it desires prohibition be lifted for local political reasons and to prevent German sympathizers from utilizing disadvantageously to the Allied cause in Brazil the embargo of Brazil's chief export and source of wealth at the moment Brazil is prepared to support the cause of the Allies.

Brazilian Government is unwilling to revoke neutrality decrees affecting the Allies until England takes favorable action. Foreign Office will sincerely appreciate the good offices of the American Government.

MORGAN

File No. 832.85/37

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 3, 1917, noon.*
[*Received June 4, 1 a. m.*]

President of Brazil yesterday issued a decree placing all German merchant vessels anchored in Brazilian ports under the Brazilian flag and directing that they be prepared for sea as soon as possible. The vessels in Rio de Janeiro harbor have already been appropriated, and others under control of Lloyd Brasileiro Company which is under the direction of Ministry of Finance. Appropriation and transfer of flag effected without opposition. Appropriation of vessels in other ports under way.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72/5121

The Brazilian Ambassador (Da Gama) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *June 4, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: The President of the Republic has just instructed me to inform your excellency's Government that he has approved the law which revokes Brazil's neutrality in the war be-

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tween the United States of America and the German Empire. The Republic has thus recognized the fact that one of the belligerents is a constituent portion of the American Continent and that we are bound to that belligerent by traditional friendship and the same sentiment in the defense of the vital interests of America and the accepted principles of law.

Brazil ever was, and is now, free from warlike ambitions, and while it always refrained from showing any partiality in the European conflict, it could no longer stand unconcerned when the struggle involved the United States actuated by no interest whatever but solely for the sake of international judicial order and when Germany included us and the other neutral powers in the most violent acts of war.

While the comparative lack of reciprocity on the part of the American republics has hitherto divested the Monroe Doctrine of its true character, permitting an interpretation based on the prerogatives of their sovereignty, the present events, now bringing Brazil to the side of the United States at a critical moment in the history of the world, continue to impart to our foreign policy a practical form of continental solidarity; a policy, however, which was also that of the former régime whenever one of the other sister friendly nations of the American Continent was concerned. The Republic has strictly observed our political and diplomatic traditions and remained true to the liberal principles in which the nation was nurtured.

Thus understanding our duty, and taking the position indicated by Brazil's antecedents and the conscience of a free people, whatever developments the morrow may have in store for us, we shall conserve the constitution which governs us and which has not yet been surpassed in the guaranties due to the rights, lives, and property of foreigners.

In bringing the above stated resolution to your excellency's knowledge I beg you to be pleased to convey to your Government the sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I avail myself [etc.] DOMICIO DA GAMA

File No. 763.72/5015

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 4, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your May 31, 10 a. m.,[1] and June 2, 11 a. m. Upon completion of legislation you may present to the President of Brazil the following message from the President of the United States:

[1] Not printed.

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May I not convey to Your Excellency on behalf of my Government the feeling of deep appreciation and admiration with which the recent action of the Brazilian Congress with regard to the present struggle for peace and liberty has been received in the United States? I am sure that I speak for my fellow-countrymen in expressing my warm admiration of that action and in expressing the hope that it is prophetic of the action which will be taken by all the American States. I look forward with confident hope to their cooperation in a united movement to check the German menace. Woodrow Wilson.

LANSING

File No. 641.326

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 6, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4939. Following received from Embassy, Rio de Janeiro:

[Here follows the text of telegram of June 2, noon, printed on page 294.]

Present this matter informally to British Foreign Office and state the Government of the United States would be gratified if British Government could modify its prohibition on the importation of coffee in favor of Brazil.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/5246

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *June 9, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received June 10, 9 a. m.*]

Uruguayan Government will give affirmative and substantial support to Brazilian Government on grounds of American solidarity. Presence of American fleet in port of Montevideo will have a good effect. The people generally will approve this course and it will be most agreeable to Uruguayan Government.

JEFFERY

File No. 811.33/124

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 11, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your June 1, 4 p. m. Inquire discreetly whether the friendly invitation extended, which is much appreciated by the Government of the United States, is to be understood as granting to all United States naval vessels patrolling South American waters the privilege of using the ports of Uruguay, and if so, to what extent.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72119/636

The Minister in Paraguay (Mooney) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ASUNCION, *June 11, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 8 p. m.*]

The Paraguayan Government is not in favor of a convention of the neutral American states nor of any other than that of the American states.

MOONEY

File No. 763.72119/643

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *June 13, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 3.20 p. m.*]

Peruvian Minister has just called to explain to me on behalf of his Government that when some months ago they were invited by the Argentine Government to go into the congress of neutrals they accepted as a matter of course. That since then circumstances have changed, and that they have only consented to go into the conference under a distinct understanding that it is in no sense unfriendly to the United States or even to be understood as indicating and purporting to depart from joint action under the lead of, and with, the United States. That before accepting he will declare this in a letter to the Argentine Government and make it a condition that a statement of this nature should be communicated by it to the United States. That, furthermore, Peru reserves her liberty of action should circumstances alter before the conference which is to meet here in August; that Peru has had one ship sunk by the Germans and no reparation made so that her situation differs from that of Argentina which received reparation and apology. That, finally, the object of the conference is to unify neutral American countries to common action in case of further aggression by Germany (see my April 25, 11 a. m.[1]). I promised to cable this to the Department at once.

STIMSON

File No. 641.326/2

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *June 13, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 5.45 p. m.*]

6448. Your 4939, June 6, 4 p. m. The Foreign Office has sent Spring Rice a practical agreement to Brazil's wish, which I dare say he has now delivered to you.

PAGE

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[1] *Ante*, p. 264.

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File No. 763.72/5338

The Chilean Ambassador (Aldunate) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

The Ambassador of Chile has the honor to greet his excellency the Secretary of State, and to remit herewith a copy of the answer of the Chilean Government to the note of the Chargé d'Affaires of Brazil in which he states that, in view of the pending entrance into the war of the United States of America with Germany, the Republic of Brazil intends to repeal the decree of neutrality towards the belligerents of Europe.

WASHINGTON, *June 14, 1917.*
[*Received June 15.*]

[Enclosure—Telegram—Translation]

The Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs (Huidobro) to the Chilean Ambassador at Washington (Aldunate)

SANTIAGO, *June 14, 1917.*

No. 51. Yesterday I returned the following answer to the note of the Chargé d'Affaires of Brazil:

Mr. Chargé d'Affaires: I have had the honor to receive your polite note dated the 4th instant, by which, in the name of His Excellency the President of Brazil, you are pleased to apprize Chile that the Brazilian Republic has resolved to revoke, in the present state of belligerency between the United States of America and Germany, the decree which fixed its rules of neutrality in the European war.

In reply I take pleasure in saying to you that Chile, bound to Brazil of old by the closest ties of fraternal cordiality, has watched with the keenest interest in these difficult times the developments in its foreign policy brought about by the efforts made in the present European conflagration to impose restrictions on the maritime sovereignty of the neutral powers.

My Government understands that the measures adopted by Brazil under these circumstances are not prompted by warlike ambitions but by the lofty spirit of defense of, and regard for, its rights and in compliance with the declarations on the same subject, which I have already had occasion to formulate in common with the other Latin-American nations.

The identity of juridical conceptions and the fitness of a policy of harmony on the American Continent are factors which constrain the Government and public opinion of Chile to lament, now more than ever, the cause from which those events have sprung.

You further say that the policy now pursued by Brazil is traditional, has precedents in the old régime, and has always been observed when the interests of sister and friendly nations of this continent were affected.

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My country is particularly sensible of, and gratified by, that recollection.

Your communication ends with an honorable declaration of principles making it of record that, whatever may happen, the Government of your Republic will not swerve from the duties flowing from its conscience of a free people and will maintain the guaranties due to all rights, public and private.

These lofty views will meet with the unanimous applause of all the peoples for whom juridical culture constitutes one of the most valued conquests of civilization.

I renew to you [etc.]

HUIDOBRO

File No. 862.85/83

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 15, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your May 17, 1 p. m.[1] You will inform President Menocal that the Government of the United States will be glad to take the vessels, repair them, and put them into use for the common purpose against the Central powers and that the matter of payment for the title of the vessels by the United States, or the chartering rate, if it be a question of mere user, will be determined by an understanding between the two Governments at some future date.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/5327

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *undated.*

[*Received June 15, 1917, 6 p. m.*]

In reply to the note of Brazil advising that the decree of neutrality in the war between United States and Germany had been revoked, the Uruguayan Government in its note of June 12 states that it—

takes pleasure in declaring its sympathy with the ideals mentioned in said communication and reiterates once more its strong desire that the policy of America may, with the collective and real assistance of all its peoples, once and for all and definitely consecrate the fruitful aspirations of continental solidarity. United as the nations of the new world are by eternal ties of democracy and by the identical conception of justice and liberty, the logic of principles and of interests much [*must?*], in order better to assure the efficacy of the first and the free development of the latter in the face of the happenings which are moving the world at present, necessarily determine a com-

[1] Not printed; see the Minister's telegram of May 24, 11 a. m., *ante*, p. 286.

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pact union of action, in such manner that any act of violation of recognized universal precepts of international right directed against any one of the countries of America will constitute a grievance against all of them and will provoke them to a reaction in common. Uruguay entertains the hope that the American nations will take a collective resolution in that sense, either in a continental congress or by following some other proceeding, and has confidence that this hope will soon convert itself into an auspicious reality, which may permit America to make an efficacious use of its moral and material force and give it the influence which it has a right to have in the destinies of the world.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/5336

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *June 15, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received June 16, 2 a. m.*]

Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs authorizes me to say to Department of State that all ships of the American Navy, of any kind whatsoever, may now and henceforth visit the ports of Uruguay, for any purpose whatsoever, where they will be received as friend, and not as belligerent, and without restrictions.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/5121

The Acting Secretary of State to the Brazilian Ambassador (Da Gama)

No. 135 WASHINGTON, *June 16, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 4, by which, in pursuance of instructions from the President of Brazil, you inform me of the enactment of a law revoking Brazil's declaration of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany, and request me to convey to this Government the sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I have received with profound gratification this notification of the friendly cooperation of Brazil in the efforts of the United States to assist in the perpetuation of the principles of free government and the preservation of the agencies for the amelioration of the sufferings and losses of war, so slowly and toilfully built up during the emergence of mankind from barbarism.

Your Government's invaluable contribution to the cause of American solidarity, now rendered more important than ever as a protection to civilization and a means of enforcing the laws of humanity, is highly appreciated by the United States.

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I shall be glad if you will be good enough to convey to the President, the Government, and the people of Brazil, the thanks of this Government and people for their course, so consistent with the antecedents of your great and free nation and so important in its bearing on issues which are vital to the welfare of all the American republics.

Requesting that you will also assure your Government and people of most cordial reciprocation by the Government and people of the United States of their assurances of friendship, always so greatly valued, and now happily rendered still warmer and closer by the action of Brazil, I avail myself [etc.]

FRANK L. POLK

File No. 763.72/5361

The Minister in Haïti (Bailly-Blanchard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PORT AU PRINCE, *June 17, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received June 18, 12.50 p. m.*]

Minister for Foreign Affairs notifies Legation of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Haiti and the German Empire.

In connection with the above, Haitian Government begs the Legation to obtain as soon as can be, safe-conduct regarding United States war vessels for German representative, his wife, and their suite, via Dutch boat, name not stated, to destination not stated.

BLANCHARD

File No. 763.72/5378

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *undated.*
[*Received June 19, 1917, 3.30 a. m.*]

Following is literal copy of Executive order of Uruguayan Government issued to-day.

Considering that in various communications the Government of Uruguay has proclaimed the principle of American solidarity as the criterion of its international policy, understanding that the grievance against the rights of one country of the continent would be considered as a grievance by all and provoke them to uniform and common reaction, second, that in the hope of seeing an agreement in this respect realized between the nations of America which may make the practical and efficient application of such ideals possible, the Government has adopted a watchful attitude with reference to its action, although it has signified in each case its sympathy with the continental nations which have seen themselves obliged to abandon their neutrality;

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Considering that, as long as such an agreement is not made, Uruguay, without acting contrary to its sentiments and convictions, could not treat the American nations which in defense of their own rights find themselves compromised in an intercontinental war, as belligerents; and

Considering that this criterion is shared by the honorable Senate;

The President of the Republic, at a general Cabinet meeting, decrees:

(1) To order that no American country which in defense of its own rights should find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents will be treated as belligerents;

(2) That it is ordered that existing decrees which may be in opposition to this resolution are to remain without fulfillment;

(3) Let it be communicated, published, [etc.]

Viera, President

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/5336

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 20, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your June 15, 6 p. m. Inform Government of Uruguay that the American Government accepts with greatest appreciation the friendly offer of the use of their ports by our naval vessels at all times and that this kind offer will be availed of by our naval vessels from time to time.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/5016

The Secretary of State to the Honduran Minister of Foreign affairs (Vásquez)

WASHINGTON, *June 20, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's note of May 17,[1] by which you inform me that Honduras, impelled by its friendship for the United States, has resolved to offer to this country its cooperation in the war between this nation and Germany, and will enter into a convention to that effect if such a cause should appear to be advisable.

This valued tender of cooperation by Honduras I am happy to accept on the part of the Government and people of the United States, who are highly gratified to receive this evidence not only of the friendship which the Government and people of Honduras entertain for the United States, but of their desire as well to do their part to uphold the principles of right and justice which guide and govern free peoples.

Requesting that your excellency will be so good as to make known to the President, the Government, and the people of Honduras the

[1] *Ante*, p. 291.

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appreciation and gratitude of the Government and people of the United States for this welcomed proof of the determination of Honduras to safeguard, in cooperation with the United States, these fundamental truths on which the free democratic governments of America were founded and are conducted, I avail myself [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72119/657

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *June 23, 1917, 12 a. m.*
[Received 3.25 p. m.]

My April 25, 11 a. m.[1] I am reliably informed that congress of neutrals will be called for August 15. *La Prensa* to-day says that the principal matters of the program of the conference will be announced soon and that Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Ecuador, Haiti, and the five Central-American States adhered to the initiative but since their so answering Argentina, Haiti [omission]; that only United States of America, Cuba, and Panama did not agree to the idea, who have also declared war, Dominica, which has broken relations with Germany, and Venezuela.

STIMSON

The Sinking of the Argentine Ship "Toro"; Adjustment of the Case—Visit of the American Fleet to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires—Arrangements for Cooperation with Brazil in Patrolling the South Atlantic—Revocation of Brazil's Neutrality with Respect to the Allied Powers, June 28; Discussion as to the Export of Brazilian Coffee and the Disposition of German Ships Taken Over by Brazil—Transfer to the United States of the German Ships Seized by Cuba—Negotiations between Peru and Germany Concerning the Sinking of the "Lorton"

File No. 835.857/1

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *June 26, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received 5.50 p. m.]

Sinking of Argentine vessel *Toro*, loaded with wheat, hides, and meat, bound for Genoa with Argentine crew causes no excitement. Newspapers give it little space, leading ones have editorials; country principally interested in conflict between Congress and President over intervention of Buenos Aires Province.

STIMSON

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[1] *Ante*, p. 264.

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[For correspondence relating to the stay of the American squadron at Rio de Janeiro, June 26–July 6, 1917, and demonstrations of friendship by the Brazilian Government and people, see *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pages 26–28.]

[For correspondence June 29–July 31, 1917, relating to the invitation of the Argentine Government to the American squadron to visit Buenos Aires, see *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pages 5 *et seq.*]

File No. 763.72/5610

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 29, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 3 p. m.*]

Executive decree issued to-day,[1] at once effective, withdraws neutrality decrees affecting France, Russia, Great Britain, Japan, Portugal, and Italy. The warships of those powers, therefore, will have the same privileges in Brazilian ports which our vessels have enjoyed since June 2.

MORGAN

File No. 835.032/23

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

BUENOS AIRES, *July 1, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 7.30 p. m.*]

In delayed annual message to Congress, of 18 newspaper columns, the President of Argentina reiterates effort to maintain neutrality, points with pride to settlement of *Monte Protegido* case; says, however, that two other similar cases are pending, and recites plan of congress of neutrals in Buenos Aires. The bulk of message is devoted to elaborate financial plans; . . .

STIMSON

File No. 641.326/5

The British Embassy to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

His Majesty's Government were approached some weeks ago by the Government of Brazil in regard to the prohibition of the importation of coffee into the United Kingdom.

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[1] The decree was signed June 28 (File Nos. 763.72/5811, 5996).

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His Majesty's Government had agreed to allow the importation of an amount of Brazilian coffee equivalent to 25 per cent of total imports into the United Kingdom in 1916 from all sources. They are now further considering the importation under license of a small proportion of the normal imports of Brazilian coffee into the United Kingdom if carried on German vessels recently taken over by the Brazilian Government, on condition that these vessels should bring to the United Kingdom other cargo of national importance or else that on their arrival at a British port they should be put at the disposal of the Ministry of Shipping.

His Majesty's Ambassador has received instructions to ascertain from the Government of the United States whether they would have any objection to the adoption of this proposal.

WASHINGTON, *July 2, 1917.*

File No. 763.72/5782d

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Chile (Shea)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 2, 1917, 5 p. m.*

In a recent interview, in reply to the request of the Chilean Ambassador for information as to how this Government felt regarding the position taken by Chile, the Department stated to him that the question as to what action that country should take was for her to decide; that this Government was of course gratified at the course taken by Brazil. In reply to his question as to whether Chile would be of use in making peace as neutral, the Ambassador was told that probably no neutral nation could be of any service now in making peace as neutrals. To his question whether Chile would be more useful in or out of the war, as far as peace was concerned, he was informed that it would seem that the more people came into the war against the Central powers the sooner it would be over.

LANSING

File No. 835.032/24

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 3, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your July 1, 12 noon. Cable brief outline plan of congress of neutrals in message of President.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72119/665

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *July 5, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 12.25 p. m.*]

Your July 3, 5 p. m. Date of conference and program of the conference still uncertain; in fact Argentine Government is now only desirous of justifying its initiative.

It is believed in administrative circles that the note sent on July 3 to the German Government, still unpublished, will result in severance of diplomatic relations which would transform entire situation.

STIMSON

File No. 600.359/21a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 6, 1917, 6 p. m.*

American Government adopting measures to restrict local consumption its own wheat in order that more may be exported to Allies, and every large wheat-growing country and the nations friendly to the Allied cause are expected to make similar sacrifices or readjustments in their export distribution.

You will take this matter up discreetly with the Argentine Government and inquire whether Argentina could arrange their present plan of export allotment to foreign countries in such a way that Great Britain and France can obtain from Argentina unconditionally a larger quantity than at present, and thus render great material help to the United States in its efforts to prevent any shortage in the supply of wheat to our Allies in Europe, which would be disastrous to the great cause for which we are struggling.

The French Government informs Department that Argentina is shipping grain and foodstuffs to Spain and is not making shipments foodstuffs of satisfactory amounts to France.

British Government states that while Brazil, Spain, Norway, and Paraguay have received unconditional permission to arrange for export 100,000 tons wheat from Argentina, similar permission has only been granted to Great Britain and her Allies on condition that the wheat exported is replaced from Australia, and only method of effecting such replacement is by means of sailing vessels from Australia, and the quantity which can be replaced by this method is uncertain.

POLK

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File No. 763.72/5444

The Acting Secretary of State to the Uruguayan Minister (de Pena)

No. 109 WASHINGTON, *July 6, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 20, by which, by direction of your Government, you communicate to me the contents of their decree revoking the neutrality previously declared by Uruguay in the war of the United States and Cuba against Germany.[1]

This action on the part of the Government of Uruguay, evidencing as it does that Government's friendly disposition towards the United States and its sympathy with the humane and disinterested objects for which the United States has entered the war, could not fail to receive the grateful appreciation of the Government of the United States. I shall be thankful if you will be so good as to make this appreciation known to your Government.

Accept [etc.] FRANK L. POLK

File No. 763.72119/667

The Minister in Guatemala (Leavell) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

GUATEMALA, *July 6, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 9.50 p. m.*]

Department's circular instruction relating to proposed conference of American nations:[2] In my interview with the President yesterday afternoon he said that while he had accepted the invitation it is not yet absolutely certain that Guatemala will take part in the proposed conference, but that should it be done, the Guatemalan representatives would take no action not in accordance with the wishes of the United States Government.

LEAVELL

File No. 862.85/96

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 9, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your July 2, 1 p. m.[3] Ships in question should be turned over to the United States Shipping Board to be operated by it with the other tonnage under its control. Shipping Board requests detailed

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[1] Not printed; see the telegram of June 19 from the Minister in Uruguay, *ante*, p. 301.

[2] *Ante*, p. 289.

[3] Not printed; see telegram of June 15, 6 p. m., to the Minister, *ante*, p. 299.

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statement of amount of money paid or contracted for repairs by the Cuban Government and also statement of all other liens against ships in addition to liens of Lykes Brothers. Shipping Board states that when vessels are taken over all proper bills will be met.

POLK

File No. 763.72119/681

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *July 19, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 2.10 p. m.*]

My June 23, 12 a. m.[1] Colombia and Mexico are now most active in urging here congress of neutrals, former would send Premier as delegate.

STIMSON

File No. 862.85/99

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 25, 1917, 8 p. m.*

Your July 13, 11 a. m.[2] Shipping Board has designated you as its agent to accept the title of the German interned ships in Cuba. When ships are handed over to you, convey to the Cuban Government an expression of the gratification of this Government for the generous action of the Cuban Government in promptly placing at our disposal the ships in question.

POLK

File No. 763.72/6055

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *July 29, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 10.20 p. m.*]

President Pardo read his message to new Congress last night. He quoted extensively, with approval, from President Wilson's message April 2, 1917,[3] concluding with following comment:

Peru, which in all the acts of its international life, has tried to incorporate these principles of justice in the juridical and political relations of the American peoples; Peru, which in a recent war sacrificed to these ideals in blood of its sons, the richness of its treasures, and the hopes of its future, can not be indifferent to the words of President Wilson, and adheres once more to such noble propositions.

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[1] *Ante*, p. 303.
[2] Not printed; see telegram of July 9, 6 p. m., to the Minister, *ante*, p. 307.
[3] *Ante*, p. 195.

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The suffering of humanity will not have been sterile during these years of terrible war, which draws into it the most powerful and most pacific democracy of history, if with its efforts there is raised the new edifice of international society on the immutable base of justice and respect for sovereignty.

Brazil, Cuba, Bolivia, and Panama have suspended their diplomatic relations with the Central powers.

Uruguay has taken the initiative so that the South American states may receive in their ports the American warships in the conception of sister nations and not belligerents, a conception compatible with the terms of benevolent neutrality to whose rules my Government has adhered with sympathy.

Greatest applause by audience and Congress followed declarations favorable to United States. This prolonged.

Leading dailies have strong editorials commending President's favorable attitude toward United States.

McMILLIN

File No. 763.72/6061

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *July 31, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received 7.55 p. m.*]

Minister of Marine assured me that if Germany's reply to Argentine demands is not unconditional acceptance, Argentina will declare war. If Germany accepts, laws of Argentina will be suspended in order to facilitate registration of vessels under Argentine flag.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/6094

The Ambassador in Chile (Shea) to the Secretary of State

No. 156 SANTIAGO, *July 3, 1917.*
[*Received August 1.*]

SIR: I have the honor to refer to the Department's confidential telegram of July 2, 5 p. m. I feel that the officials of the Government here have assumed a more friendly attitude during the last few weeks. In a conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs a few days ago he said that if our South Atlantic Fleet should come to the West Coast and make a visit of courtesy to Valparaiso, it would be received as a friendly fleet.

Heretofore the Minister has been anxious that nothing should be done by our fleets or boats of any kind that could give the German Government any cause to complain of Chile's conduct. I have reason to believe that some of the high officials of the Government are giving serious consideration to the question of Chile's alignment

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with Brazil and the United States. The inquiry of the Chilean Ambassador in Washington, in view of the above situation here, is most interesting and significant.

I have [etc.] JOSEPH H. SHEA

File No. 763.72/6180

The Ambassador in Chile (Shea) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SANTIAGO, *August 4, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 9.21 p. m.*]

Your cipher telegram August 2, 6 p. m.[1] Referring to my despatch of July 3. Conversation therein referred to occurred with Minister Huidobro. The Cabinet resigned almost immediately. The Tocornal cabinet which followed lasted only seven days before tendering resignation, but is still in office due to inability of political parties to agree upon internal affairs in which they are completely absorbed, measuring every act by its probable effect upon the coming elections. Yesterday the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me that if our fleet should come to Chilean waters it would be received as a friendly visitor and treated as well as anywhere else. I discreetly gave him an opportunity to say an invitation would be extended of which he did not take advantage.

High officials here have expressed the opinion that an invitation extended by Chile would amount to an abandonment of neutrality, a step they are not yet ready to take. The Subsecretary of State for Foreign Affairs assumes an attitude of indifference with respect to visit of the fleet. The one newspaper that has discussed possible visit recommends the Government to adopt a resolution with regard to it in accord with principles of Americanism evidenced by action of Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

SHEA

File No. 641.326/7

The Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs (Peçanha) to the American Ambassador (Morgan)[2]

[Translation]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *July 12, 1917.*
[*Received August 8.*]

DEAR AMBASSADOR MORGAN: While thanking you, as is my duty, for the much appreciated influence of your country with the Lon-

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[1] Not printed.

[2] Transmitted to the Secretary of State as enclosure to the Ambassador's despatch No. 961 of July 13 [received Aug. 8]; not printed.

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don Government in securing the removal of the prohibition of the importation of Brazilian coffee into the British Isles, I regret exceedingly to communicate to you that this concession was granted with the condition that it should only be transported in the former German interned ships—a condition decidedly displeasing to Brazil.

Since there are no German ships in Brazil—all of those formerly under the German flag having been incorporated into our own merchant fleet and, therefore, are Brazilian—I can not understand this condition. It was our desire to employ them all, the units which previously composed our fleet and the former German vessels, without distinction, in the European and American trade.

This reservation on the part of England is so much more lamentable in view of the fact that it had already been decided that one of the first steamers which should sail for Europe, with a cargo of coffee and foodstuffs, would be the former German ship *Sierra Salvado*, and after that one of our older ships. You will understand, however, that without maintenance and respect for our own liberty of action it would be preferable to renounce whatever concessions Britain offers us.

With renewed thanks, believe me [etc.] NILO PEÇANHA

P. S. I wish to confirm the advice which I transmitted to you verbally yesterday, to the effect that the Brazilian Marine is arranging to begin patrol work and that it will take upon itself the duty of the defense of the Brazilian coasts from the Guianas to the south.

File No. 763.72/6250

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *undated.*
[*Received August 9, 1917, 1.50 p. m.*]

Peruvian Senate last night unanimously adopted following resolution:

In view of the high and democratic ideas expressed by President Wilson on the Republic of the United States taking part in the European conflict, the Senate of Peru declares that it emits a vote of sympathy to the United States of North America on account of the declarations made by its President that embody for the republics of the American Continent the rules of the united action to which their purposes must be consecrated.

MCMILLIN

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File No. 811.33/146

The Ambassador in Chile (Shea) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SANTIAGO, *August 9, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 9.10 p. m.*]

My cipher telegram August 8, 4 p. m.[1] The President to-day informed me that after a consultation with his Ministers he had decided that to invite the American Fleet to visit Valparaiso before it reached the Pacific would not be a neutral act. He remarked that Chile wished to follow the example of the United States in pursuing a neutral policy until directly wronged. He again said, however, that once the fleet reached the Pacific he would be glad to invite it to Valparaiso.

SHEA

File No. 823.857/2

The Peruvian Legation to the Department of State

WASHINGTON, *August 9, 1917.*
[*Received August 10.*]

The Legation of Peru is in receipt of the following information with reference to the claim presented by the Government of Peru to the German Government for the sinking of the Peruvian bark *Lorton* by a German submarine within Spanish territorial waters, on February 5, 1917.

The German Government having decided to submit the circumstances of the sinking of the Peruvian bark *Lorton* to a prize court, the Government of Peru has instructed the Minister of Peru at Berlin to state that in accordance with the Declaration of London, invoked by Germany, the sinking of the Peruvian bark *Lorton* is wholly unjustified, owing to the nationality of the ship, the quality and destination of its cargo, the locality where the ship was sunk, the impossibility for the ship to be acquainted with the German decree establishing a barred zone, which decree moreover the Peruvian Government does not recognize, and the principles ruling maritime warfare and protecting neutral ships.

The Minister of Peru has been instructed further to declare that the Peruvian Government does not and will not accept to submit this question to a prize court, and that it insists upon the reparations and indemnities previously claimed.

File No. 763.72/6393

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

No. 971 RIO DE JANEIRO, *July 23, 1917.*
[*Received August 11.*]

SIR: I have the pleasure to report that an arrangement has been completed between Admiral W. B. Caperton, U. S. Navy, Com-

[1] Not printed.

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mander-in-Chief of the Pacific Squadron, and the Brazilian Minister of Marine by which the Brazilian Navy will cooperate with the American in patrolling the South Atlantic.

According to an agreement between the American and British naval authorities, Admiral Caperton's squadron will patrol the high seas from Fernando Noronha Island, near Pernambuco, to Rio de Janeiro; the British squadron will patrol from that point to the River Plate; and the French from Fernando Noronha to the West Indies. The Brazilian Navy will undertake the patrol of the Brazilian coast and for that purpose has been organized into three detachments, to be known as the Northern, Central, and Southern Divisions. Rear-Admiral Santos will be in charge of the Northern; Rear-Admiral Mattos of the Central; and Rear-Admiral Frontim of the Southern Division.

Under present arrangements the cruisers *Deodoro* and *Floriano;* torpedo-boat *Tymbira;* cruiser *Tiradentes;* two destroyers; gunboats *Missões* and *Acre;* and the despatch-boats *Teffe* and *Jutahy* will patrol the northern section. The central section will be patrolled by the two dreadnoughts *Minas Geraes* and *São Paulo;* four destroyers; three submarines; and the mine-defense flotilla composed of the *Carlos Gomez*, the *Mario do Couto*, and the *Jaguarão*. The division of the south will comprise the two scout-cruisers *Bahia* and *Rio Grande do Sul;* the two cruisers *Barroso* and *Republica;* despatch-boat *José Bonifacio;* and four destroyers. The patrol will begin as soon as the boiler and condenser tubes for several of the units which have been ordered in the United States have been received.

The patrol may be expected to begin about the 1st of September.

It is probable that the mercantile fleet of the Lloyd Brasileiro Line, which is owned by the Government, will cooperate, in the patrol, with the Brazilian Navy. A Brazilian naval officer has been appointed to attend daily at the Embassy to serve as a medium of communication between the Minister of Marine and Capt. Frank K. Hill, U. S. N., the naval attaché. He began his duties to-day.

It is unnecessary to point out the importance of the arrangement outlined above and the effect which it should have in developing the political relations between the United States and Brazil, in checking the devastation of German raiders, and in protecting the Brazilian coasts from attack.

I have [etc.] EDWIN V. MORGAN

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File No. 763.72/6428

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

No. 258 MONTEVIDEO, *July 16, 1917.*
[*Received August 13.*]

SIR: I have the honor to advise that the American squadron of the Atlantic Fleet under the command of Admiral Caperton arrived in the port of Montevideo at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on July 10.

Extensive preparations had been made by the Government and the people of Uruguay.

Business was suspended and the people had gathered in great crowds to welcome the fleet as it came into port.

The oldest citizens here say that no other occasion in the history of the country has ever furnished such a spontaneous gathering of all the people.

The Admiral was literally taken by force from his staff of officers as soon as he arrived on shore and the officers of the staff came one by one to the American Legation where the Admiral was to begin his official duties. The soldiers and city police were unable to control the crowds and the Admiral was required to walk the greater part of the way from the port to the Legation, a distance of more than a mile, and surrounded by tens of thousands of people.

In front of the Legation the streets were packed with people and bands were playing everywhere.

The Admiral appeared upon the balcony of the Legation with Dr. Juan Zorrilla de San Martin, the noted Uruguayan orator, and the reception which he received can hardly be described. United States flags were flying everywhere and when San Martin would call upon the people to give their approval to the course which the United States had taken the answer would come back: "America! America! We do believe in America!"

It is estimated that 70,000 people heard San Martin.

I have heard it estimated that 200,000 people were in the streets and on their balconies and house tops during the day to show generally their approval of the action which the Uruguayan Government had taken in inviting the fleet to come to Montevideo.

Admiral Caperton has been most cordially received at Foreign Office, at the War and Marine Department, and by the President.

No effort has been spared by the Government to show its approval of the action of the United States in sending the squadron to Uruguay and the people everywhere endorse the action of the Government.

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The officers of the squadron have won the esteem of the people generally and Admiral Caperton is the recipient of unprecedented honors. His sincere and tactful manner of discussing public questions and his generous endorsement of the democratic institutions of the Government have won the confidence and admiration of all.

The policy of American solidarity, which was made the foundation upon which the Government based its right to invite the fleet to this port, has become firmly fixed in the minds of the people and the people pride themselves upon the fact that the American nations are abundantly able to enforce this policy.

I have [etc.] ROBERT EMMETT JEFFERY

[For correspondence relating to the visit of the American squadron to Buenos Aires, July 25–31, 1917, see *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pages 5–8.]

File No. 763.72/6180

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Chile (Shea)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *August 13, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your August 4, 5 p. m., August 8, 7 p. m., and August 9, 4 p. m.[1] You are instructed to seek suitable opportunity to convey, in a discreet manner, to President of Chile, this Government's due receipt of his friendly expressions and also the information that it is not known when fleet will be in Pacific as its movements are dependent upon many contingencies.

LANSING

File No. 832.85/11

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *August 14, 1917, 12 noon.*

[*Received 8 p. m.*]

After Belgian and Italian Ministers had failed to do so, British and French Ministers are attempting to secure some of the German interned vessels now units of the Lloyd Brazilian mercantile fleet, property of the Brazilian Government. The Government is not prepared to part with any of these units, irrespective of whether or not they were formerly German. Ten of them will soon be ready for employment on Brazilian lines along American coast only, between

[1] Telegram of August 8 not printed.

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New York and Valparaiso. Until the Brazilian Government has found by experience that it can not repair and use all the units, as it ultimately must do, there is little prospect of our obtaining any of them, either by purchase or charter.

Administration leader stated Saturday in Chamber of Deputies that the Brazilian Navy will only maintain a defensive coast patrol, which is equivalent to a patrol against submarine bases and communication between raiders and the shore. The Navy has no intention of patrolling the high seas, which it is expected will be done by the Allies. Brazil, not being a belligerent, has no right of visit and search outside territorial waters and therefore can take no action against raiders on the high seas. Should Admiral Caperton's squadron now be withdrawn, Brazilian coast patrol would become useless and might even be discontinued. The Brazilian Government would become discouraged and Germany's friends would represent, in the three countries where the Admiral had been, that his visits were intended to compel adhesion to United States plan rather than to express appreciation of cooperation in the present or the future.

MORGAN

File No. 851.3333

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Sharp)[1]

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *August 18, 1917, 5 p. m.*

2554. Minister at Montevideo cabled Department August 15,[2] that French Minister informed him that he had instructions from his Government to ask permission of Government of Uruguay for entrance into all Uruguayan ports of vessels of French Navy and that permission was desired without reference as to restrictions of time or purpose. French Minister also stated that similar instructions had been received by British Minister and that both he and British Minister had been directed by their Governments to request that he cooperate with them in placing their requests before Government of Uruguay. French Minister stated that he was advised that Government of United States had instructed American Minister to cooperate. American Minister having received no such instructions so informed French Minister and advised him that he could not assist him and his British colleague without instructions. He further advised him that he did not believe such request by French and British Governments should be made at this time.

The Minister informed the Department in his cablegram that he was thoroughly acquainted with feeling of Government of Uruguay

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[1] The same, on the same date, to the Ambassador in Great Britain, No. 5317.
[2] Not printed.

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on this subject, and that he had heard that such a request as referred to by French Minister would not be granted at this time. He states that he has information that policies pursued by British and French representatives in Uruguay have not met with favorable consideration. He further states that if the representatives of the above-mentioned Governments will let matters rest, diplomatic conditions will assume a more favorable attitude.

In view of foregoing you are instructed to take up matter orally with Government to which you are accredited and suggest that instructions be sent to its representative in Montevideo to take no further action in this matter at this time.

The Uruguayan Executive decree provided that "No American country which in defense of its own rights should find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents will be treated as belligerents."

LANSING

File No. 763.72111/6772

The Ecuadoran Legation to the Department of State

WASHINGTON, *undated.*
[*Received August 20, 1917.*]

On the 10th of August last the Congress of Ecuador inaugurated its annual ordinary sessions. The President of the Republic, Doctor Baquerizo Moreno, read personally his message. Regarding the attitude of Ecuador on the present war he said the following, received here by cable:

Our neutrality continues, not without us [*sic*] having attempted a more ingenuous and frank understanding with all the nations of the American Continent.

We have declared our sympathy, our faith, as often as requested by justice, for the great democratic principles which are the base and foundation of these nationalities. Therefore America will find us always with her.

Further on, speaking of the intervention of some of the American Republics in the war, he said:

The attitude of Ecuador, serene, friendly, within the bounds of the neutrality which we had adopted, has been equal to that of Colombia, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, etc.

He goes on saying:

In maintaining neutrality, we shall not fail to find ourselves forever, preferably, side by side with the requirements of our democratic duties, of our republican duties, and of our duties of sons of America.

At the end of his speech, he recalls that the Chancellery of Ecuador insinuated the idea of a congress of neutrals, which met

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with the benevolent feelings of the American countries, and that hence Ecuador accepted the invitation of Argentina with the same object.

File No. 641.326/8

The British Embassy to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

The British Embassy presents its compliments to the Department of State, and with reference to its memorandum of July 2,[1] has the honour to inform the Department that, in order to ensure the employment of the German vessels in Brazil in trades useful to the general conduct of the war, His Majesty's Government propose to notify the Brazilian Government that on condition one-half of this tonnage is chartered to the Inter-Allied Chartering Bureau for distribution among the Allies, they are prepared to sanction the importation into the United Kingdom of a proportion of the 1916 imports of Brazilian coffee; such proportion would in no case exceed 50 per cent and no stipulation would be made as to the nationality of the vessels carrying the coffee to the United Kingdom.

The Embassy would be glad to learn whether, in view of the importance of securing the use of these vessels in such a way as to be of the greatest service to the Allies, the United States Government perceive any objection to the above proposal.

WASHINGTON, *August 19, 1917.*

[*Received August 21.*]

File No. 862.85/124

The Minister in Cuba (Gonzales) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HABANA, *August 21, 1917, 4 p. m.*

[*Received 8.55 p. m.*]

By presidential decree signed to-day the four German steamships *Bavaria*, *Olivant*, *Adelheid*, and *Constantia* seized as prizes of war, and to prevent their destruction in Cuban waters by their crews, were transferred to the United States to be utilized in bringing to a prompt and successful end the war against the Imperial Government of Germany. I will to-morrow morning take charge of these vessels for the United States Shipping Board and will have them guarded. The *Constantia* is in Cienfuegos, the others here. Smallest German vessel the *Kydonia* is held by the Government of Cuba as a transport for the army supplies. No charge made by the Cuban

[1] *Ante*, p. 304.

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Government for these ships; they are simply turned over to the United States.

GONZALES

File No. 832.85/16

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *August 24, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received August 25, 4.20 a. m.*]

Referring to the Embassy's telegram of August 23, 8 p. m.[1] Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs stated to me this morning that the Brazilian steamship company, Commercio e Navegação, is prepared, with the permission of the Brazilian Government, to charter to the French Government eight or ten of their vessels averaging 3,000 tons each. The purchase by France of 2,000,000 sacks of coffee, and a promise that the Allies will protect Brazil from loss on the coffee belonging to the state of São Paulo which has been seized in Germany, are the compensations which the Brazilian Government will receive. That Government has decided to retain the former German ships and none of them is involved in the transaction.

The acquisition of France would only include a portion of the fleet of the Commercio e Navegação. Through direct negotiations with that company and with cooperation of the French Government it might be able to secure some at least, of the six steamers in which the Navy Department is interested.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72/6643

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *August 29, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 4.15 p. m.*]

My telegram August 28, 7 p. m.[1] German note of August 26 is considered acceptable, although couched in abstract terms, because a condition limiting German promise to Argentine vessels not traversing German war zones, put forward by German Minister here, was peremptorily refused in the second Argentine note, August 17. Documentation long, has been cabled in full to Naón.[2]

STIMSON

[1] Not printed.
[2] Argentine Ambassador at Washington.

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File No. 832.85/16

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *August 29, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your August 14, noon, August 22, 4 p. m., August 23, 8 p. m., and August 24, 2 p. m.[1] Utmost importance that vessels be acquired by United States at once from every source for successful prosecution war. A ship now ready for use and able to get into trade worth several vessels of same character later on.

Department understands that Brazil intends to retain for future use in her own trade the 33 interned German vessels which are not now utilized. If, however, owing to urgency present situation, Brazil should consider change in her policy to retain these ships, you are instructed discreetly to inquire of the Brazilian Government and cable Department, whether that Government would enter into agreement with United States Government whereby some or all of these vessels would be turned over to United States for repair and use upon assurance being given that the same number of as good or better bottoms will be laid down now and turned over to Brazil at the end of the war, or if the Government of Brazil prefers the United States will pay the fair market price for these ships upon delivery now and charge the fair market price ruling at time of completion and delivery of those constructed for Brazil and under either arrangement a sufficient number of vessels shall be placed in the United States–Brazilian trade to supply present needs of Brazil. This would insure protection to present and future foreign and domestic trade of Brazil and help to satisfy the urgent and increasing demands on United States Government at present time.

Besides being very much interested in these interned German vessels, the United States desires to acquire ships of the Brazilian merchant marine especially of larger tonnage. You are instructed to cable Department as soon as possible a definite and complete statement of Brazil's terms and conditions relating to acquisition or use by the United States of the ships of Brazil's merchant marine which may now be in market in order to furnish Shipping Board with data necessary for decision and formulation of proposition from United States Government.

LANSING

[1] Telegrams of August 22 and 23 not printed.

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File No. 832.85/21

The British Embassy to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

The British Embassy have the honour, with reference to their memorandum of August 19, to inform the Department of State that, according to a telegram from His Majesty's Minister at Rio de Janeiro, the French Government offered to make large purchases of Brazilian coffee on condition that the Brazilian Government sold to France or chartered to the United States the German vessels now in Brazilian ports, for the conveyance of coffee and American troops to France.

The Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs subsequently informed the British Minister that it had been decided not to accept the French offer on the ground that the Government hold the ships in trust for Germany and must return them after the war. They desired, however, to recognize the solidarity of their interests with those of the Allies and, for this purpose, they proposed to establish a line of steamers to Europe which would comprise the German ships and the ships of the Brazilian Lloyd. As regards the ships of the Commercial and Navigation Company, they proposed to sell or charter ten to France and three to the United States. These ships only amount to about 25,000 tons.

The British Government attach great importance to these German vessels being placed in service in the Allied interest as soon as possible, but the Embassy are instructed to ascertain the views of the United States Government as to the attitude to be adopted in the matter of the recognition of the transfer of the vessels to the Brazilian flag, seeing that the Brazilian Government apparently intend to return them to Germany immediately on the conclusion of hostilities and may even intend to hold the earnings in trust for Germany.

WASHINGTON, *September 3, 1917.*

[*Received September 4.*]

File No. 763.72/6746

The Minister in Peru (McMillin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *September 6, 1917, 2 p. m.*

[*Received 8 p. m.*]

Interpellated last night by Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Foreign Affairs Tudela made following response:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, approving the declarations contained in the last message to Congress of the President of the Repub-

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lic and confirming the ideas which he has emitted before the House of Deputies, declares that the external policy of the Peruvian Government has for an object Pan American solidarity based on the principles of international justice which the President of the United States has proclaimed. F. Tudela

If Germany refuses satisfaction for sinking *Lorton*, breaking relations probable. If she abandons prize-court contention and pays, break prevented at least temporarily.

McMillin

Publication, September 8, of the Recommendation by Luxburg, German Chargé in Argentina, that Ships be "Spurlos Versenkt"; Handing of Passports to Luxburg—Severance of Relations with Germany by the Tinoco Government in Costa Rica, September 22—Negotiations Relating to the Revocation of Uruguay's Neutrality, the Conclusion of Arbitration Treaties between Uruguay and the Allied Powers, and the Disposition of German Ships in Uruguayan Ports

File No. 862.20235/32a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *September 7, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Following statement by me which is furnished to you for your information and use in event of official inquiry, but not to be given to press by you, will be issued to press here at 2 p. m., September 8:

The Department has secured certain telegrams from Count Luxburg, German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, to the Foreign Office at Berlin, which, I regret to say, were dispatched from Buenos Aires by the Swedish Legation as their own official messages, addressed to the Stockholm Foreign Office.

The following are English translations of the German text:

May 19, 1917.

No. 32. This Government has now released German and Austrian ships in which hitherto a guard had been placed. In consequence of the settlement of the *Monte* (*Protegido*) case, there has been a great change in public feeling. Government will in future only clear Argentine ships as far as Las Palmas. I beg that the small steamers *Oran* and *Guazú*, 31st January (? meaning which sailed 31st), 300 tons, which are (now) nearing Bordeaux with a view to change the flag, may be spared if possible, or else sunk without a trace being left (*spurlos versenkt*).

LUXBURG

July 3, 1917.

No. 59. I learn from a reliable source that the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is a notorious ass and anglophil, declared in a secret session of the Senate that Argentina would demand from Berlin a promise not to sink more Argentine ships. If not agreed to, relations would be broken off. I recommend refusal and, if necessary, calling in the mediation of Spain.

LUXBURG

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July 9, 1917.

No. 64. Without showing any tendency to make concessions, postpone reply to Argentine note until receipt of further reports. A change in Ministry is probable. As regards Argentine steamers, I recommend either compelling them to turn back, sinking them without leaving any traces, or letting them through. They are all quite small.

LUXBURG

LANSING

File No. 600.359/22

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 8, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[Received 6.45 p. m.]

My telegrams March 27, 10 a. m.,[1] March 31, 11 a. m.[2] Argentine Government has waived return of equivalent 180,000 tons wheat shipped to England. Brazil has secured from the Spanish Ambassador 18,000 of the 40,000 tons allotted Spain to be milled here. Deputation from Rosario urges revocation of export-prohibition decree, alleging 300,000 tons surplus.

STIMSON

File No. 832.85/22

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 9, 1917, 12 noon.*
[Received 9.12 p. m.]

President Braz transferred his functions yesterday to Vice President of the Republic and left to-day for Caxambu Springs, 12 hours from capital, on a month's holiday.

Conferred with him yesterday afternoon regarding German ship proposition to which he promised to devote attention. Emphasized our necessity for immediate additional transportation and opportunity for Brazil to render the United States a tangible service which would not pass unrecognized by us, nor impair her relations with South America or European Governments. The results of Brazil's recent donations to the United States will be negligible unless she makes a sacrifice for the common cause which will warrant her friends in safeguarding her interests at the peace conference.

MORGAN

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[1] "President of the Republic last night signed decree prohibiting from to-morrow export of wheat and flour. Surplus reduced to 100,000 tons." (File No. 600.359/4.) See also the telegram to the Ambassador, July 6, 6 p. m., *ante*, p. 306.

[2] Not printed.

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File No. 862.20235/38

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 9, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received 9.16 p. m.*]

All the papers print Department's *communiqué* to the press this morning. Hardly time yet for editorial comment; they seem dazed but alive to the situation. Swedish Minister to a reporter denies having sent any messages for German Legation here.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/6777

The Consul General at Lima (Handley) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *September 10, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 6.30 p. m.*]

Last night Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs telegraphed Peruvian Minister at Berlin urging reply as soon as possible to their telegrams August 13 and September 4 concerning the sinking of *Lorton*, declaring Peruvian Government will not accept arbitration of this matter and demands full compensation and reparation. States also that long delay in replying to these notes shows very little friendliness toward Peru.

HANDLEY

File No. 862.20235/44

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 11, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 3.40 p. m.*]

Minister for Foreign Affairs makes public denial that any undertaking, express or implied, was made by Argentine Government for limiting clearances Argentine shipping to Las Palmas, and refers to flat rejection of protocol proposed by Luxburg, and the fact that since May the following Argentine vessels have cleared for war zone: *Union*, June 2; *Brazil* and *Bolivia*, June 6; *Itambery* or *Stanley*, June 14; *Francia*, *Inglaterra*, *Peru*, and *Venezuela*, June 26; all for Havre. Of these all have safely arrived at destination except the *Brazil* and *Bolivia*, reported leaving Lisbon August 16, the *Stanley* which left Funchal August 28, *Venezuela*, *Inglaterra*, and *Peru*, which left Funchal August 23, 29, and 30, respectively. The *Oran* and *Guazú* mentioned in Luxburg's cable arrived safely at Bordeaux June 4, 8, respectively.

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Luxburg is still absent; Lowen [1] refuses interviews. Newspapers state that Foreign Office last night had still not received Naón's cable No. 138, reporting information, although Nos. 139 and 141 duly arrived; therefore Argentine Government is still awaiting official confirmation before taking any action.

STIMSON

File No. 701.6235/1

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 12, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 3.50 p. m.*]

Havas [2] telephones me that his passports have been sent to Luxburg.

STIMSON

File No. 832.85/22

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *September 13, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your September 4, 6 p. m.,[3] and September 9, 12 noon. In discussing matter of German merchant vessels with Vice President of Brazil you may say that you have been instructed to call attention to the many difficulties which would arise from transfer of these vessels as contemplated to Brazilian flag, pointing out desire of this Government as sincere friend of Brazil that any embarrassment to that Government in this connection be avoided. You may add that such arrangements as suggested in Department's August 29, 5 p. m., would avoid all complications.

The British Government has asked Department whether, in event transfer of flag were made, American cruiser force would capture vessels. Department has avoided making any reply to this inquiry. It is desired that you continue your efforts with Brazilian Government along the lines being pursued by you.

LANSING

File No. 768.72/6711

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *September 13, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Department desires to be informed by cable as to number and whereabouts of all interned German vessels in Argentine Republic,

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[1] Swedish Minister at Buenos Aires.
[2] French news service.
[3] Not printed.

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together with short description. You should instruct all consuls to cooperate with Embassy to that end.

As complete and up to date report as possible is also desired as to number and size of merchant vessels flying Argentine flag.

Report also as to whether Argentine Government allows neutral shipping to pass under Argentine flag and affords same protection to that shipping as to shipping of Argentine ownership.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/7824

The Guatemalan Special Mission to the United States to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

MEMORANDUM

The undersigned, Envoys Extraordinary of Guatemala, first present the assurances of their high consideration to the most excellent, the Secretary of State of the United States of America and now proceed to formulate the points upon which they are to negotiate with the enlightened Government of your excellency in the discharge of the special mission with which they have been entrusted.

In the first place, they are to confirm to the Government of the United States the engagement made by Guatemala to cooperate with it in such a manner as may be needful, in the defense of the cause which the United States has espoused, and which Guatemala regards as the common cause of America, involving as it does the rights of all the peoples of the continent, and do so with a statement that in order to make its cooperation effective, the Government of Guatemala must be suitably prepared by obtaining the necessary elements, both with respect to material interests and to the necessity of averting and settling international questions which might benumb or impede its action.

To achieve such a preparation and conformably to the valuable promise of the Government of the United States, that of Guatemala bespeaks its aid in the following form:

1. Support sufficient to secure the money which Guatemala needs to adjust its financial condition, by means of a loan granted on the same terms as the nations allied with the United States have obtained for theirs, it being understood that the Government of Guatemala is ready to give such guarantees as may be deemed necessary for the conclusion of the transaction.
2. Facilities to import from the United States the necessaries of life that Guatemala may need and to export to that market the products of the soil of Guatemala.
3. Assurances that Guatemala may depend at all times on the means of ocean transportation which must be had to carry on commercial intercourse between the two countries.

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4. To forestall conflicts which both Mexico and Salvador, severally or jointly, might, in accordance with plans already known to the Government of the United States, bring on to Guatemala at her border, the last named country wishes to feel that it may depend on the United States' mediation to avert them, or its assistance to repel them.

5. The boundary dispute now pending between Guatemala and Honduras being one of the means of offence of which Mexico and Salvador would avail themselves to put Guatemala into difficulties, which might restrain its freedom of action should the case rise to cooperate in the United States, the Guatemalan Government deems it advisable to settle this dispute so as to remove any cause of disagreement and to that end bespeaks the potent mediation of the Government of the United States towards inducing that of Honduras to enter into an equitable and fair diplomatic agreement—a memorandum on this point will be submitted separately,[1] and

6. That the American Government extend to the Guatemalan Government the needed facilities to import from the United States the armament required for the defence of its ports and cities, and for the efficient military preparedness of the country in order that it may lend its assistance if need be.

We cherish the hope that the topics briefly stated in this memorandum will receive favorable consideration on the part of the enlightened Government of the United States.

M. ECHEVERRIA Y VIDAURRE
MANUEL MA. GIRON
CLAUDIO URRUTIA

WASHINGTON, *September 14, 1917.*

File No. 862.85/150

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *September 14, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

Police authorities of port of Montevideo to-day have placed all German ships under police control. Rumors of possible injury to ships is the reason assigned for this action. Germans have been taken off ships.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/6855

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 16, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 10.20 p. m.*]

Your September 13, 5 p. m. Minister of Marine very kindly called at my house last evening and gave me complete list Argentine

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[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 766–778.

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merchant marine with their whereabouts, 34 vessels in all not including river steamers. Only 4 exceed 1,000 tons. They are about half on voyage to Brazil, 15 to France. I asked him informally about placing vessels under Argentine flag, subject of course to law requiring one-third crew Argentine, and he said it was perfectly easy.

STIMSON

File No. 768.72/6868

The Chargé in Costa Rica (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SAN JOSÉ, *September 17, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received September 18, 3.10 p. m.*]

Minister of Foreign Affairs, *de facto* Government, states that his Government is determined to sever relations with Germany irrespective of recognition, and requests me to ask if safe-conduct would be granted to the German Chargé d'Affaires. Quite a furor created this afternoon by the arrest of several Germans, among them Kayser, agent of Grace and Company, who was later released. Do not believe action dictated by other motive than a play for recognition or to compel our aid as an ally, as in last May, as no special activity of Germans noted. Kayser has first papers and scorns German aid, claiming American protection. He says that Grace and Company have been done serious injury by action *de facto* Government this afternoon. See despatch No. 129, May 23.[1]

JOHNSON

File No. 862.20235/84

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 20, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 2 p. m.*]

Minister for Foreign Affairs in Senate interpellation last night confined himself to reading correspondence with Imperial German Government. Thereupon the Senate, 23 to 1, voted its opinion that the Argentine Government should break relations with Germany.

STIMSON

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[1] Not printed.

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File No. 862.20235/89

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 21, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 2.20 p. m.]

Argentine Government under the law has required of telegraph companies copies of all cables sent by Swedish Legation and transmitted them to Naón [1] by mail.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/6868

The Secretary of State to the Chargé in Costa Rica (Johnson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *September 21, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your September 19 [*17*], 8 p. m. Should Tinoco break with Germany, and you are approached by any of those persons connected with him in regard to the granting by United States of safe-conduct to German representative in Costa Rica, you are instructed to say that if the representative of some neutral state asks you on behalf of German representative for safe-conduct, Government of United States will grant it for him to return to Germany, so far as it concerns the American forces.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/6958

The Chargé in Costa Rica (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SAN JOSÉ, *September 22, 1917, 8 a. m.*
[Received 1.45 p. m.]

By Executive decree issued late last night, published to-day, diplomatic relations with Germany are severed. Germans are promised continued freedom during good behavior. German Chargé d'Affaires to remain here until passports secured for him.

JOHNSON

File No. 862.20235/92

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 23, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received in sections 7.45–10 p. m.]

House met yesterday. Overwhelmingly in favor rupture relations with Germany. Minister for Foreign Affairs disclosed new facts

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[1] Argentine Ambassador at Washington.

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as follows: After receiving telegrams from Molina, Argentine Minister, Berlin, that Bussche, Undersecretary Foreign Office, disavowed Luxburg's proposals, the Argentine Foreign Office waited two days and then, September 19, cabled Molina, ordering him with insistence to demand at once written reply of German Government, so that no doubt remains that it does not support Luxburg, and again, September 21, cabled Molina urgency of reply on which depends the attitude that the Argentine Government will assume. He closed by assuring the House that the Executive would proceed as Argentine citizen or as soldier if necessary.

Pending dinner hour it was given out from administration circles that the President, if compelled to act, would not be satisfied with rupture but would declare state of war and send troops to France.

At 9 p. m. sitting was resumed, and at midnight Minister for Foreign Affairs appeared again and read cable from Molina just received, dated September 22, and incorporating note of Kühlmann, German Secretary of State, dated September 21, and stating that the Imperial German Government absolutely disapproves of Luxburg's ideas which were purely personal, have not influenced nor will influence the decisions and promises of the German Government, Molina adding that Kühlmann's manner was most decisive and that the German press unanimously disapproves Luxburg. Minister for Foreign Affairs closed by saying that the President had come to no decision with respect to this telegram and left it to the House whether it should insist further. Thereupon, at 2 a. m. to-day, the House adjourned till to-morrow.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/6987

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 25, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 1.20 p. m.*]

Havas telephones House voted rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany 53 to 19.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/6856

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Salvador (Long)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *September 25, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your telegram February 27, 11 a. m.[1] Department received from Salvadoran Legation copy of note handed by Salvadoran Govern-

[1] *Ante*, p. 235.

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ment to Italian Government, stating that upon entry of the United States into the war Salvador had informed her of a "friendly neutrality," and was prepared to permit American armed vessels to use her waters; that Italy being an ally of United States, Salvador was pleased to grant to her the same privilege.

The Department has no information of this nature in its files and does not understand "friendly neutrality," nor whether the United States can use the Salvadoran waters for naval purposes and Italy use them only for armed merchantmen. Investigate and cable status of the United States-Salvadoran neutrality.

LANSING

File No. 823.857/6

The Consul General at Lima (Handley) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *September 26, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[Received 5.25 p. m.]

My telegram of September 18, 1 p. m.[1] Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs, September 21, received telegram from the Peruvian Minister at Berlin acknowledging the receipt of important telegrams concerning *Lorton* affair. German Minister for Foreign Affairs again promises to study carefully and will reply without unnecessary delay. Peruvian Minister at Berlin attributes delay [to] irregularity the post between Amsterdam and Berlin and other inconveniences.

Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs last night telegraphed Peruvian Minister at Berlin through three channels demanding German Government to give satisfaction concerning sinking *Lorton*. To inform German Government that if within eight days after receipt telegram Berlin no answer is obtained, Peruvian Government will not be able to continue diplomatic relations with Germany.

HANDLEY

File No. 832.85/34

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 27, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received September 28, 6.35 a. m.]

Prospects are favorable for acquisition by us of considerable number of ex-German vessels. On account of insistence of French and British Ministers that their Governments be allowed the use of some of these ships, the Minister for Foreign Affairs appears likely, however, to propose that all the ex-German ships which Brazil can spare

[1] Not printed.

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shall be chartered to the United States, France, and England for such employment as the three powers shall consider advantageous to their common interests. What reply shall I make to such a proposal?

MORGAN

File No. 832.85/84

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *September 29, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your September 27, 1 p. m. You may inform Minister Foreign Affairs, should he approach you along lines set forth in your cable gram, that this Government would be prepared to accept a proposal of the character outlined should it be made to the United States before being made to the other powers and should, at the same time, a request be made of the United States by Brazil that the United States make arrangements with Great Britain and France as to the employment of the vessels in question.

You may say to the Minister, Foreign Affairs that such a proposal would be considered by this Government as a further proof of Brazilian friendship for the United States and as evidence of its adherence to the doctrines of Americanism.

You may also intimate if you see no objections to so doing to the Minister, Foreign Affairs that this Government considers that any objections which might be raised by the British and French Ministers to this procedure might well be offset by a statement from the Brazilian Government that Brazil's request of the United States to make arrangements with the other powers as to the employment of the vessels in question was based on Pan-American relationship.

POLK

File No. 862.20285/108

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *September 29, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[Received 8.55 p. m.]

Your September 28, 5 p. m.[1] My September 25, 10 a. m., was telephoned to me at 8 a. m. by Havas Agency after all-night session House and was all they said. I now have official journal showing

[1] Not printed.

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attempt to delay vote by President's spokesman, Oyhanarte; but Radical members split, Lebreton voting with majority of 53, Saguier, probable next Minister for Foreign Affairs, voting with minority of 18, although a strong pro-Ally. Vote was worded, "The House declares that there should immediately be suspension of diplomatic relations between Argentine Government and Imperial German Government." It is now evident President will make no reply to Congress, as constitutional limit of session is to-night. Strike absorbs his attention.

STIMSON

File No. 733.6512/5

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 1, 1917, 5 p. m.*

922. Department has received a confidential cablegram from the Minister at Montevideo stating that Uruguay has proposed an arbitration treaty with Italy and that the Italian Government refuses to agree to such a treaty.[1] The Minister informs the Department that Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay has told him that Uruguay is desirous of assuming a more favorable attitude towards the Entente Allies than she has adopted at present, but that as France, England, and Italy have in the past not shown the Government of Uruguay that consideration it considers itself entitled to, Uruguay desires that arbitration treaties be made with the three above-mentioned Governments before she takes any final steps in their favor. It is understood that the British Minister has promised the Government of Uruguay to secure agreement from his Government for the desired arbitration treaty, and apparently France has accepted the Uruguayan proposal. It would now seem that Italy is the only one of the three nations which does not desire to meet the wishes of the Uruguayan Government.

As favorable action by Uruguay at this time is extremely important to the cause represented by the United States and the Allied powers, the Department instructs you to approach the Government to which you are accredited in a most discreet manner and intimate to it that its acceptance of the proposed arbitration treaty with Uruguay would undoubtedly be a great factor in obtaining a desirable attitude on the part of the Uruguayan Government. Do not go so far as to urge this suggestion. Report immediately by cable as to results of your representations.

POLK

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[1] Not printed.

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File No. 763.72/7097

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *October 2, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received October 3, 6.05 a. m.*]

Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs has to-day authorized me to say that—

In view of the attitude of the Allied Governments of Europe in refusing to treat Uruguay with the consideration to which she is entitled, we are obliged to maintain our neutrality; in which case we shall be present at the congress of American neutrals which President Irigoyen is about to call together. At that congress Uruguay will explain the reason that she has for remaining neutral and will set forth the following proposition:

That all the neutral countries of America declare that they will not break their relations with Germany as long as the Allies do not assure them that they will not consider any claim of their subjects or companies against American countries except in those cases in which justice may have been denied to them.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs must answer a summons from the Uruguayan House of Representatives at which time he will favor the rupture with Germany if the Allies will consider the well-known claims of Uruguay, otherwise he will favor neutrality. This position will be approved by great majority of Congress.

British Minister does not assure Government that England will agree to treaty, although he promised that assurance would be given Government yesterday. Uruguayan Minister at Rome reported yesterday that Italian Government could not agree to proposed treaty. In the meantime enemy activities here are more pronounced. Unless energetic steps are taken to secure favorable action on part of Allied Governments to Uruguayan proposal, this Government will join conference of neutrals called by Argentine President. Awaiting instructions.

JEFFERY

File No. 862.85/176

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *October 3, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received October 4, 1.35 a. m.*]

Referring to my despatch of August 16, No. 272.[1] Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon advises that British Government through its Minister here has agreed with the Uru-

[1] Not printed.

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guayan Government upon terms of [treaty] on condition that interned German boats be turned over to Allied Governments. The Uruguayan Government does not accept this proposition. Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs proposes to British Government that with the acceptance by that Government of Uruguayan request for treaty agreement this Government will place the German vessels now in its custody at the disposal of the United States Government. British Minister believes that this will be satisfactory to his Government. Diplomatic situation here is at present very favorable.

JEFFERY

File No. 832.85/40

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANIERO, *October 3, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received October 4, 11.30 a. m.*]

The Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs will advise the President to request the American Government to arrange with the Governments of France and Great Britain, especially the former, a plan by which something over 30 of the units of the ex-German fleet, which have been taken over and incorporated into the Lloyd Brazilian fleet, shall be employed to meet the necessities of Brazilian commerce and to assist the common cause of the Allies, both commercial and military. These vessels are not ready for sea, are in need of repairs, and are all over 4,000 tons register. The United States would charter them for a year with the privilege of extension on the same terms, would repair them in United States shipyards, and would control the arrangements with the said Allies for their employment.

The French Minister made a proposition to the Brazilian Government some time before ours was received to charter 10 vessels of the Companhia Commercio e Navegação; but when these ships were found to be unsatisfactory in tonnage, the ex-German fleet was substituted for them. Brazil's wish to export to Europe coffee, rubber, and beans was played upon. The charter price suggested was about what the United States is paying for similar vessels ready for sea.

The Minister's proposition provided for the establishment of a triangular passenger and cargo line of ex-German ships between Rio de Janeiro, New York, and France. Presumably he planned that France should subcharter many of the units to us, as well as others of the two French lines to South America which would be withdrawn when the new line was started. Brazil was so captivated by the prospect of extending her export facilities that she did not see that France would enjoy the charter income that otherwise might be hers.

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The Foreign Minister estimates that exclusive of the unrepaired vessels of the ex-German fleet, the Brazilian merchant marine represents a little over 1,600,000 tons and that Brazil's present annual exportation amounts to 2,000,000 tons. He favors the creation of such a line as the French Minister proposed and hopes the idea may enter into our plans to insure protection to Brazil's present and future foreign trade. Its incorporation would weaken the President's continued disinclination to part with any of the ships and would remove the embarrassing criticism of exporters.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72/7117

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *October 4, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 5.55 p. m.*]

If diplomatic situation adjusts itself here, I am thinking suggesting to this Government that the American squadron now in Rio de Janeiro be moved temporarily to this port. I believe this course will be appreciated in River Plate. Awaiting instructions.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/7097

The Department of State to the British, French, and Italian Embassies

MEMORANDUM

The Department of State was informed in the month of August that the Government of Uruguay regarded as most unfortunate the attitude which had been assumed by certain of the diplomatic representatives of the Entente Allied powers at Montevideo, and felt that their efforts to induce the Uruguayan Government to rescind its decree of neutrality in favor of their respective countries, in order that their war vessels might make use of Uruguayan ports, were uncalled for at this time. The Government of the United States considered that the friendly attitude which Uruguay had shown to the cause of the United States and of the Entente Allies was of such a cordial nature and based upon such high principles that it hoped that nothing would occur which might force Uruguay to change her position.

The Government of the United States, therefore, instructed its Ambassadors in London and Paris to bring these facts to the attention of the respective Chanceries of Great Britain and France, with the suggestion that directions might be sent to the representa-

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tives of these powers in Montevideo in order that their efforts with the Uruguayan Government, along the above-mentioned lines, might be terminated or postponed until a later date.

The Government of the United States has received information to the effect that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, in conversations with the American Minister, had intimated that an understanding might be reached with the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy in regard to the settlement of the differences between Uruguay and these nations in the form of arbitration treaties, the Minister for Foreign Affairs taking the position that Uruguay in the past had not received that treatment from European countries to which she considered herself entitled.

The American Minister received the impression that the Government of Uruguay desired to assume a more favorable attitude toward the Entente Allied Governments, but that it was first greatly desirous of receiving assurances as to its treatment at their hands.

It now appears that His Britannic Majesty's Minister at Montevideo has stated to the Government of Uruguay that he would endeavor to secure the agreement of his Government to the desired arbitration treaty, and that the representative of the French Republic has informed the Government of Uruguay that his Government was agreeable to the Uruguayan proposal, but that the Government of His Majesty, the King of Italy, was averse to entering into such an agreement with the Republic of Uruguay.

Under date of October 2 the American Minister at Montevideo cabled the Department of State that he had been informed in a confidential manner that certain factions in the Government of Uruguay were determined, in view of the attitude which certain of the Entente Allied powers had assumed in refusing to treat Uruguay with the consideration to which she believed herself entitled, to force Uruguay to be present at a congress of American neutrals which the President of Argentina is reported to be about to call. It is also reported that should Uruguay be present at the congress, she will give the above-mentioned reason as an explanation for her remaining neutral.

It appears also that Uruguay proposes making the following statement: That all the neutral countries of America should declare that they will not break relations with Germany until they are assured by the Entente Allied powers that the latter will not press any claims of their nationals or companies composed of their nationals against American countries, except in those cases where there is a denial of justice.

It is also understood that the Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs is to be interpellated in the Uruguayan House of Repre-

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sentatives in regard to Uruguay's present international position, and that if satisfactory arrangements can be agreed upon with the above-mentioned powers, he will do all in his power to bring about a more favorable attitude on the part of his Government.

On October 3 the American Minister at Montevideo cabled the Department of State that he had been informed that the Argentine Minister in Montevideo had advised the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, in a confidential manner, that the Argentine Government wished to call at Buenos Aires a congress of the neutral countries of Central and South America, excluding the United States.[1] It appears that the object of the congress will be to create pressure in favor of peace and in case this is not obtained, to decide an attitude abandoning neutrality.

In his cable the Minister further reported that he had received an intimation from Uruguayan officials to the effect that the tendency toward neutrality in Uruguay was being fomented by the attitude of certain of the Entente Allied powers in not wishing to come to an agreement with Uruguay on matters which she considered affected her sovereignty.

The foregoing information is communicated to the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Italy, in Washington, as of particular interest at this time, and the Government of the United States feels that on account of the importance of the friendly attitude of Uruguay it would be of great service to the cause of the United States and the other nations which are at present aligned against the Imperial German Government, should the contemplated action on the part of certain factions in Uruguay be avoided.

WASHINGTON, *October 5, 1917.*

File No. 763.72/7097

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 6, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your October 2, 7 p. m.,[2] and October 3, 8 p. m.[3] Very careful consideration has been given by the Government of the United States to statement of Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs and to the contents of his confidential memorandum.[3]

This Government, although quite understanding the position of the Government of Uruguay as expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in relation to his desire to see Uruguay treated by all nations in strict accord with the applied principles of international

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[1] Telegram not printed.
[2] *Ante*, p. 334.
[3] Not printed.

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law, could not but experience a feeling of great surprise, if not embarrassment, in learning that at this particular moment one of the most advanced and important of the American nations should raise such a conditional issue; as it had, upholding the Pan-American ideal, expressed its adherence to the principles enunciated by the United States in the present war against the German Government, which principles are also shared by the Entente Allied powers.

Although imbued with these feelings this Government, in a desire to aid in the just settlement of any differences of opinion between Uruguay and other nations, did not hesitate to bring the substance of the statements contained in the above-mentioned cablegrams to the attention of the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Italy, stating that the matter was presented to them merely for their information. It was added that the United States desired to make no comment thereupon, in view of the fact that such an advanced and highly placed member of the family of nations as Uruguay could only act with that justice and nobility of purpose which has always characterized it, and for which reasons the United States has always been rightly proud of its friendship.

Department's October 1, 5 p. m. Under date October 4 Department has received a confidential cablegram from Ambassador at Rome,[1] stating that he had discussed the matter with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, who stated that he could not sustain the position should he agree to exclude from arbitration whatever Uruguay might consider withdrawn therefrom by her laws and decisions. After considerable discussion he said he was willing to negotiate the arbitration treaty; first, on either original terms proposed by Italy and agreed to by representatives of Uruguayan Government, terms identical with those in Italian treaty with Argentine and other South American Republics, or, secondly, on terms contained in United States arbitration treaty with Uruguay. This last, the Ambassador states, he seemed to believe would be accepted by Uruguay, if this solution suggested by United States. The Ambassador understood Minister for Foreign Affairs desired that case of ship *Maria Madre* was to be settled separately, although Ambassador believes position on this might have been changed.

Department wishes you to exercise your judgment in making use of information contained in this cablegram. Before taking any action you should ascertain whether Italian Minister has made further representations or has presented views of his Government, as outlined in Ambassador Page's telegram to Department. Should any further information be received through Italian Ambassador in Washington, you will be informed immediately.

LANSING

[1] Not printed.

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Severance of Relations with Germany by Peru, October 6; by Uruguay, October 7—Revocation by Uruguay of Decrees of Neutrality; Second Visit of the American Squadron to Montevideo—Assurances of Salvador as to the Use of Its Ports and Waters by the United States

File No. 763.72/7151

The Consul General at Lima (Handley) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LIMA, *October 6, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 9.10 p. m.*]

Minister for Foreign Affairs for Peru has telegraphed Peruvian Minister at [Berlin] to demand his passport and to turn over Peruvian interests to the Minister of Spain. German Minister at Lima given his passport October 6, 12 noon, and will probably proceed to Chile.

HANDLEY

File No. 763.72/7152

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *October 7, 1917, 5 a. m.*
[*Received 5.25 a. m.*]

Uruguayan Congress adopted resolution at 2.30 this morning, by vote of 74 to 23 in House and 13 to 3 in Senate, favoring the breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/7230

The Peruvian Minister (Freyre) to the Secretary of State

[A copy of the following translation of a telegram from the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Peruvian Minister at Washington, was handed by the Minister to the Secretary of State on October 8, 1917:]

LIMA, *October 6, 1917.*

After having vainly endeavored to procure that the German Government settle our claim for the sinking of the Peruvian bark *Lorton*, which occurred in February of this year and constituted a violation of the fundamental principles of international law, the Peruvian Government was compelled to exact of the Imperial German Government a satisfactory solution of the question, within a term of eight days. The German Government, however, declared to the Peruvian Minister at Berlin that a solution of the question within a peremptory term was absolutely impossible. I, therefore, decided to inform Congress of the Government's resolution to break diplomatic relations with Germany, and Congress approved this resolution by a

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vote of 105 to 6. Instructions have been forwarded immediately to the Peruvian Minister at Berlin that he demand his passports, and passports have been handed to the German Minister at Lima. We will address a direct communication on the subject to the United States Government; in the meanwhile, you are instructed to make it acquainted with the situation.

TUDELA

File No. 763.72/7156

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *undated.*
[*Received October 8, 1917, 5.55 a. m.*]

Following is copy of decree of Uruguayan Government now in effect, breaking diplomatic relations with the German Government:

Montevideo, October 7, 1917.

In view of the authority granted Executive power by law of the nation of this date, authorizing said power to declare diplomatic and commercial relations broken between Uruguay and Imperial Government, and the reasons which have caused the legislative decision, which are absolutely shared by the Executive power, the President of the Republic at a general Cabinet meeting decrees:

ARTICLE 1. From the date of the present decree diplomatic and commercial relations between Uruguay and the German Imperial Government remain broken.

ARTICLE 2. That the respective passports be handed over to the diplomatic representative of that Government, all the guaranties for his personal safety being granted to him at the same time until his removal from the country.

ARTICLE 3. That telegraphic instructions be transmitted to the functionaries of the Republic in office in Germany to the effect that they immediately abandon the German territory, requesting the same guaranties which are granted to the German representative by the Government of Uruguay.

Viera

JEFFERY

File No. 710/6

The Ecuadoran Minister (Elizalde) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. 36 WASHINGTON, *October 9, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor of placing in your hands the circular note dated the 11th of September last, which the Chancellery of Ecuador addressed to the American Chancelleries, together with the memorandum to which this note refers.

I avail myself [etc.] R. H. ELIZALDE

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[Enclosure—Translation]

The Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs (Tobar y Borgoño) to the Secretary of State

No. 64 QUITO, *September 11, 1917.*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The various situations that have successively arisen in America as the result of the present war, have confirmed the Ecuadoran Chancellery in what has ever been its belief and aspiration: the union and solidarity of all the countries of the continent. To bring about that union and solidarity has been its wish since the beginning of the war and is also now when peoples of America are being swept into the great tempest.

God grant that it be possible to arrive at a Pan-American understanding under which our continent will present a strong united front to the world for the realization of the common ideals of our countries and the defense of the interests of all: that aspiration is voiced in the memorandum which I enclose in this note and of which I beg your excellency to take note.

I avail myself [etc.] TOBAR Y BORGOÑO

[Subenclosure—Translation]

MEMORANDUM

On November 20, 1914, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador referred to the Advisory Board of the Ministry, for its examination, the general question of neutrality and its maintenance. The Board, at its session of the 23d of that month, inspired with the ideas of Americanism and continental solidarity that have always been those of Ecuador, named as one of the most effective means of achieving that object that of having "the American governments declare that respect of the neutrality of every one of the American nations is the concern of all." On December 8 that proposition was made known to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union by the Minister of Ecuador at Washington.

Ecuador has not since abated its zeal for an American union with the aim of safeguarding the rights and interests of the whole continent, and has found its inspiration therefor in the profound conviction that isolation could be but harmful to the various peoples of America, since their interests are common to all and hence the earnest desire to protect them must likewise be common to all, and since union and concord must necessarily prove highly fruitful to the continent in general and to each one of its peoples in particular.

The present war, which unfortunately has already extended its scourge to America, can not leave unconcerned the states which are still standing on the brink of the strife: common interests, sentiments of fraternal affection and sincere sympathy, bind the neutral

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American peoples to those who are already suffering the consequences of the conflict, on account of taking a position in keeping with what they deem necessary to maintain their dignity and defend their rights. Neutrality, though they observe it, may not prevent the first-named peoples from being led by their sympathies, born of the most genuine Americanism, to take a benevolent attitude toward American belligerents or American peoples who, though they have not reached the stage of belligerency, have assumed certain positions which they consider the best fitted to safeguard their national welfare, their own honor, and justice.

The countries most distant from the seat of war are suffering from the consequences of the struggle, their trade has endured hard blows: the present maintenance of the interchange of commodities and the guaranty of its future must prompt them to seek common means of defense since the threat is also a common one.

The Ecuadoran Chancellery thought that these interests in which the whole continent is concerned might be discussed by representatives of the whole continent in an American congress: no program was mapped out; none of the concrete points to be taken up was then made known. The object Ecuador had in mind was solely to let America come to an agreement on all that related to its interests and welfare; no topic foreign to that concept of purest Americanism was to be broached or included in the program. Problems of a domestic character, which unhappily divide some American countries, questions upon which all do not agree, were to be excluded. The contemplated congress had a special object, American concord in a situation in which the whole continent was concerned.

Grieved at seeing the plague of war spread to some of the countries on this side of the Atlantic, Ecuador had to reiterate its earnest desire that the most perfect Americanism should animate at this juncture the sister republics of the continent: in the note of April 23 the Legation of Brazil at Quito was told that Ecuador could not but feel sincere regret at seeing American countries with which Ecuador had close ties of interest, sympathy, and traditional and even solemn friendship, placed in a position where they considered it necessary to sever relations with the belligerents and even to join in the struggle, as the United States and Cuba had done. On June 27 the same statement was confirmed in reply to another note from Brazil which said that the highest spirit of Americanism animated that country.

The same spirit impelled the President of the Republic, on the 4th of July, to send an expressive telegram of congratulations to the President of the United States; it is also reflected in the Presidential message to the Congress of 1917, in which it is said that—

our relations with the other countries continue on the same footing

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of cordiality; we are adhering to neutrality but not without having brought about a most frank and open exchange of views with all the nations of the American Continent. We have manifested our sympathies and our faith on every occasion when justice demanded or the great principles of democratic rule, fundamental to these nations, required. America, then, will always find us with her. Ecuador is one of her daughters, and the Republic is her soul and life. We shall never fail to side with and give preference to that which our duty demands of us as democrats, republicans and sons of America.

If, then, such has been the Ecuadoran policy, there should be no occasion or reason for Ecuador to depart from it to-day; the Minister of Foreign Affairs so declared to the National Congress, and that body concurred in this view of affairs when it declared its satisfaction with the course followed by the Chancellery in this matter.

America will ever find Ecuador ready to join with the other American peoples for the defense and security of what appertains to the whole continent and of all that which may serve as a guaranty of the American common interests; but to do this effectively an agreement must be arrived at, America must be truly one, and the various international entities which make up America must act as one.

In his message of January 22 last to the Senate, President Wilson said that nations should avoid in the future entangling alliances whose result was competition for power, which would not come to pass when all united in following the same course, animated by the same purpose. If not all, why could not the nations of America at least reach an agreement which would unite them forever in common ideals of peace and defense? The Ecuadoran Chancellery thinks it can be done, since all were born to political and international life through the great and noble effort of their independence, all have struggled to make a reality of the principle of human equality and natural liberty, and all also strive as one to make the Government of the people by the people another tangible and permanent reality in the world.

In this manner only will the American peoples present to the world a strong front commanding respect, so that being strong and commanding respect they may be heard at the present hour and heeded in the future.

QUITO, *September 11, 1917.*

File No. 763.72/7117

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 10, 1917, 3 p. m.*

Your October 4, noon.[1] Navy Department has instructed Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet to proceed to Montevideo as soon as

[1] *Ante*, p. 336.

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convenient to pay temporary visit of courtesy, and you are instructed to communicate with him to Embassy, Rio, regarding any preparations which it may be necessary to make. You may discreetly inform Uruguayan Government that visit of fleet may be expected and say that it may be regarded as an additional proof of the friendship of this Government.

LANSING

File No. 832.85/43

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 12, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received October 13, 11.50 a. m.*]

The President of Brazil, who has just resumed his official duties after a month's absence, has authorized the Foreign Office to announce through the press and to the Foreign Embassies and Legations in Rio de Janeiro interested in the ex-German vessels that the Brazilian Government will neither alienate nor charter those ships but will organize with them transatlantic steamship lines under the Brazilian flag and with Brazilian crews, which will benefit Brazil and the Allies. The formation of those lines is dependent upon a previous understanding with the nations friendly to Brazil, with which Congress has instructed the Government to combine in formulating measures to protect and defend navigation and freedom of commerce. Coincident with this announcement the Brazilian Government has informed the Embassy that the President has confined [*informed?*] it in a personal message that two steamship lines consisting of 58 vessels of the present Lloyd Brazilian fleet, which includes ex-German vessels, will be established or expanded between Brazil and the United States and between Brazil and Europe. A new direct line of the Lloyd Brazilian which will not touch Brazil, wholly composed of 19 ex-German vessels, will also be established between United States [and Europe to] serve Brazilian interest and those of the Allied nations in transportation supplies with a view to a more rapid termination of the war. "Supplies" will be understood to include troops.

These 19 vessels, all of which must receive their major repairs in the United States, include 1 ship, the *Blucher*, of over 12,000 tons gross tonnage, 2 of over 9,000, 1 of over 8,000, 2 of over 6,000, 3 of over 5,000, 5 of over 4,000, and 5 of over 3,000 gross tonnage. Total tonnage of 19 vessels is 112,227 gross tonnage.

If the American Government should approve the proposal, a representative of the Lloyd Brazilian and the Brazilian Government with full powers would be stationed at New York City to see that the employment of these vessels is wholly for the benefit of the

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United States Government, which would control their movements and utilization with the single reservation of the maintenance of the general principles indicated in the above quotation. Though the vessels would appear to continue under the control of the Lloyd their actual employment would be directed by the American Government.

The financial arrangements relating to the vessels' employment would be made between the American Government and the Brazilian Treasury Department. They would probably be based on gross tonnage and the cost of repairs.

The maintenance of the Brazilian flag would soon have the effect of bringing Brazil actively into the war and since none of the vessels are at present provided with crews their operation would inevitably be confided to Americans.

The Brazilian Government is committed to the shipping policy outlined above which has features in common with that which Uruguay has adopted.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72111N39/65

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *undated.*
[*Received October 16, 1917, 4.30 a. m.*]

The decrees of neutrality heretofore in force between the Governments of Uruguay and the following countries: France, England, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Japan, Serbia, Roumania, and Montenegro, were revoked to-day by Executive order of the Uruguayan Government.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/7352

The Brazilian Ambassador (Da Gama) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *October 15, 1917.*
[*Received October 16.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: In accordance with information just received from my Government, I have to apprize your excellency that the Minister of War of my country has appointed a commission coming to the United States on an official mission and consisting of Lieut. Col. Alipio Gama, Maj. João Borges Fortes, Capt. Alexandre Galvão Bueno, First Lieuts. Marcolino Fagundes, Othon de Oliveira Santos and Second Lieuts. Luiz Procopio de Souza Pinto and Franklin Emilio Rodrigues.

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Begging your excellency to be pleased to direct that every possible facility tending to make a success of its stay in this country be extended to the said commission, I have [etc.]

DOMICIO DA GAMA

File No. 763.72/7888

The Chargé in Colombia (Belden) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BOGOTÁ, *October 19, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received October 20, 12.35 a. m.*]

Colombian Senate has passed resolution protesting against submarine warfare.

BELDEN

File No. 810.00/a 16

The Minister in Salvador (Long) to the Secretary of State

[Extract]

No. 249 SAN SALVADOR, *October 5, 1917.*
[*Received October 20.*]

SIR: . . . the Department requested an explanation of what the Salvadoran Government meant by "friendly neutrality" and whether it could be intended to mean that our naval vessels might use Salvadoran waters for naval purposes as well as for armed merchantmen.[1] The reply, couched in friendly terms, was to the effect that the United States could in the present contention make use of Salvadoran waters within the *status jure existente* for naval purposes and for armed merchantmen.

In a conversation held with the President shortly after the receipt of this note he said that he understood that the United States naval and merchant vessels could come, remain, and leave at will without let or hindrance, and he hoped that his Government's explanation of its understanding of the significance of "friendly neutrality" would be satisfactory to my Government. . . .

I have [etc.] BOAZ W. LONG

File No. 811.33/169

President Viera of Uruguay to President Wilson

[Telegram—Translation]

MONTEVIDEO, *October 20, 1917.*

I thank Your Excellency for the additional evidence of sincere friendship and high consideration extended to my country in send-

[1] See telegram of Sept. 25, 6 p. m., to the Minister, *ante*, p. 330.

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ing to the waters of the Republic the squadron under command of the illustrious Admiral Caperton with the mission, so honoring us, of expressing the sentiments of solidarity of the Government of the Union in consideration of the attitude taken by Uruguay in joining the league of honor constituted in defense of the democratic ideals so gallantly upheld by the people and Government of the United States. On this occasion, I reiterate [etc.]

FELICIANO VIERA

File No. 862.85/171

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 20, 1917, 6 p. m.*

The Department desires you to point out to Cuban Government, with reference to previous correspondence respecting the German merchant vessels seized by Cuban Government and turned over to the United States, that under laws of this country vessels can not be granted American registry unless they are American owned, and that in these circumstances it seems that possibly it might be advisable, if no sale of the vessels to the United States can be arranged, that they be registered under Cuban laws and operated under charter to the United States. Department would like to obtain an expression of Cuban Government's views on this matter as soon as possible.

In connection with consideration of matters before Shipping Board in relation to the ships, Department desires you to obtain all available information respecting the formalities of law observed in turning over these vessels to authorities of this Government, and in connection with the seizure of them by the Cuban authorities, whether there was any prize-court proceeding or any legislative or executive act authorizing seizure, condemnation, or requisition of ships. Mail Department copies of any such acts bearing on these matters.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/7865

The Chargé in Costa Rica (Johnson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

SAN JOSÉ, *October 19, 1917, 6 p. m.*

[*Received October 20, 9.30 p. m.*]

Your September 21, 5 p. m.[1] Request made yesterday afternoon by Spanish Consul on behalf of late German representative for safe-conduct for latter and family, for Erich Kraske, and for clerk and his family, to leave 28th for New York. Simultaneous written request also made in the same way of the French and British represent-

[1] *Ante*, p. 329.

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atives. In order that Tinoco could have no excuse for delay due to us, I issued safe-conduct immediately and delivered it to Spanish Consul, as did British and French representatives. It covers Wilhelm Erythropel, wife, two children, and nursery maid and no others. Tinoco will not hand passports for leaving sooner than date fixed by German Chargé d'Affaires, so that if the Department considers instructions exceeded new ones can be sent. Kraske is itinerant German Vice Consul who escaped vigilance of Nicaraguan Government . . .

JOHNSON

File No. 763.72/7360

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *October 20, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received October 21, 2.10 a. m.*]

[520.] A resolution was introduced in the Senate yesterday in secret session by Senators Alonso, Reynoso, and Cepeda which, after a long and bitter indictment of Germany and German methods, etc., proposed that a committee be appointed to inform the Executive that—

In the opinion of the Senate at least a solemn and official declaration of benevolent neutrality towards the Entente nations is indispensable for the maintenance of the Government and for the restoration of the peace, progress, and life of the nation.

FLETCHER

File No. 811.88/172a

President Wilson to President Viera of Uruguay

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 22, 1917.*

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the reception of the expression of your appreciation of the visit to Uruguayan waters of the United States' squadron under Admiral Caperton's command as an evidence of the solidarity of sentiment existing between the Governments of Uruguay and the United States, and I am convinced that a closer and more intimate intercourse among the peoples of America, both through their official and civic representatives, must produce as its one result the development of a still greater continental unity of purpose and policy.

WOODROW WILSON

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File No. 763.72/7852

The Secretary of State to the Brazilian Ambassador (Da Gama)

No. 157 WASHINGTON, *October 23, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 15th instant, by which you advise me of information received from your Government that the Minister of War of Brazil has appointed an official commission to come to the United States, consisting of Lieut. Col. Alipio Gama, Maj. João Borges Fortes, Capt. Alexandre Galvão Bueno, First Lieuts. Marcolino Fagundes, Othon de Oliveira Santos and Second Lieuts. Luiz Procopio de Souza Pinto and Franklin Emilio Rodrigues.

It will give me great pleasure to comply with the request of your note to direct that every possible facility be extended to the commission to make their visit to the United States successful, and to this end I beg to request that you will kindly inform me of the approximate date of their expected arrival in the United States, the port at which they will arrive, and the time when they may be expected to reach Washington.[1]

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 862.85/199

The British Embassy to the Department of State[2]

MEMORANDUM

The British Embassy have received instructions from His Majesty's Government to communicate to the State Department the following particulars as to negotiations which have been proceeding with the Government of Uruguay in connection with the proposed signature by France and Great Britain of the arbitration treaty proposed by the Uruguayan Government.

The British and French Governments have now decided in principle on the acceptance of the proposed treaty, a course which was recommended as desirable by the Department in their communication of October 5. As a return for their acceptance of these proposals they have placed before the Uruguayan Government the following suggestions for the disposal of the German ships in Uruguayan ports on their requisitioning by the Uruguayan Government.

1. One-third of the tonnage should be used in trade with the United States and two-thirds in trade with France and Great Britain.

2. As an alternative proposal half of the tonnage should be used in trade with Europe, one-quarter in direct trade with the United

[1] The commission reached the United States on Dec. 6.

[2] A similar memorandum was received on the same date from the French Embassy (File No. 733.5112/3).

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States, and one-quarter in trade between Uruguay and Europe, calling at United States ports on the outward journey, but returning direct from Europe to the Plate.

Before proceeding, however, to the signature of the treaties, the British and French Governments would be glad to learn the views of the United States Government on the subject. They feel that the United States Government will appreciate the steps taken, and that it will be borne in mind that the conciliatory attitude of the Allies in this question has resulted in furnishing new resources to fortify the Entente against the common enemy.

WASHINGTON, *October 25, 1917.*

Declaration of a State of War between Brazil and Germany, October 26—Renewed Initiative of Argentina for a Latin-American Congress, October 29—Peruvian Plan, Approved by the United States, to Have the Congress Consider Severance of Relations with Germany—Assurances Given by the United States to the Guatemalan Special Mission, November 6—Charter to France of German Ships Seized by Brazil

File No. 763.72/7444

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 25, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received October 26, 4.45 a. m.*]

President of Brazil sent to Congress this afternoon following message regarding the torpedoing of the Lloyd Brasileiro steamer *Maçâo*, former German steamer *Palatia*:

Members of the National Congress: It is my painful duty to communicate to the National Congress that the Government has been informed through telegraphic messages from London and Madrid that a German submarine has torpedoed Brazilian ship *Maçâo* and that her commander has been seized.

The mere fact that this is the fourth Brazilian ship which has been sunk by German naval forces is a very serious matter, which moreover is aggravated by the seizure of the Brazilian commander.

Members of the National Congress, we must face the situation and recognize at once that a state of war is imposed upon us by Germany. Our prudent attitude will not prevent us from seeing the facts as they are; on the contrary, we now feel at liberty, in order to maintain the dignity of our country, to recommend belligerent retaliation.

In case Congress does not decide otherwise, the Government will order the occupation of the German warship which is in the port of Bahia and the imprisonment of her crew, besides decreeing the military internment of the crews of the ships which we are utilizing.

It appears that the moment has arrived to make legal our defensive attitude which has been justified by recent events and to develop the organization of national resistance; we will thereby complete the evolution of our external policy in readiness for any aggression that Brazil may in future suffer.

MORGAN

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File No. 832.85/43

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 26, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Department's October 18, 10 p. m.[1] French Ambassador has informed Department that his Government is unwilling to withdraw its proposal looking to the acquisition of a certain amount of German ships in Brazil, notwithstanding the suggestion made by the United States that negotiations could probably be conducted more satisfactorily by them.

This matter has been the subject of discussion between the Department and Shipping Board and latter has informed Department that it considers that it would be a loss of time to urge American proposal in view of attitude taken by French Government, and that it would be better to stand aside and allow French Government to pursue its program either to success or failure.

You may use this information in the way you consider most advantageous for American interests.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/7453

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 26, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[Received October 27, 6.45 a. m.]

At 20 minutes to 6 this afternoon the Senate unanimously voted the following resolution which the Chamber had approved at 3 o'clock:

A state of war between Brazil and the German Empire, provoked by the latter, is hereby recognized and proclaimed and the President of the Republic, in accordance with the request contained in his message to the National Congress, is hereby authorized to take such steps for the National defense and public safety as he shall consider adequate, to open the necessary credits and to authorize the credit operations required. All previous measures to the contrary are hereby revoked.

MORGAN

File No. 710/6

The Secretary of State to the Ecuadoran Minister for Foreign Affairs (Tobar y Borgoño)

WASHINGTON, *October 27, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, through the courtesy of the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister

[1] Not printed.

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Plenipotentiary of Ecuador at this Capital, of the note of September 11, 1917, and the accompanying memorandum in which your excellency proposes the union and solidarity of all American countries.[1]

In reply it affords me pleasure to assure your excellency that the aspirations expressed in the memorandum of the Ecuadoran Foreign Office for a Pan-American understanding, which should procure a continental policy for the realization of the common ideals of all American countries and the defense of the interests of all, can not fail to receive the sympathetic consideration of the American Chancelleries to which it is addressed.

The attainment of such a result has ever been the endeavor of the United States in the development of its continental policy, and the interdependence of the free nations of America could in no way be better demonstrated than by their united and definite alignment with the powers that are now dedicating their all in the struggle for democratic principles that is convulsing the world.

I avail myself [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 862.20235/177a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 27, 1917, 7 p. m.*

Washington Post and New York *Sun* have long articles on the subject of German despatches, which were given to the State Department to be deciphered, being withheld.[2] Articles state that Naón is pro-Ally and will probably resign on account of ill health. This Department had told the Argentine Ambassador that the despatches would not be published for the present. The fact that the despatches had been given to us to be decoded was generally known as the information came from Argentina. This Department has been most careful not to give out any information, and the facts for these particular newspaper stories must have come from Argentina or from representatives of some other powers who knew of the existence of these messages. If the matter is mentioned, you can state positively the information did not come from the United States Government, but be very careful not to say where we suspect the information did come from.

POLK

[1] *Ante*, p. 342.

[2] See the Ambassador's telegram of Sept. 21, 11 a. m., *ante*, p. 329.

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File No. 862.85/176

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 29, 1917, 7 p. m.*

Your October 3, 7 p. m.[1] Report fully by cable as to actual situation regard to ex-German ships in Uruguay. What negotiations are now being carried on between British and French Ministers and Uruguayan Government and between Uruguayan Government and private parties for acquisition of these ships.

Would, in your opinion, negotiations between the Government of the United States and the Government of Uruguay for acquisition of all German vessels be successful?

LANSING

File No. 763.72111/6719

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *October 29, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 10.50 p. m.*]

Following cable from Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Offices of Panama and the Central American countries has passed through here to-day:

Argentine Government, supplementing its initiative proposing on account of world war a Latin American congress to concentrate upon a common deliberation and sanction regarding it, and in view of the fact that said call acquires daily greater significance, since it would be very regrettable for the nations to compromise themselves separately instead of making a joint declaration to make their influence felt, thus giving character to their representation throughout the world, has decided, subject to the approval of the States, to set the first fortnight in January 1918 as the date of such meeting. Each government may send two or more delegates as it sees fit but representation will be by states.

Please instruct as to what, if anything, you would have me say to Panama regarding its response.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/7541

Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State (Stabler)

October 30, 1917.

The Peruvian Chargé d'Affaires called at the Latin-American Division this morning and left with Mr. Stabler a memorandum[2] in

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[1] *Ante*, p. 334.
[2] Not printed.

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which it was stated that the Argentine Government had approached the Government of Peru, setting forth its project to assemble an American congress at Buenos Aires for the purpose of reaching an understanding on the subject of the war, if the consent of the United States were obtained, to meet the first fortnight in January 1918; that the Government of Peru desired to know the opinion of the Department of State in the matter, and whether the American Government would attend the congress, which wishes to proceed in harmony with the United States.

Mr. Stabler informed Mr. Freyre that he would discuss the matter with the Secretary and would later inform him as to the Secretary's views.

Mr. Stabler then spoke with the Secretary of State and read him the memorandum left by the Chargé d'Affaires. The Secretary instructed Mr. Stabler to inform Mr. Freyre that in view of the fact that no representations had been made to the Government of the United States by the Argentine Government in this regard, it was obvious that the Department of State could express no opinion on the matter.

The views of the Secretary of State, as outlined above, were telephoned to Mr. Freyre who asked that he be informed when the United States was in a position to give him a definite statement in this matter, and also, if it were possible, to be informed when the Argentine Government presented its proposal to the Government of the United States. Mr. Stabler said he would so inform the Secretary.

File No. 763.72/7454

President Wilson to President Braz of Brazil

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *October 30, 1917.*

Allow me, speaking for the people and the Government of the United States, to say with what genuine pleasure and heartfelt welcome we hail the association with ourselves and the other nations united in war with Germany of the great Republic of Brazil. Her action in this time of crisis binds even closer the bonds of friendship which already united the two Republics.

WOODROW WILSON

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File No. 763.72111/6732

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

PANAMA, *October 31, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received 9.20 p. m.*]

Referring to my cable of October 29, 5 p. m. . . . Salvador accepts and states that it will appoint delegates. Honduras refuses, saying that it has adhered to the cause defended by the United States.

PRICE

File No. 763.72111/6737

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *November 1, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 9.50 p. m.*]

Supplementing my October 31, 6 p. m. Nicaraguan Minister for Foreign Affairs, with simple acknowledgment, requested Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs to furnish him a program of the discussion of the conference. Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs has replied that opportunely he will answer his request.

PRICE

File No. 832.85/51a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *November 3, 1917, 6 p. m.*

In connection with the French negotiations for Brazilian ships, President, after reading your telegrams, suggested to Secretary yesterday that this Government had better stand aside and let French complete negotiations.

POLK

File No. 862.85/201

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *November 3, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received November 4, 12.40 a. m.*]

The French Minister here showed me telegram to-day from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, quoting the French Ambassador in Washington as follows: "Mr. Polk of State Department advises me that the United States Government is in no position to recommend that French sign an arbitration treaty with Uruguay."

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As agreement for arbitration treaty has already been reached between France and Uruguay, I have thought some mistake may have occurred in transmission of this message. Will Department advise me in this connection so that position of the United States Government may not be misunderstood here?

JEFFERY

File No. 862.85/202

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *November 5, 1917, 3 a. m.*
[*Received 1.55 p. m.*]

Your October 29, 7 p. m. Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs says that one of the conditions on which England agreed to sign arbitration treaty with Uruguay was that three-quarters of the total tonnage of the German vessels here should be used in the trade between Europe and Uruguay. Later the United States Shipping Board made a proposal to Uruguay for ships which was not accepted. Then Shipping Board made a proposal as follows: an American company was to be organized under Uruguayan laws to take over ships. By the terms of this proposition the ships were to be taken to the United States for repairs, after which a sufficient number would be used for traffic between the United States and Uruguay; remaining ships to be used according to agreement between these countries. Objection is made to requirement that ships must be in charge of American captains as this is contrary to provisions of Uruguayan laws. Minister says that to be able to accept proposition of Shipping Board it is necessary to obtain from England and France consent that ships be given different destination and used in different traffic. It would also be necessary for American company to adjust itself to conditions provided by the law regulating the use of German vessels, which is at present being considered in the House of Representatives. British Minister in memorandum to me says:

It is my understanding that the ships shall be used in agreement with British Government; that Government insists that the greater part of tonnage shall be used in the trade with Europe. The French Government is acting in agreement with British Government. It is clear that the French Government will not sign arbitration treaty until British Government is satisfied on this score.

British Minister says that the firm of Houlder Bros. of this city in conjunction with Dodero Bros. of Buenos Aires is prepared to charter ships on terms which appear liberal or to operate ships for the account of Government and to undertake all repairs. I am in-

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formed that Houlder Bros. represent English capital of the Royal Mail Steamship Co. This proposition is practically same as American proposition except as to use and destination of ships. It is supported by British Minister, who tells me that the negotiations should not be interfered with or embarrassed by other propositions. French Minister told me in the presence of British Minister that his Government would not sign arbitration treaty until British Government signed the treaty. In my opinion the Uruguayan Government will be greatly pleased if Governments at Washington and London can reach an agreement by which most of ships may be used in traffic between the United States and Uruguay, in which event American capital could be used in securing control of ships.

JEFFERY

File No. 763.72/8222a

The Secretary of State to the Guatemalan Special Mission to the United States

The Secretary of State of the United States wishes to assure Mr. Manuel Echeverria y Vidaurre, Mr. Manuel Girón, and Dr. Claudio Urrutia, Envoys Extraordinary of Guatemala in Special Mission to the United States, of the genuine pleasure which he has experienced in receiving them. He further desires to express to them the gratification which the Government of the United States has felt in knowing that their primary object in coming to the United States was to endeavor to render more efficient the generous cooperation and independent stand which the Government of Guatemala, among the very first of the American nations, boldly proclaimed to the world. In championing the cause of right and humanitarianism and in placing herself by the side of the North American Republic, which had taken up arms in support of the cause of democracy, the Government of Guatemala has made it clear that this is the common cause of America, involving the rights of all the peoples of this continent.

In replying to the memorandum of September 14,[1] which the Special Mission was good enough to present to the Secretary of State, setting forth certain points which the Government of Guatemala considered were important factors for the purpose of making its cooperation more effective, involving the safeguarding of material interests and the settlement of international questions, and to the additional memoranda, submitted on September 18,[2] September

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[1] *Ante*, pp. 326.
[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 766-778.

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27,[1] and October 12,[1] after conferences at the Department of State, referring in detail to the specific matter involved, the Secretary of State, in the name of the Government of the United States, desires to acknowledge the receipt of these important documents. In so doing he wishes to inform the Envoys Extraordinary that the questions which they have so ably presented therein have been receiving that most careful and painstaking consideration by the various governmental departments, which such momentous and far-reaching questions merit, and that on account of the numerous details which have had to be taken into account and the legal complications which recent developments in the legislation of the United States have occasioned, he is only now in a position to give a definite response to their inquiries and requests which form the basis of the present negotiations. In the accomplishment of this purpose the Government of the United States desires to present the following statements for the consideration and possible action of the Government of Guatemala, through the medium of its distinguished Special Mission.

The cooperation which the Government of Guatemala has offered to the Government of the United States in the present conditions, brought about by the state of hostility existing between this Government and the Imperial German Government, is understood by the United States to consist of the generous offer by the Republic of Guatemala of the unrestricted and free use of its ports and territorial waters on the Atlantic as well as on the Pacific coast; the unrestricted use of its inland transportation facilities, which is understood to mean the railroads and wagon roads throughout the Republic, for purposes of common defense, and also any other specific cooperation which the Government of the United States may ask of the Government of Guatemala.

These offers have been received and accepted in the same spirit in which they have been so wholeheartedly tendered, and it has been noted with a deep sense of gratification that the first step in this cooperation was the severance of diplomatic relations on the part of Guatemala with the Imperial German Government, followed by the taking of precautions to render null the pernicious activity of various German agents in Guatemala, who were attempting to harm the common cause of Guatemala, the United States, and the Allied powers. In this connection the Government of the United States is convinced that nothing will be left undone by the Government of Guatemala to see that these subjects of the Imperial German Government, either consular officers or agents remaining in Guatemala and who may be engaged in fomenting plots or employed in other hostile activities, may be prevented from

[1] Not printed.

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taking any action which might have a harmful effect in that part of the world in which Guatemala plays so important a rôle.

In view of the position assumed by the Government of Guatemala, under direction of the Chief Executive of that Republic, Licenciado Don Manuel Estrada Cabrera, called by his country *bene merito de la Patria*, and feeling confident of his continued cooperation, in any further desires of the Government of the United States, this Government wishes to convey to him, through the valuable medium of the Envoys Extraordinary in Special Mission, the assurances that in contemplating any readjustments of commercial and shipping facilities the United States will not be unmindful of this position.

The opinion expressed by the Government of Guatemala as to the necessity for favorable conditions affecting the material interests of the two Republics is fully sympathized with and concurred in by the Government of the United States and for that reason it desires to lend its best efforts to giving all possible reciprocal aid to the Government of Guatemala.

1. With particular reference to the matter of the facilities which the Government of Guatemala requests shall be accorded to it in order that the necessaries of life which that Republic needs may be imported from the United States, it is desired to state that due note has been taken of this request and a careful study has been made of this question.

As is well known to the Special Mission, there has been created in the United States, by Executive order, an administrative section of the Government known as the War Trade Board, which passes upon all applications for licenses to export from the United States to any other country such articles as have been enumerated in the lists published subsequent to the above-mentioned Executive order. In view of the utmost necessity for taking the most careful steps to prevent any articles which might be of service or use to the enemy from reaching their hands, and on account of the reports of the Food Administration of this Government, which clearly indicate that the greatest care must be taken to mobilize the material resources of the country through painstaking conservation, the Executive order prohibits the export from the United States, without license, of every article, excepting to the Allies, Guatemala, and to certain countries for which there is a special list.

In order to meet the wishes of the Government of Guatemala, to which country on account of her cooperation the Government of the United States desires to afford every facility for the prompt execution of all licenses for articles which she might wish to import, this Government will give immediate instructions to that ef-

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fect, and will further undertake, should necessity arise, to give very careful consideration to the question of establishing special license bureaus at the ports from which exports to Guatemala are embarked, in order that no undue delay may be occasioned.

In regard to those commodities which Guatemala has been in the habit of importing from the United States, it is desired to inform the Special Mission that certain of these are now being conserved and are not being exported except by special arrangement, but in view of the specific request of the Department of State and pending the termination of the present negotiations with the Special Mission, licenses are being granted by the War Trade Board for the export to Guatemala of these articles.

In order that the export of all articles to Guatemala may be continued, it is desired that the Government of Guatemala give a solemn undertaking to the effect that neither of these articles, nor articles which they may replace, will be exported or reexported from Guatemala.

If this undertaking is given and the proper guaranties are furnished, the Government of the United States will pledge itself to do all in its power to see that the needs of Guatemala are properly cared for, due consideration to be given, however, to future contingencies.

2. The Government of the United States feels as much interest and concern as does the Government of Guatemala in the matter of ocean transportation between the two countries, and is particularly desirous that the proportion of tonnage now engaged in the traffic between United States and Guatemalan ports shall be maintained at its present ratio, both on account of the desire that reciprocal treatment be accorded Guatemala, for the aid she is rendering the United States, and with a view to continuing without restriction the receipt of those valuable and much needed products which Guatemala supplies. Very careful consideration has been given to this matter and an endeavor will be made to prevent any unnecessary change in the present conditions. Nevertheless, in order adequately to meet the uncertain exigencies of war, the Government of the United States has under consideration the development of a towing barge system suitable for ocean transportation, to be operated from New Orleans, La., and would be glad to discuss with the Government of Guatemala suitable bases of cooperation with a view to extending such a service to Guatemalan ports, thus facilitating the direct exchange of Guatemalan products with those of the United States and particularly with those of the Mississippi Valley.

3. The question of the present economic condition and the financial needs of Guatemala, so clearly set forth in the comprehensive

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memorandum of the Special Mission, has had the careful attention of the officials of the Treasury Department who have made themselves conversant with all of the phases of the matter. In reply to the specific request contained in the above-mentioned memorandum, the Government of the United States finds itself, unfortunately, in the present position of having to inform the Government of Guatemala that legal inhibitions do not permit it to comply with this request. However, the Government of the United States desires to say that if there is any assistance which it may render to the Government of Guatemala by placing the experience of the Treasury Department at the disposal of that Government, it is needless to say that the most hearty cooperation of the Secretary of the Treasury may be relied upon.

4. As has been the practice in the past, and particularly in view of the present cooperation which is being given by the Government of Guatemala to the Government of the United States in the conflict with the Imperial German Government, it is desired to state that the same facilities are open to the Government of Guatemala for the importation into that Republic from the United States of that armament required for the defense of its ports and cities and for the efficient military preparedness of the country.

5. The statement of the Special Mission with reference to any possible attacks upon the sovereignty of Guatemala has been given most earnest consideration by the Government of the United States. As the Government of Guatemala was informed on May 1, 1917, through its Legation in Washington, when the Government of the United States accepted with gratitude the friendly cooperation of Guatemala in the present war against the Imperial German Government, the lasting friendship and the earnest and steadfast support of the United States is assured for the purpose of carrying out the plans for common defense.

The Treaties of Washington, signed by the Central American States in 1907, would seem ample guaranty for the maintenance of peace and friendly intercourse between the signatory nations, but should the occasion arise, the friendly nations of the Western Continent may rely, as always, upon the pacific efforts of the United States for the adjustment of difficulties between them.

6. The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the interesting exposition which has been made by the Special Mission of Guatemala of the differences of opinion existing between the Governments of Guatemala and of Honduras as to the delimitation of their respective frontiers, and it is noted with pleasure that the memorandum presented by the Special Mission indicates that the best way to attain a satisfactory settlement of the question

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would be by means of the negotiation of a full and definite boundary treaty, equitable to both countries in which each of the truly sister Republics, as set forth in the memorandum, might yield some territorial claim, in the interest of harmony. The United States, being anxious that the boundary disputes between the two countries may be satisfactorily and speedily settled, will cheerfully extend to both countries, if desired by them, its impartial good offices and mediation, in order to facilitate the adjustment of the controversy.

WASHINGTON, *November 6, 1917.*

File No. 763.72/7757

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *November 7, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[Received November 8, 12.45 a. m.]

National Assembly to-day unanimously passed resolution ratifying all steps of belligerency heretofore taken and began favorable consideration of a bill amplifying the powers given Panaman President by law, which is fourth enclosure to my despatch 1271, February 27, last,[1] including the control of exports among others, and the issuance of $500,000 of bonds additional to the former authorization if need be.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/7619

The Chargé in Paraguay (Sussdorff) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ASUNCION, *November 7, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received November 8, 7.50 a. m.]

Paraguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed me that he telegraphed to the Pan American Union on April 16 last,[2] suggesting that a conference of all the American Republics be called to discuss the advisability of collective action in regard to Germany's submarine policy; that the Union acknowledged the receipt of his telegram but that he has heard nothing further of his proposal. The Minister said that in view of the failure of the American republics to take collective action in this matter he feels that each government is entitled to follow the course which its own interests dictate in dealing with Germany.

SUSSDORFF

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[1] Not printed.
[2] According to the Chargé's despatch No. 271 of Dec. 5, enclosing a copy of the telegram, the date was actually Apr. 15 (File No. 763.72/8918).

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File No. 763.72111/6754

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *November 8, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received November 9, 12.35 a. m.*]

552. Note of the Argentine Minister here to the Mexican Government, fixing the date of the Latin-American conference of neutrals to be held at Buenos Aires for the first fortnight of January next, has been published with statement that Mexican Government has decided to be represented thereat.

FLETCHER

File No. 763.72119/1088

The Chilean Ambassador (Aldunate) to the Secretary of State

[A copy of the following translation of a telegram from the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Chilean Ambassador at Washington was handed by the Ambassador to the Secretary of State on November 10, 1917.]

SANTIAGO, *November 9, 1917.*

No. 158. I yesterday sent the following telegram to the Minister in Buenos Aires:

The Argentine Government has informed us through its Legation in Santiago, under date of the 30th ultimo, that it has fixed the first fortnight in January next for the meeting of the Latin-American congress, there being no objection to this date by the other governments. In reply you will state to the Argentine Foreign Office that the Government of Chile will be glad to facilitate, on its part, the meeting of such a congress on the condition that it is previously informed the object of the proposed congress of neutrals and the program of the matters to be discussed. The Government of Chile also desires, as soon as possible, to be informed of the ideas of the Argentine Government relative to the new form in which the realization of this Latin-American congress appears to be planned in place of the congress of neutrals formerly proposed. I have replied in these same terms to the above-mentioned note of the Argentine Legation here.

SUÁREZ

File No. 763.72111/6765

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *November 10, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 11 p. m.*]

Referring to my cable of October 29, 5 p. m.[1] Guatemala replies that it considers its attitude defined by its breaking diplomatic rela-

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[1] *Ante*, p. 354.

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tions with the German Government and declines to participate in conference.

PRICE

File No. 763.72119/928

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *November 11, 1917, midnight.*
[*Received November 12, 2.25 a. m.*]

President of Argentina is urging congress of neutrals in January on chanceries of countries below named. Ministers, Brazil and Uruguay informed me to-night that new President of Bolivia would accept, [that] Uruguay will also because she is such a close neighbor, but that Chile wishes first to see program before accepting; Ecuador likely to follow Peru. Brazil alone excluded.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72119/936

The Venezuelan Minister (Domínici) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. 355 WASHINGTON, *November 10, 1917.*
[*Received November 12.*]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: For your excellency's information I have the honor to inform you that my Government recently invited by that of the Argentine Republic to attend a Latin-American congress, answered the Argentine Government in the words herein below copied:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the courteous telegram of the 29th in which your excellency conveys to me the invitation of the Government of the Argentine Republic to a Latin-American congress. Notwithstanding its adherence to the sentiment of American solidarity which inspires your excellency's note, my Government will refrain from attending the said congress at this time. I have my Government's special direction to express its thanks to that of the Argentine Republic for the courteous invitation extended to it by your excellency. B. Mosquera, Minister of Foreign Relations.

I avail myself [etc.] SANTOS A. DOMÍNICI

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File No. 763.72/7757

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *November 13, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your April 7, 10 p. m.,[1] and November 7, 8 p. m.[2] In view of these two telegrams a formal declaration of war is regarded as practically unnecessary. For your information it is not deemed desirable that Panama make a formal declaration of war.

LANSING

File No. 835.6131/6

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *November 14, 1917, 7 p. m.*

You are instructed to communicate the following to the Argentine Government: The British and French Governments are prepared to purchase the surplus wheat of the Argentine Republic, approximately two [million] five hundred thousand tons, and some other cereals and to divert to the Argentine Republic trade the shipping and coal necessary to transport these cereals to Allied European ports, and under existing conditions it is not feasible to export gold for that purpose either from Allied countries or for their account from the United States which has limited the export of gold. The British and French Governments, therefore, propose that the Argentine Government and banks promptly work out some plan whereby the obligations of Great Britain and France shall be issued to represent purchase price of the Argentine Republic cereals and made the basis of the issue of Argentine circulation. The United States Government approves this plan and offers its good offices and cooperation in aiding in its consummation.

The following is for your information and guidance: Above note is being sent after consultation in London by Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Crosby with British Chancellor of the Exchequer and French Finance Minister, whose Governments are sending copies of above note to their respective diplomatic representatives in the Argentine Republic with instructions that simultaneous presentation be made by diplomatic representatives of three countries who should fully cooperate. It is important that proposed arrangements be made without delay in order that plans for diversion to Argentina of necessary shipping and coal should be made at once. You should explain that we are cooperating in this transaction because of

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[1] *Ante*, p. 245.
[2] *Ante*, p. 363.

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our general interest in the Allies' food situation and because our own plans for exporting cereals will be affected to some extent by arrangements made for export of Argentine surplus. British and French diplomatic representatives have instructions as to financial details of the proposed arrangement. You are expected to facilitate negotiations in every way in your power. You will appreciate, and British and French diplomatic representatives will doubtless explain in case of need, that the limited shipping and bunkering coal of the world must be very carefully allocated so as to most effectively feed the Allied nations with due regard to the rights of neutrals. Manifestly in this policy the United States must cooperate with European Allies. There is a rumor that there is a movement on foot to purchase Argentine surplus cereals for Spain, and suspicion is that this would be for German account. You will realize, and British and French diplomatic representatives will doubtless make plain if developments so require, that under existing conditions Allies could not be expected to provide facilities of any kind for shipments to Spain of cereals thus purchased. It seems therefore certain that Argentine cereal surplus can be exported to Europe only under some arrangement with Allies; also explain that existing abnormal conditions in world trade and finance render necessary that each country selling to European belligerents shall finance trade balances in some such manner as is now proposed for Argentina. Our Government having already made loan arrangements concerning balances in its favor, please keep this Government fully informed regarding developments and bear in mind necessity for prompt settlement.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/942

The Peruvian Legation to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

In reply to the Argentine Government's invitation to attend a Latin-American congress at Buenos Aires, the Government of Peru replied that Peru would gladly attend the congress had she not already traced a well-defined line of conduct in presence of the actual war by such solemn acts as her severance of diplomatic relations with Germany and her declaration to adhere to Pan-American solidarity, based upon the principles proclaimed by the President of the United States.

Despite this refusal, the President of Argentina insisted that Peru should attend the congress, appealing to the ancient friendship which has always existed between Peru and Argentina.

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The President of Argentina states that Peru may defend in the congress the doctrine of solidarity with the United States, and obtain thereby a resolution by the congress to the effect that all America should sever relations with Germany as a proof of American solidarity.

The Government of Peru considers that the policy of this continent should be one with the policies of the United States; that in consequence of the attitude of the United States in this war, the Monroe Doctrine must necessarily become firmer and ampler; and that the defense of the United States and all other American nations against German imperialism requires, as an essential condition, a uniform policy throughout the entire continent. The Government of Peru is willing to cooperate most decidedly for the attainment of such a purpose.

As the President of Argentina has declared moreover to the Government of Peru that the Argentine Government is disposed to sever diplomatic relations with Germany, were the congress at Buenos Aires to pass a resolution to that effect, should the Government of the United States deem it convenient to achieve such a result, the Government of Peru could state that it will attend the congress at Buenos Aires, provided the congress deal before all with the question of the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, and provided furthermore that the Government of Argentina agree to support this proposition.

If the American Government approves of this plan we would attend the congress at Buenos Aires, after having obtained that Bolivia, Ecuador, and Uruguay agree to withdraw from the congress, were the motion to break relations with Germany not approved.

We desire to know the opinion of the United States Government of the subject, in order either to persist in our refusal, or to proceed according to the plan herein outlined.

WASHINGTON, *November 14, 1917.*

File No. 763.72119/939

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *November 14, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 6.20 p. m.*]

Understand that Argentina desires to turn proposed congress of neutrals into congress of Latin America and that Brazil and Uruguay have gone so far as to inquire what program may be.

MORGAN

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File No. 862.85/201

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *November 15, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your November 3, 7 p. m.[1] Mr. Polk told the French Ambassador here that in view of fact that United States had no arbitration treaty with Uruguay which deprived this Government of the right to make diplomatic representation where it was a case subject to judicial determination, the United States Government could not very well urge France to sign a treaty with Uruguay more radical than our treaty, although it might be desirable under the circumstances.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/7770

The Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery) to the Secretary of State

No. 288 MONTEVIDEO, *October 17, 1917.*

[*Received November 17.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith copy of the communication from the Uruguayan Foreign Office advising that on October 15 the decrees of neutrality heretofore proclaimed by the Uruguayan Government have been revoked.

It will be noticed that the reasons assigned for this action are based upon the principle of American solidarity rather than for reasons of direct grievances suffered from the German Government.

I have [etc.] ROBERT EMMETT JEFFERY

[Enclosure]

The Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs (Brum) to the American Minister

No. 1201/917 MONTEVIDEO, *October 15, 1917.*

MR. MINISTER: I have the high honor to communicate to your honor that the Government of the Republic, under date of the 7th of the current month of October, declared its diplomatic and commercial relations with the Imperial German Government to be severed, and being expressly authorized by the legislative power, it has just proclaimed under date of to-day a decree revoking the dispositions in force with reference to neutrality of the Republic with respect to France, England, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Japan, Serbia, Roumania, and Montenegro, which had been proclaimed under different dates on account of the state of war in which said nations were engaged with the German Government.

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[1] *Ante*, p. 356.

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In adopting such an attitude, Uruguay does so because it understands that it is not possible for it to remain any longer as a simple spectator in this world struggle in which the supreme interests of democracy are fighting against the autocracy of the German Empire, in which struggle those countries which are tied to Uruguay by the same communion of ideals are taking part and to which it must bring its assistance and moral support.

Uruguay enters to form part of that league of honor to which President Wilson referred when, without passion and having no material interests to serve, he proclaimed his honest policy.

In taking this action Uruguay has no private grievance to avenge nor any direct offense to repress. Its attitude is based solely upon the principle of elevated solidarity with the defenders of right and justice who are at this time the noble defenders of small sovereignties unselfishly fighting for the world democracy.

I reiterate [etc.] BALTASAR BRUM

File No. 810.00/a 16

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Salvador (Long)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *November 17, 1917, 2 p. m.*

Your despatch No. 249, October 5, 1917.[1] Does *status jure existente* mean the use of these waters by United States vessels is limited only by such conventions or agreements or laws of Salvador as limit the use of the waters by Salvador itself? If so, Department understands United States vessels are accorded same rights and privileges in these waters as Salvadoran vessels.

POLK

File No. 763.72119/950

Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State (Stabler)

November 19, 1917.

The Colombian Minister telephoned the Latin-American Division this morning and informed Mr. Stabler that a cablegram had been received by the Minister which stated that the Government of Colombia had replied to the invitation of the Argentine Government to be present at the conference of American nations, saying that it would be unable to attend.

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[1] *Ante*, p. 347.

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Mr. Urueta requested that this information be conveyed to Mr. Lansing as of possible interest to him.

File No. 763.72119/963

Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State (Stabler)

[Extract]

November 21, 1917.

The Brazilian Ambassador called this afternoon to see Mr. Phillips at the State Department, at Mr. Phillips' request, in order to discuss with him the question of the conference called by the Argentine Government at Buenos Aires. Mr. Phillips requested Mr. Stabler to be present and to inform the Ambassador as to the plan proposed by the Government of Peru, which has been supported by the Secretary of State.

Mr. Stabler read the Ambassador excerpts from the Peruvian memoranda and the Ambassador asked what position the United States Government would assume at this time and whether it would take any action. He was told that an expression of opinion would be obtained from the Secretary of State. Mr. Stabler spoke to the Secretary, who said that he considered that it would be advisable not to take any further step until the Peruvian Minister at Buenos Aires had received a definite expression of opinion from the President of the Argentine Republic. The Ambassador was so informed. . . .

File No. 763.72/7838

The Chargé in Salvador (Ryan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

SAN SALVADOR, *November 22, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received 10.17 p. m.*]

Department's telegram November 17, 2 p. m. Salvadoran Government in note to-day replied that intention of Salvadoran Government by expression *status jure existente*, used in note to American Legation October 3, is to concede to United States use of Salvadoran waters in such a manner that American naval vessels have same rights and privileges as Salvadoran vessels and that American naval vessels are limited only by such laws as limit vessels of Salvador itself in the waters of this Republic. Copy of the Foreign Office note will be forwarded.[1] RYAN

[1] Not printed.

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File No. 763.72119/951

The Chargé in Paraguay (Sussdorff) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ASUNCION, *November 22, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received November 23, 2.35 a. m.*]

Paraguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me to-day that his Government had been sounded by the Argentine Government as to whether Paraguay would attend a Central-American congress but that Argentina had not committed herself definitely as to whether she meant a conference of all American states or only of neutral ones. The Minister said that he strongly favors a conference of all the American states as indicated in his telegram to the Pan American Union, reported in my telegram November 7, 4 p. m.[1] He added that if a congress of neutral American states takes place, Paraguay will send representatives but that her delegates will be instructed to vote that all important decisions of the congress as to policy be referred to a conference of all the American states.

Pursuant to Department's previous instructions, I am making every effort to discourage the Paraguayan Government from supporting the idea of a congress of neutral American states.

SUSSDORFF

File No. 763.72119/944

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *November 23, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your November 16, 4 a. m.[2] Government of Peru has informed this Government that Peru replied to invitation of Argentine Government to attend conference at Buenos Aires, stating Peru had already traced a well-defined line of conduct in actual war and regretted that this would prevent her from attending. Despite this refusal President of Argentina insisted Peru should attend stating that Peru might defend in conference doctrine of solidarity with United States, and obtain a resolution by conference to effect that all America should sever relations with Germany as proof of American solidarity.

Government of Peru states that President of Argentina has moreover declared that Argentine Government is disposed to sever relations with Germany should conference at Buenos Aires pass resolution to that effect. Government of Peru has asked this Government whether it deems it advisable for Peru to state to Argentine Government that it would attend conference, provided conference

[1] *Ante*, p. 363. [2] Not printed.

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deals before all with question of severance of diplomatic relations with Germany and provided furthermore that Government of Argentina agreed to support this proposition, and that if Government of United States approved of plan Peru would attend conference after having obtained agreement from Bolivia, Ecuador, and Uruguay that they would withdraw from conference were motion to break relations with Germany not approved.

Peruvian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington was informed by Secretary of State that this Government approved of plan as outlined, and Chargé d'Affaires so informed his Government.

On November 20 Peruvian Chargé informed Department that under date of November 19 his Government had advised him that it was expecting a reply from Argentine Government to above-mentioned plan and that Government of Uruguay had accepted the plan.

On November 20 the Peruvian Chargé received a telegram from his Government saying that President of Argentina informed Peruvian Minister at Buenos Aires on November 19 that the conference at Buenos Aires would be empowered to decide upon severance of diplomatic relations with Germany and also upon question of war, but that he declined to bind himself by previous engagement to continue to discuss the subject. Peruvian Minister will see him again and has been instructed by his Government to insist upon plan.

You may confirm statement made by Government of Peru to Government of Uruguay that plan had met with the approval of the Government of the United States.

Repeat to Embassy at Rio de Janeiro for its information with reference to its November 14, 5 p. m., to Department,[1] adding that Brazilian Ambassador has been informed of this matter.

Repeat to Embassy at Buenos Aires for its information with reference to its November 14, 1 p. m., and November 16, 1 p. m., to Department,[2] requesting that it be repeated for information of Legation, Asuncion, with reference to that Legation's cable to Department, November 22, 6 p. m.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/955

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *November 23, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received November 24, 1.55 a. m.]

Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes to prevent proposed Latin-American congress, or, if this proves impossible, to

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[1] *Ante*, p. 368. [2] Neither printed.

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impose the condition that acceptance of invitation depends upon acceptance of principle that relations with Germany shall be broken. He approves Peru's attitude and is encouraging Bolivia to follow.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72/7853

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

No. 1660 PANAMA, *November 9, 1917.*

[*Received November 24.*]

SIR: Amplifying my cablegram of November 7th, 8 p. m.,[1] I have the honor to report that on that date the National Assembly of Panama, after the receipt of the message from the President of Panama detailing to them the various steps taken by him in proclaiming a state of war and pledging cooperation with our Government, followed by certain other acts, passed unanimously a resolution approving same. The resolution is as follows:

The National Assembly of Panama, in view of the message that His Excellency the President of the Republic has addressed to this Assembly, under to-day's date, regarding the state of war in which the nation finds itself with the German Imperial Government since April 7 of this year,

Resolves: That all the Executive acts and measures adopted by the President in connection with the state of war with the German Empire, in which the nation finds itself since April 7, 1917, and of which the President of the Republic informs this Assembly in his message of to-day's date, are hereby approved.

There was introduced by Señor Dr. Eusebio A. Morales, the Secretary of Government and Justice in the Cabinet of President Valdes, the bill giving the President fuller power for the future, which was predicted by me in my cablegram of November 5, 4 p. m.[2]

I enclose (enclosures Nos. 1, 2, and 3) clippings from the *Panama Morning Journal* and the *Star and Herald* of this city giving an account of the proceedings of the day and containing the text in full of the President's message, of the resolution copied above, and of the bill referred to.[2]

As the session of the Assembly approached, Secretary Morales expressed himself as more and more convinced that legislative action along the line of said bill should be taken, and he stated that they had definitely determined to introduce such a measure. After drafting the bill he submitted it to me and I at once made the suggestion to him, after reading it hurriedly, that inasmuch as they had concluded to introduce such a bill it occurred to me that it would be well to have a resolution passed, also, definitely ratifying and ap-

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[1] *Ante*, p. 363. [2] Not printed.

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proving the acts taken by the President of Panama after the adjournment of the last session of the National Assembly. Secretary Morales replied that they had considered that, but that he feared the fact of the introduction of such a resolution might suggest a questioning by some one of the legal right of the President of Panama to have proclaimed war as he did by his proclamation of April 7 last. I answered that it seemed to me that the resolution would not have the effect of originating such any more than the bill that he had decided to introduce, especially if the resolution came from the Assembly itself and if it were passed unanimously as he stated that he had no reason to think that it would not be. I took occasion to remark that it seemed that nothing else would be advisable to be done, certainly not another formal declaration of war, which really might be the cause of the questioning mentioned. The conclusion was then reached to have the President outline to the Assembly the action taken by him with reference to the war and to have the resolution mentioned passed.

I submitted the bill to a conference to which I asked the Military Commander of the Canal Zone, the Judge Advocate on his staff, and Judge Frank Feuille, Special Attorney for the Canal. Several small amendments to some of the articles were suggested as the result of this conference, all having the effect to broaden the application of the provisions of the articles, and all but one were accepted by Secretary Morales, that one he claiming to be unnecessary because the Spanish interpretation of the provision was broader than the customary English of it and sufficiently so to meet the purpose intended.

Article 47 of the Constitution of Panama, to which the first article of said bill refers, provides that certain individual rights enumerated in prior articles of the Constitution may be temporarily suspended in the case of foreign war or menacing internal disturbances, but provides also that this suspension must be decreed by the National Assembly when it is in session, but when it is not then by the President of the Republic in a decree bearing the signature of all of his secretaries and that the same decree must convoke the National Assembly for the purpose, laying before it the reasons for the suspension. The individual rights specifically set forth in prior articles of the Constitution relate to the right of every person to travel freely within the territory of the Republic; to not be molested in person or in home, except under legal written authority; in default of such authority to have the right of being released on personal petition or on the petition of any other person; to express freely one's thoughts by speech or writing, by the press, or other means regarding the official acts of a public functionary; to practice any profession or honest occupation without having a degree or being a member of an asso-

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ciation, except that certificates may be required to practice medicine or allied professions; and not to be deprived of property except in conformance with law.

As reported in former despatches, we have now pending before the Panaman authorities requests to require the registration and reporting of Germans and subjects of the allies of Germany; to adopt regulations requiring registration and permits on the part of everyone leaving or coming into the ports of Panama and Colon; the adoption of regulations and cooperation with us in the matter of the control of exports and of trading with the enemy; and have already had put into practice a censorship both of cables and of the mails of Panama; and in addition to the internment of Germans from the Republic heretofore effected, it is intended in the next few days to ask for the apprehension and internment of about 20 more German subjects.

The only likelihood of any serious objection to the bill mentioned above is that which may possibly arise against the broadness with which the first article of the bill authorizes the suspension of constitutional guaranties, and this objection if raised will be by the opposition political element growing out of an uneasiness that the administration in power might take advantage of the situation in the Assembly elections of next year.[1]

I have [etc.] WM. JENNINGS PRICE

File No. 763.72119/994

Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the Department of State (Stabler)

November 26, 1917.

The Peruvian Chargé d'Affaires called on Mr. Stabler on November 24, and informed him that he had received a telegram from his Government in further reference to the conference to be called by the Argentine Government at Buenos Aires, stating that the Peruvian Minister in Buenos Aires had not been summoned by President Irigoyen for an interview as he had been promised, and, therefore, some doubt existed in his mind whether the Argentine Government would accept the Peruvian plan.

The Chargé said that his Government had also informed him that it had heard rumors to the effect that the Argentine Government, through its Ambassador at Washington, was approaching the Government of the United States in regard to inviting the United States to attend the conference.

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[1] The enactment of this bill as Law No. 61 of 1917 was reported by the Minister in his despatch No. 1686 of Nov. 24 (File No. 763.72/8098).

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Mr. Freyre asked Mr. Stabler whether he could give him any information in regard to this rumor. Mr. Stabler replied that he had no knowledge of any action in this connection on the part of the Argentine Ambassador, but that he would speak with the Secretary and inform Mr. Freyre on Monday as to the Secretary's reply.

Mr. Freyre emphasized the fact that, in view of the approval given by the United States to the Peruvian plan, he hoped that the United States Government would take no further action in regard to the conference without informing the Peruvian Government. He added that should the United States accept the invitation to attend, while the Peruvian plan was still in its present status, it would have a very embarrassing effect on both the Government and himself. Mr. Stabler assured the Chargé d'Affaires that the Government of the United States would take no further action in regard to the conference without speaking with him.

File No. 763.72119/973

The Peruvian Chargé (Freyre) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *November 28, 1917.*

The Chargé d'Affaires of Peru presents his compliments to the Honorable the Secretary of State, and acting under instructions from his Government has the honor to inform him that the Governments of Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Uruguay have advised the Government of Peru they accept the Peruvian plan to attend the congress of Buenos Aires, as outlined in the Legation's memorandum of the 14th instant.

The Government of Argentina, however, has hitherto refrained from replying to the Peruvian propositions submitted by the Minister of Peru at Buenos Aires.

File No. 832.85/54

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *November 29, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 4 p. m.*]

French and Brazilian Governments have made an arrangement regarding the charter by France of 30 ex-German vessels on the following terms:

These vessels shall make 12 voyages between Brazil and Europe between December 1, 1917, and March 1, 1918. Between the latter date and March 1, 1919, they shall make 32 voyages each way between France and Brazil.

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France will deposit in London to the credit of the Brazilian Government 110,000,000 francs and will also expend double that amount, equally divided in purchasing Brazilian coffee and cereals. No rubber will be bought.

Contract expires March 1, 1919.

Ships remain under Brazilian flag with Brazilian crews.

MORGAN

File No. 832.85/54

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 1, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your November 29 [1 p. m.] in regard to French contract for German ships in Brazil.

Cable as soon as you can whether it is intended to put on any shipping North Atlantic trade and terms cabled in your message. Arrangement apparently applies to commerce between France and Brazil only.

LANSING

File No. 862.85/222

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 1, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your November 28, 8 p. m.[1] Department knows nothing about financial standing or reliability of either of the firms mentioned or their agents.

You may inform the Uruguayan Government that United States Government feels that more satisfactory results can be obtained if the negotiations now in progress between the Department and the Uruguayan Legation here, for the charter of the ex-German vessels in Uruguayan ports, are unhampered by the consideration of proposals of private parties at this time. Rush answer.

The following proposal is being made by the Government of the United States to Uruguay through its Legation here:

The United States to undertake repairs necessary to render the vessels seaworthy; bearing the cost of repairs in the first instance, but deducting this cost from the charter hire as it shall become payable for the use of the vessels. The vessels to be chartered to the United States by a "bare boat" form of charter party, for the duration of the war at an agreed fair price for vessels of this size, speed, and general character. Charter hire to begin when the vessels are rendered seaworthy after repair. The marine risk on the vessels

[1] Not printed.

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will be assumed by the Uruguayan Government; war-risk insurance on the account of the United States. The vessels will be used for the mutual benefit of the two countries party to the agreement; but subject to the right of the United States to employ the vessels in vital war trades. The request of the Uruguayan Government for fuel oil to meet its national requirements is now being discussed in conference; and it is hoped that as the tankers now under construction come off the ways and are ready for service, provision can be made to take care of the essential requirements of Uruguay for fuel oil.

LANSING

File No. 832.30/22

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *December 1, 1917, 12 noon.*
[*Received 8.25 p. m.*]

. . . Minister of Marine has authority to engage five American naval officers: two as professors in the Naval War College and three fire control officers; requests Embassy to secure their prompt detail.

Brazil is prepared to send a squadron of four destroyers and two scouts to Southern European waters to cooperate with the fleet of one of the Allies. If we have a squadron patrolling Mediterranean or lane between Azores and Gibraltar, recommend that this division be invited to join American squadron even should military advantage prove insignificant. Important to offset effect of French purchase of ex-German ships by some visual demonstration of Brazilian-American solidarity which would appeal to the poorest mind. Submarine will probably be ordered in France instead of United States because Brazil has credit there derived from ship deal.

MORGAN

File No. 832.30/22

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 3, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your December 1, 12 noon, and December 2, 12 noon.[1] Navy Department ready to comply with request of Brazilian Government as to five naval officers; names will be cabled as soon as possible.

You are instructed to present cordial invitation to Brazilian Government to send squadron of destroyers to join American naval forces now operating against the enemy. Navy Department has communicated with Admiral Sims in London in regard to disposal

[1] Latter not printed.

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of Brazilian squadron, if invitation is accepted. You will be informed immediately upon receipt of his reply. Probable disposition southern waters.

LANSING

File No. 832.85/55

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *December 3, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received December 4, 12.09 a. m.*]

Department's telegram December 1, 5 p. m. Arrangement applies wholly to commerce between France and Brazil. No provision for utilization of ships in North Atlantic. After France has fulfilled the condition of a total of 32 round-trip voyages annually between France and Brazil, the 30 vessels are at her untrammeled disposition.

Although France represented that her negotiations were conducted for the benefit of the Allies, they will only profit at her pleasure.

MORGAN

File No. 763.72119/960

The Ambassador in Mexico (Fletcher) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *December 3, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received December 4, 3 a. m.*]

600. My 552, November 8, 5 p. m.[1] The Mexican delegation to the Buenos Aires conference is as follows: President and special delegate, Luis Cabrera; special delegate, Gerzayn Ugarte; secretaries, Deputies Flavio Perez Garza and Enrique Parra; military, Gen. Federico Montes; publicity secretary, Ernesto Hidalgo; and two clerks.

FLETCHER

File No. 763.72/7853

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

No. 449 WASHINGTON, *December 5, 1917.*

SIR: The Department has received your No. 1660 of the 9th ultimo,[2] in which you advise the Department that the National Assembly of Panama, after receiving the message of the President of the Republic advising the Assembly of the various steps taken by him in proclaiming a state of war and pledging cooperation with the United States, unanimously passed a resolution approving his action. You report that the bill was submitted by you before it

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[1] *Ante*, p. 364. [2] *Ante*, p. 374.

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was passed to the Military Commander of the Canal Zone, the Judge Advocate of his Staff, and Judge Frank Feuille, Special Attorney for the Canal.

Your despatch has been read with interest, and your action in the matter is approved.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 832.85/56a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 5, 1917, 6 p. m.*

5960. For Colby[1] from Polk:

Following terms of arrangement made by the French with the Brazilians covering ships:

Between December 1, 1917, and March 1, 1918, these vessels shall make 12 voyages between Brazil and Europe. Between March 1, 1918, and March 1, 1919, they shall make each way between France and Brazil 32 voyages. To the credit of the Brazilian Government France will deposit in London 110,000,000 francs and will expend also double that amount, equally divided in purchasing Brazilian coffee and cereals. There will be no purchase of rubber. Ships remain under the Brazilian flag and with Brazilian crews. Contract expires March 1, 1919.

As you can see arrangement most unsatisfactory as no provision for ships in North Atlantic made. As far as common interest is concerned, terms do not compare with terms offered United States. I take the liberty of suggesting that you might point out very plainly to French that we are surprised and disappointed at the terms made. Apparently no provision whatever is made to relieve North Atlantic situation, although French Government is constantly demanding more ships from the British and ourselves to relieve their wants.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/8002

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

BUENOS AIRES, *December 6, 1917, 11 p. m.*

[*Received December 7, 3.20 a. m.*]

The President of Argentina called me to his office this afternoon and conferred with me for over three-quarters of an hour. . . .

He then went on to say that he wished me to understand his attitude more clearly in regard to Argentina's international policy,

[1] Delegate of the United States Shipping Board to the Inter-Allied Conference.

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realizing as he did that the sentiment of the United States was becoming less friendly. He then brought up, as he had done at other times, the fact that he had shown great sympathy with the United States when the Government of the United States declared war upon Germany, and that he had even been accused by the German Government of being unneutral at that time. He then referred to the *Toro* case, calling attention to the fact that he had demanded a complete explanation from Germany as well as full reparation; that this had been given as it had been to no other government and that therefore the incident was closed. He added, however, that I should not from this consider his attitude as conclusive; that Argentina might take some conclusive step at any time but that should some such step be taken it could only be a declaration of war. . . .

He then took up with me the question of the Pan-American congress saying that he greatly deplored the apparent misunderstanding of the Government of the United States of his attitude in this matter. The purpose of such a congress he said was far from hostile to the United States, and to prove this to me he invited me at some near date to visit him again to go over the correspondence on the subject which he possesses. He then asked me whether the United States would attend the congress were an invitation tendered to them, assuring me that he would gladly tender such an invitation. I gave him no definite assurances in the matter, being without instructions from the Department.

He ended by inviting me to come to see him any afternoon without the formality of requesting an audience. His manner throughout was extremely earnest.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72119/975

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 7, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Legation, Montevideo, informs Department that Uruguayan Minister to Argentina reports that a rumor, in connection with proposed Latin-American congress, is current in Government circles in Argentina to effect that Great Britain and United States have indicated approval of the Pope's further mediation in war.

If this rumor has appeared in the press, you are requested to see that it is denied, and if subject is being persistently discussed in government circles, you may inform Minister of Foreign Affairs, unofficially, that it has no foundation in fact.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72119/990

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *December 7, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[Received 8.24 p. m.]

Costa Rican Minister for Foreign Affairs cables Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs, Costa Rica abstains from appointing delegates owing to special conditions in the country and regrets that circumstances beyond his control prevent taking part in so important assembly. PRICE

File No. 763.72119/995

The Minister in Ecuador (Hartman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

QUITO, *December 7, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 11.05 p. m.]

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has furnished this Legation copy of telegram sent by him to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina dated December 5, answering an invitation to Ecuador to attend Latin-American congress at Buenos Aires next January to consider war. Telegram states that Ecuador accepts in principle the assembly of an American congress that has for its purpose solidarity of whole continent, and will be present if all American countries previously reach a common agreement. The Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me yesterday, orally, that Ecuador would attend Latin-American congress provided plan was approved by the United States. HARTMAN

Severance of Relations with Germany by Ecuador, December 7—Declaration of War on Austria-Hungary by Panama, December 10; by Cuba, December 16—Further Correspondence Regarding the Disposition of German Ships Seized by Brazil, Cuba, and Uruguay—Further Correspondence Regarding the Proposed Congress of American States—Convention for the Purchase of Argentine Wheat by Great Britain and France, Signed January 14, 1918

File No. 763.72/8019

The Minister in Ecuador (Hartman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

QUITO, *December 8, 1917, 8 a. m.*
[Received 4 p. m.]

In note received last night [Minister of] Foreign Affairs advises me that Ecuador has broken off diplomatic relations with Germany,

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canceled exequaturs of German consuls in Ecuador, recalled Ecuadoran Consul from Berlin, and ordered Dr. Wilhelm Mueller to leave the national territory, handing to him police passports at the same time.

HARTMAN

File No. 763.72119/1005

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *December 10, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 8.12 p. m.*]

My December 6, 10 [*11*] p. m. With reference to proposed Pan-American congress I understand that the Peruvian Minister has three times told the President that the Governments of Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Ecuador would not be represented at such a congress unless it were called for the avowed purpose of breaking relations with Germany.

STIMSON

File No. 862.85/236a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Uruguay (Jeffery)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 11, 1917, 7 p. m.*

In order to expedite negotiations and that the ex-German ships in Uruguay may be placed in service for mutual benefit of Uruguay and United States as soon as possible it has been decided to carry on negotiations both with Uruguayan Legation here and at the same time through you and Uruguayan Government in Montevideo. You are instructed to place before the Uruguayan Government the proposals quoted in Department's telegram of December 1, 6 p. m.[1] You will obtain permission, if possible, from the Uruguayan Government, for Mr. Charles Crocker, now in Montevideo, to superintend the survey of these vessels, and ask Mr. Crocker to undertake this work and make a report.

The Department is informed that bids on these vessels are still being invited and received by the Uruguayan Consul General in New York. The Uruguayan Minister informed the Department on December 8 that the Government of Uruguay is obliged to offer these ships for charter in the open market on account of recent legislation. You are instructed to obtain from the Government of Uruguay confirmation of the statement made by the Uruguayan Minister at Washington. In requesting this information you may state that the

[1] *Ante*, p. 378.

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Government of the United States desires to be perfectly clear on this point and to avoid all misunderstanding.

If the law makes acquisition by United States Government technically impossible, you are to inform Uruguayan Government that the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation can charter these ships, as it is a private and not a government organization.

In bringing this matter to the attention of the Uruguayan Government you are instructed to say that in view of the earnest consideration which this Government is giving to means for supplying oil for use in Uruguay, the Uruguayan Government should consider all matters in connection with the negotiations for the ships in the broadest possible light.

In view of the understanding with the British Embassy in Washington that the British Government will cooperate with the United States in the matter *re* German ships, you are instructed to acquaint your British colleague of the above instruction and request his support in representations made by you.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/8070

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *December 10, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received December 11, 10.40 a. m.]

Department's circular of the 7th [1] complied with and communicated promptly to the Panaman Government with the suggestion informally made that they declare war also.

National Assembly this afternoon unanimously passed resolution declaring war on Austria-Hungary.

PRICE

File No. 763.72/8070

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 13, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your December 10, 4 p. m. Please inform Department why you suggested, without instructions, that Panama declare war on Austria. Was resolution of National Assembly worded in same manner as President's decree in regard to severance of relations with Germany and cooperation with United States against that country?

LANSING

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[1] "Congress to-day passed, and President signed, joint resolution declaring war on Austria-Hungary. Inform consuls." (File No. 763.72/8023a.)

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File No. 835.6131/18

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 13, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your November 29, 1 a. m.[1] Secretary, Treasury requests that following cable sent him from Paris by Crosby be transmitted to you:

You have doubtless seen the recent instructions received by French and British diplomatic representatives from their respective governments authorizing them to withdraw suggestions for commandeering cereals and forbidding their export to other countries or any other measures for compulsory sale. You may if you deem wise say to Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs that you are in entire accord with his view that such measures are impractical and inadmissible. You will of course do all in your power to assist British and French diplomatic representatives to secure desired arrangement with Argentine Government for a sufficient loan to enable French and British Governments to finance the purchase price of all the cereals they are able to acquire, both Governments taking their chances as to the amount of cereals they may be able to purchase in open market. If the question of supply of coal for Argentine needs arises this season you can avoid any definite agreement by assuring Argentina of good offices of United States for a sufficient allocation of tonnage and coal to meet Argentine coal needs.

You may act in manner outlined in this cable.

LANSING

File No. 862.85/233

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Cuba (Gonzales)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 14, 1917, 5 p. m.*

United States Shipping Board desires to have following proposals regarding German ships seized by Cuban authorities laid before Cuban Government:

1. That the Cuban Government proceed immediately to register the vessels under the Cuban flag.
2. That the vessels be chartered to the United States Shipping Board for the period of the war on bare-boat form of charter party; or by informal agreement to the effect that the United States shall employ and operate the vessels.
3. That the cost of repairs shall be borne by the United States Shipping Board.
4. That if the Cuban Government desires to give to the United States the use of the vessels free of charter hire, the cost of repairs shall be borne absolutely by the United States.
5. If, however, the Cuban Government prefers to charter the vessels to the United States Shipping Board at an agreed rate, the

[1] Not printed; see telegram of Nov. 14, 7 p. m., to the Ambassador, *ante*, p. 366.

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Shipping Board offers to pay for the use of the vessels, bare boat, the same price that the board is paying in similar cases to citizens of the United States—viz. $4.15 per dead-weight ton, with a bonus of 50 cents per dead-weight ton for every knot or part of knot above 11 knots per hour. In this case, the initial cost of repairs shall be carried by the Shipping Board, but it will be deducted from the charter hire as it shall become payable.

Bring these proposals to the attention of the Cuban Department of State and say the Shipping Board hopes Cuban Government may be able to reach a conclusion respecting them at an early date, for a prompt acceptance of the proposals will constitute a great service to the United States and to the nations associated with us in the war.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/1014

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

No. 1695 PANAMA, *November 27, 1917.*
[*Received December 15.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose the Spanish text and translation of the cablegram which the Government of Panama has sent to Argentina in response to the latter's cable invitation, under date of October 28, proposing the holding of a congress of Latin-American nations in Argentina the first fortnight in January for the purpose of making a joint declaration in reference to their attitude in the pending war.[1] I refer to my cablegram of October 29, 5 p. m.,[2] and to my despatch No. 1642 of October 29,[1] reporting this move on the part of the Argentine.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Panama, in the response mentioned, after expressing appreciation for the courtesy shown by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Argentina in addressing Panama in this matter, states that the Panaman Government "regrets that the motives which led it to decline the first invitation sent on May 9 have not changed." After the receipt of instructions from the Department asked for in reference to the reply of Panama to be made to the invitation of Argentina of May 9 last, and to my communication of same, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Panama, under date of May 22, 1917, responded to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Argentina—

that the line of conduct observed by my Government respecting the war has been clear and unequivocal. Relations were broken with Germany and common cause made with the United States offering

[1] Not printed.
[2] *Ante*, p. 354.

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them all cooperation. These circumstances virtually exclude the Republic of Panama from the reunion which your excellency proposes, . . .

I refer to my cablegram of May 22, 7 p. m.,[1] and to my despatch No. 1446 of June 28, 1917.[2]

The response of Panama to this last invitation has just now been given me by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. No answer had been received to my request for instructions with reference to what, if anything, the Department would like for me to say to Panama regarding its response, which request was contained in my cablegram of October 29, 5 p. m.[3] Secretary Garay framed the cablegram, a copy of which is the enclosure herewith,[2] on the theory, he told me, that such a response would at least not be objectionable or inappropriate.

I have [etc.] WM. JENNINGS PRICE

File No. 763.72/8002

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 15, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your December 6, 11 p. m.[4] Department considers it unwise for you to go to see President of Argentina at this time without a further definite invitation from him. In view of President Irigoyen's statement in regard to attitude of United States to conference, he would probably consider any visit you might make, without further indication of a desire on his part to see you, as a manifestation of the wish of this Government to participate. The Government of the United States feels that this congress should not be held unless it is called for the purpose advocated by Peru (see Department's November 24 [*23*], 6 p. m., to Legation at Montevideo,[5] repeated to you by that Mission, with reference to your November 14, 1 p. m., to Department[2]; see also your December 10, 4 p. m.[6]) and unless Peruvian program is adhered to by Argentina and other attending nations.

Should you be invited to call upon the President and should he tender a formal invitation to the United States to attend conference, you will make no comment but say you will refer the invitation to your Government.

For your information. Department understands that Brazil wishes to prevent the conference, but that if this is impossible, desires to impose conditions advocated by Peru. Department has received information to the effect that Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa

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[1] *Ante*, p. 286.
[2] Not printed.
[3] *Ante*, p. 354.
[4] *Ante*, p. 381.
[5] *Ante*, p. 372.
[6] *Ante*, p. 384.

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Rica have declined invitation to send delegates. Cuba, Panama, Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Honduras will, without doubt, follow the wishes of the United States in regard to conference. Mexico and Salvador have accepted. Chile, it appears, accepts under certain conditions, as reported by you. Paraguay will attend only if important decisions in regard to policy will be referred to conference of all American states.

Repeat to Embassy at Rio for its confidential information.

LANSING

File No. 862.85/242

The Chargé in Uruguay (Wadsworth) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *December 15, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received December 16, 7.20 a. m.*]

Referring to the Department's telegram of December 11, 7 p. m., Uruguayan Government states:

In order that France and England might accept the arbitration treaty, Uruguay agreed that it would utilize at least six of the German vessels between those countries and River Plata. If the United States can obtain from them cession of this tonnage, always on the understanding that they will [keep] their promises to Uruguay, this Government sees no objection in it.

Uruguayan Government decrees that bids for the chartering of the German vessels should be made. The United States Government could make its bid through the American company and it would be well received by Uruguayan Government. The German vessels must be utilized in the interest of Uruguay in its relations with Europe or the United States and must fly the Uruguayan flag. Bids for charter of German vessels will be considered after a completion of repairs. Should invitation for bids bring no results the Uruguayan Government will then adopt plan, as such may be most convenient for working ships.

WADSWORTH

File No. 763.72/8166

The Minister in Panama (Price) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PANAMA, *December 16, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received December 17, 11.05 a. m.*]

Your cipher telegram December 13. The National Assembly was then due to adjourn on the 9th instant, the day after receipt of Department's circular of 7th.[1] There are certain Austrians here whom our military authorities have felt it were safer to have interned, and the situation with respect to the protection of Panama Canal and to matters generally seemed to require similar action to

[1] See footnote 1, *ante*, p. 385.

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that against Germany and the Germans. I believe every American official here thought as I that the Department desired Panama to follow after action taken by our Government against Austria-Hungary. Authorization given by the last National Assembly was based on a state of war with Germany. The Department seemed doubtful of the right of Panama President to take the action he did with the National Assembly adjourned but very anxious that such action be taken though left them without instructions. The Department approved of the steps taken by me. I refer to instructions 359 April 2 and 373 and 374 April 25 last.[1] I was solely animated by the belief that the Department would like action at this time before adjournment of National Assembly and that I was doing, judging from former indication, what the Department desired. My suggestion was made informally and I stated at the same time that I was not acting under instructions. I am advised now that the Panaman [Government] would have acted without suggestion but I was then uneasy about adjournment of the Assembly. I regret exceedingly if I misinterpreted the wishes of the Department. The following is the resolution adopted by the National Assembly:

The National Assembly of Panama in view of the message of the President in which he advises the National Assembly of the declaration of war made by the Congress of the United States of America on the Austro-Hungarian Empire and considering, that the Republic of Panama has expressed before, in its laws and resolutions, its firm willingness to lend to the United States of America all the powers and cooperation it may be capable of in the present war, making common cause with the democratic nations which are fighting to impede the predominance of the world by the Teuton powers: be it

Resolved, That the Republic of Panama be declared in a state of war from to-day December 10, 1917 with the Austro-Hungarian Empire;

That the President be invested with the necessary powers to cooperate with the United States of America in the prosecution of the war in accordance with [the constitution] and the principles of international law.

PRICE

File No. 763.72111/6825

The Minister in Ecuador (Hartman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

QUITO, *December 17, 1917, 11 a. m.*

[*Received 4.05 p. m.*]

Note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs says that Ecuadoran Government will receive in Ecuadoran waters friendly war vessels

[1] Not printed.

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without subjecting them to restrictions in force against belligerent war vessels, and that wireless station at Salinas will receive and send telegrams from and to said vessels.

HARTMAN

File No. 862.20235/202

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *December 17, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[Received 8.33 p. m.]

Your December 17, 6 p. m., my December 15, 6 p. m.,[1] Saguier telephoned this afternoon that the President would not come to his office and therefore could not see me to-day. I see no reason to differ from the general belief here that the President is determined not to break with Germany. In the first place he has stated to me, although he had already read the Luxburg telegrams, that he would [not] break with Germany on account of anything that has occurred hitherto. It must further be remarked that no ship has been permitted to clear for the war zone under the Argentine flag since the *Pueyrredon;* see my November 22, 11 a. m.[1]

Saguier tells me that the Luxburg telegrams were the work of a madman, and it is now given out from government circles that Luxburg, who is in a German sanitarium, is insane.[2]

STIMSON

File No. 832.85/56

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 18, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Department understands that besides the ex-German vessels chartered by French Government there are 15 or 20 other ships taken over by Brazilian Government. Cable what disposition made of these other vessels, whether they are now employed in trade and for whose account, and if not actually in trade whether they are available for charter by the Government of United States through Shipping Board.

LANSING

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[1] Neither printed.

[2] After much correspondence on the subject, Count Luxburg finally (May 9, 1918) sailed for Germany under safe-conducts from the American and British Governments.

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File No. 763.72/8198

The Chargé in Mexico (Summerlin) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MEXICO CITY, *December 19, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received December 20, 1.40 a. m.*]

634. The Mexican Senate in secret session yesterday defeated the resolution referred to in the Embassy's telegram 502, October 20, 10 a. m.,[1] by a 35 to 13 vote.

SUMMERLIN

File No. 763.72/8166

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Panama (Price)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 20, 1917, 3 p. m.*

Your December 16, 3 p. m. Department understands position taken by you in informally suggesting to Government of Panama that National Assembly declare existence of state of war between Panama and Austria-Hungary. Your action is approved.

LANSING

File No. 832.85/58

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *December 20, 1917, noon.*
[*Received December 21, 12.42 a. m.*]

Referring to the Department's telegram of December 18, 5 p. m. French Government secured the best of the ex-German vessels. The remainder the Brazilian Government is employing on the Lloyd-Brasileiro service between New York and South America. Do not consider them at present available for charter to the United States or that such operation would improve our political position, as the impression would be produced that we were taking what France had left.

MORGAN

File No. 862.20235/208

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *December 21, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 3.50 p. m.*]

The Luxburg telegrams, 57 in number,[2] were given to the evening papers yesterday with a statement from the Foreign Office that they

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[1] *Ante*, p. 349.

[2] In addition to the three originally published by the American Government; these had been sent by the Argentine Government to Washington for decoding and were also published there. See the Ambassador's telegram of Sept. 21, 11 a. m., and the Acting Secretary's telegram of Oct. 27, 7 p. m., *ante*, pp. 329, 353.

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were all that had been received from Washington, except the three referred to in my December 15, 6 p. m.[1] The *communiqué* goes on to say that the telegrams make a series of misstatements too astounding to be qualified, as they are entirely contrary to the terms in which the negotiations were maintained and decided. "Equally absurd are the suppositions which attribute to the Argentine Government attitudes with respect to other nations—the Argentine Government therefore disavows totally the contents of these telegrams in all that relates to their opinion and proceedings."

None of the leading newspapers make editorial comment as yet except *La Nación*, which asks where the rest of the 400 telegrams are that the Argentine Government said it possessed.

The telegrams were not referred to in the debate in Congress last night. The general opinion is that the most important telegrams were the four [*three?*] already published.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72/8296

The Cuban Chargé (Torralbas) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. 170 WASHINGTON, *December 21, 1917.*
[*Received December 22.*]

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to inform your excellency that the Congress of my nation in joint session of the 16th instant declared and the President of the Republic proclaimed a state of war between the Republic of Cuba and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary.

I avail myself [etc.] DR. J. R. TORRALBAS

File No. 862.20235/210

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *December 22, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 9.40 p. m.*]

My December 21, 11 a. m. None of the newspapers makes editorial comment upon the Luxburg telegrams except *La Nación*, in which the comment is far less [omission], and the *Union*, in which the publication of the telegrams is called an anticlimax and it is pointed out that the rumored insult to the President does not exist.

No mention of the telegrams has been made in Congress. It does not seem probable that people here will be wrought up again upon this issue by the contents of the telegrams published.

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[1] Not printed.

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The editorial in the *Washington Post* and Naón's reply thereto have been published in *La Nación;* the editorial in question has caused considerable ill feeling particularly since it seems to be believed, and in *La Prensa* was definitely stated, that the paper referred to is the "official of the United States Government."

A meeting of the young men's committee was held yesterday to discuss the situation caused by the publication of the telegrams. The meeting resulted in slight disorder, but nothing definite was accomplished and another meeting has been called for Sunday.

STIMSON

File No. 763.72119/1036

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 24, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Ambassador, Santiago, reports that he has been informed by Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs that Minister has private but authentic information to effect that proposed congress of neutrals to be held Buenos Aires has been postponed until March. Report to Department if you have any information which confirms the above statement.

LANSING

File No. 862.20235/210

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 24, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your December 22, noon. You may if you deem it advisable issue denial that *Washington Post* in any way voices the views of the administration. It is entirely a private enterprise and without any color of Government support; rather the contrary. Department entirely disapproves of the tone taken in regard to the Argentine Republic in this matter and deplores any ill feeling that may be caused thereby.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/1048

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *December 28, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received 4.40 p. m.]

Your December 24, 4 p. m. It is the general opinion among the diplomats here that the Latin-American conference will never take

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place. *La Nación* yesterday reported that the conference was now scheduled to take place towards the middle of April and that Mexico was the only country which had definitely accepted the invitation to send delegates; the other countries, for the most part, desiring to know what the program of the conference will include before sending any reply.

The President [told] the Chilean Minister that the congress would "perhaps" be called at the time, and it was from this source that the information of the Chilean Foreign Office was derived as the Chilean Minister stated last night to the Minister of Uruguay.

The latter Minister saw Molinari, Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a few days ago. Molinari then stated that he was endeavoring to devise a form by which the United States could be invited to participate in the conference.

STIMSON

File No. 835.6131/39

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *December 28, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 11.07 p. m.*]

My December 26, 3 p. m.[1] British Minister has just given me a copy of a convention determined in conversation last evening between him and the French Minister on the one side and the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the other. As will be noted the parties named in the convention are only Great Britain, France, and Argentina, but Article 6 is substantially the same as Article 4 in the triplicate memorandum quoted in my November 22, 1 p. m.,[1] that is to say Article 6 reads—

The Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain when they provide the ships necessary for the exportation of the mentioned products (that is to say the wheat, etc., from Argentina) will permit the exportation of the combustible which is necessary for Argentine internal consumption.

I would call the Department's attention to the dangerous latitude in this clause, inasmuch as it is not definitely specified whether the amounts of the combustible, *id est*, oil and coal, referred to is limited by the capacity of the wheat ships or whether the amount of the [same] shall be determined by the total internal needs of Argentina.

[1] Not printed.

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The convention requires the consent of Department of Justice, but the Minister for Foreign Affairs assured British Minister that he could get this consent next Monday if an answer could be received from the Allies' Governments by that time.

A full translation of the entire convention follows:

Between the Government of the Argentine Republic and the Governments of Great Britain and France it has been agreed to celebrate the following convention.

ARTICLE 1. The Governments of France and Great Britain will buy in the Argentine Republic the surplus of wheat and other cereals for the approximate quantity of 2,500,000 tons, having to export the same before November 1, 1918. They agree to pay a minimum price of 12 ₱ 50 per 50 kilograms of wheat; 7 ₱ per [100] kilograms oats; and 15 ₱ per 100 kilograms of linseed, all of good quality f. o. b.

ARTICLE 2. The Governments of France and Great Britain shall not be obliged to buy the cereals before mentioned when their price in the market exceeds 15 ₱ per 100 kilograms of wheat, 7 ₱ per 100 kilograms oats, and 15 ₱ per 100 kilograms linseed.

ARTICLE 3. The Argentine Government shall open a credit in favor of the Government of Great Britain up to the sum of 100,000,000 ₱ Argentine gold equivalent in lawful money and an equal credit up to the same sum to the Government of France.

The amounts drawn on such credits shall bear 5 per cent interest per annum.

ARTICLE 4. The Argentine Government shall be permitted to draw on the Governments of France and Great Britain up to the total of the sums of which they had disposed under the above credits when the rate of exchange in favor of the Argentine Government does not exceed 50 pennies upon England and 5 fr. 60 upon Paris.

The resulting balance shall be liquidated by the Governments of France and Great Britain within the period of 24 months from the signature of this convention, unless further extended by mutual consent by delivery of the amount in actual gold.

The Governments of France and Great Britain shall deposit in the respective Argentine Legations obligations equivalent to the amounts of the sums of which they shall have disposed under the credits granted.

ARTICLE 5. The credits granted shall be utilized for the purchase of Argentine cereals and can also be used for the acquisition of other products of the country.

ARTICLE 6. The Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain in providing the necessary ships for the exportation of the products mentioned shall permit the exportation of combustible which is required by the internal consumption of Argentina.

ARTICLE 7. This convention is *ad referendum* for the Argentine Government, which shall obtain the necessary authorization from the National Congress.

I desire to call the Department's attention to the importance of instructing me immediately as to whether it wishes me to signify the approval of the Government of the United States of this con-

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vention; as otherwise, when the convention is submitted to Congress on Monday the fact that the United States has not expressed disapproval may be interpreted as a demonstration of approval.

STIMSON

File No. 835.6131/39

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1917, 7 p. m.*

Your December 22, 4 p. m.,[1] December 26, 3 p. m.,[1] and December 28, 5 p. m. The Government of the United States is unable to be a signatory to the proposed agreement in your December 28, 5 p. m., but you are instructed to cooperate in every way with British and French Ministers in the negotiations for the completion of the agreement between Great Britain, France, and the Argentine Republic.

The United States would allow exports of combustibles for actual requirements of the Argentine so far as possible after taking into account the internal and Allied needs. However, it would be inadvisable to make any engagement as to supplying coal or shipping from the United States to the Argentine Republic.

LANSING

File No. 641.326/10

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

No. 1061 RIO DE JANEIRO, *November 21, 1917.*
[*Received January 2, 1918.*]

SIR: Referring to previous correspondence and especially to Embassy's despatch No. 961, of July 13 last,[2] I have the honor to enclose a copy of a note which the British Minister addressed to the Brazilian Foreign Office on October 31 last,[1] in which it is stated that the British Government does not find it possible to relax the restrictions on the importation of coffee (from Brazil), of which material there are already large stocks in the United Kingdom.

The British Minister also informed the Government of Brazil that imports into the United Kingdom would be strictly confined to articles of prime necessity.

It would therefore appear that, for the present at least, Brazil will not be able to send coffee to the United Kingdom and that negotiations in that sense must be suspended.

I have [etc.] EDWIN V. MORGAN

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[1] Not printed.
[2] Not printed; enclosure printed, *ante*, p. 310.

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File No. 835.6131/42

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *January 2, 1918, 4 p. m.*
[*Received 9.28 p. m.*]

Department's December 29, 7 p. m., and my December 29, 4 p. m.[1] I have just called upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs at his request. He informs me that his Government is prepared to recommend acceptance of the wheat convention by Great Britain and France alone, with the clause providing for a supply of coal by the United States eliminated, on condition that I will embody our conversation, in the course of which I informed him of the contents of the Department's December 29, 7 p. m., in a formal note addressed to him. After considerable discussion I agreed to submit the following form to the Department for its consideration. It embodies the Department's instructions precisely except only that it omits express mention of the Allies. The Minister for Foreign Affairs explained that he was most anxious to obtain a form which would meet with the approval of Congress, the session being resumed on January 3. The British Minister is very insistent that the negotiations should now be carried to a conclusion, and he informs me that he and the Minister for Foreign Affairs have now agreed upon everything save a minor detail in the question of exchange.

The following is the form of the note which, after the conversation referred to, it was proposed I should send to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, concerning which I beg to request the Department's instructions.

Referring to the agreement made between the Argentine Government and the Governments of Great Britain and France concerning the sale of 2,500,000 tons of the Argentine wheat crop, I take pleasure in assuring your excellencies that the United States Government will assist in the same by permitting so far as is possible, that is to say, immediately after supplying the necessities of the United States and the war, the exportation, in the ships coming from the United States for said wheat, of combustible for the actual requirements of the Argentine people.

STIMSON

File No. 835.6131/42

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *January 3, 1918, 7 p. m.*

Your January 2, 4 p. m. You are authorized to send to Minister Foreign Affairs note in the form and language quoted in your telegram above mentioned.

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[1] Latter not printed.

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It is understood by Department, from your telegram of December 29, 4 p. m.,[1] that the word combustible refers to coal and not to oil.

LANSING

File No. 862.85/261

The Chargé in Uruguay (Wadsworth) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONTEVIDEO, *January 3, 1918, 4 p. m.*
[*Received January 4, 6.36 a. m.*]

Referring to the Department's telegram of December 31, 5 p. m.[1] No proposition has been made by this Legation to Uruguay *re* German vessels since December 12, when, in accordance with Department's telegram December 11, 7 p. m.,[2] Legation submitted proposals quoted in Department's telegram December 1, 6 p. m.[3] Uruguay's reply quoted in my December 15, 5 p. m.[4] Am now informed by Uruguayan Government that bids for chartering German vessels must be made by February 2 and may be presented to Uruguayan Minister at Washington. Law governing chartering German vessels contained in report of the American Consul to the Department dated November 27.[1]

WADSWORTH

File No. 835.6131/50

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BUENOS AIRES, *January 14, 1918, 5 p. m.*
[*Received January 15, 1.26 a. m.*]

My January 4, 6 p. m.[1] The wheat convention was signed this morning at 11 o'clock by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the French and British Ministers. The convention is as quoted in my telegram December 28, 5 p. m., with the following alterations and additions: The first paragraph of Article 4 now reads as follows:

The Argentine Government shall be permitted to draw on the Governments of France and Great Britain for direct operations of exchange up to the total of the sums of which they had disposed under the above credits when the rate of exchange in favor of the Argentine Government does not exceed 50 pennies upon England and 5 fr. 60 upon Paris.

There is added to Article 4 the following new clause: "The Argentine Government shall not utilize the credits in pounds sterling and francs opened in Paris and London to make direct or indirect remittances to the United States of America." Article 6 as quoted in my December 28, 5 p. m., is totally omitted and Article 7 as

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[1] Not printed.
[2] *Ante*, p. 384.
[3] *Ante*, p. 378.
[4] *Ante*, p. 389.

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quoted therein is now numbered Article 6. Article 7 in the convention as signed is an addition and reads as follows: "When the legislative authorization aforementioned is obtained, the credits accorded in Buenos Aires by the Argentine Government can be immediately utilized by the Governments of France and Great Britain." The signatures of the plenipotentiaries follow thereafter.

A copy of the agreement as signed has been sent me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and in accordance with the Department's instructions of January 3, 7 p. m., I have sent to him verbatim the note quoted in my January 2, 4 p. m.

It is expected that the convention will be laid before Congress immediately for its approval.[1]

STIMSON

File No. 862.85/291

The Minister in Cuba (Gonzales) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HABANA, *January 15, 1918, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 2.36 p. m.*]

Your December 14, 5 p. m.,[2] and January 12, 5 p. m.[3] President endeavoring to find legal way to conform with board's wishes. Believes will succeed in doing so this week.

GONZALES

RELATIONS OF ASIATIC COUNTRIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH EUROPEAN BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES AS AFFECTED BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WARFARE

China's Approval of the President's Suggestions of December 18, 1916, to Belligerent Governments—Requests for Assurances by China in the Event of Severance of Relations with Germany; Attitude of the United States

File No. 763.72119/328

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *January 9, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received January 9, 7.30 p. m.*]

Your circular of December 20.[4] Minister for Foreign Affairs has written as follows in answer to my note transmitting the President's note to the belligerent powers:

I have examined, with the care which the gravity of the questions raised demands, the note concerning peace which President Wilson

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[1] Approval by the two Houses was reported in telegrams of Jan. 19 and 22 (File Nos. 835.6131/54 and 56).
[2] *Ante*, p. 386.
[3] Not printed.
[4] *Ante*, p. 219.

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has addressed to the governments of the Allies and the Central powers now at war and the text of which your excellency has been good enough to transmit to me under instructions of your Government.

China, a nation traditionally pacific, has recently again manifested her sentiments in concluding treaties concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes, responding thus to the [wishes] of the peace conferences held at The Hague.

On the other hand the present war by its prolongation has seriously affected the interests of China, more so perhaps than those of other powers which have remained neutral. She is at present at a time of reorganization which demands economically and industrially the cooperation of foreign countries, cooperation which a large number of them are unable to accord on account of the war in which they are engaged.

In manifesting her sympathy for the spirit of the President's note, having in view the ending as soon as possible of the hostilities, China is but acting in conformity with not only her interest but also with her profound sentiments.

On account of the extent which modern wars are apt to assume and the repercussion which they bring about, their effects are no longer limited to belligerent states. All countries are interested in seeing wars become as rare as possible. Consequently China can not but show satisfaction with the views of the Government and people of the United States of America who declare themselves ready and even eager to cooperate when the war is over by all proper means to assure the respect of the principle of the equality of nations whatever their power may be and to relieve them of the peril of wrong and violence. China is ready to join her efforts with theirs for the attainment of such results which can only be obtained through the help of all.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3230

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

PEKING, *February 6, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received February 5, 8.30 p. m.*]

I have discussed Department's circular of February 3, 1 p. m.,[1] with the President, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Premier, and Minister of Finance. Cabinet meeting took place to-day but no decision yet arrived at.

I have been questioned on the following points relating to eventuality of China's being drawn into the war in consequence of taking the action suggested: first, could assurances be given that Chinese arsenals and military forces would not come under foreign control; secondly, could assurances be given that China would be admitted to

[1] *Ante*, p. 108.

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full membership in the peace conference; thirdly, what would be relations of the powers now entering the war to the London agreement not to make separate peace? I confined myself to conjectures but should be assisted by having your instructions on these points.

Our influence with the Chinese has been markedly impaired by the publication of the proposed cooperation with Japan in the canal projects, more particularly because the Japanese reports have given rise to the belief that the Americans took the initiative in seeking Japanese assistance.[1] . . .

Please keep me informed of the action of other neutral powers which would also influence China.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3245

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *February 6, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received February 6, 6.45 p. m.*]

The Cabinet met again to-day, and the Minister of Finance informs me that the sentiment in favor of joining the United States is gaining strength phenomenally. He intimates that the chief obstacle to such action is the fear concerning arsenals. If I can be authorized to give to the Chinese Government the assurance that $10,000,000 will be loaned from American sources to improve arsenals and that the United States Government will agree to funding of its portion of Boxer indemnity in long-term bonds and to urge the same course upon the Allied powers, I feel assured that the Chinese Government will forthwith associate itself with the American action. The former is the more important. Should the arrangement for funding the indemnity require action by Congress, it is possible that the Chinese Government might be persuaded to act upon the assurance that the administration would at some opportune time recommend appropriate legislation to that effect.

The Chinese officials recognize the justice of the cause espoused by the United States as well as the desirability of China's associating itself with the measures taken, but they will not act unless they can have effective assurances that their national independence will be safeguarded by the United States as by the means suggested above, which would be a very moderate amount of support.

REINSCH

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[1] See *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 207 *et seq.*

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File No. 763.72/3256

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *February 7, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received February 7, 4.30 p. m.*]

My telegram of February 6, 11 p. m. In a further [conversation] Minister of Finance stated that the Chinese officials are increasingly disposed to associate their Government with the action of the United States but are deterred by the fear that evident necessity for more adequate military organization might lead the Japanese Government to seek from the Allies mandate to supervise such organization: and that to avert the possibility of Japan's creating such a situation the Chinese Government considers it to be of the utmost importance to have some assurance that means will be provided to enable it to undertake the requisite measures independently with American financial assistance and guidance. In view of his urgent request for some immediate assurance on which the decision of the Government can be made, before other influences can be interposed, I shall feel justified in addressing the Minister for Foreign Affairs as follows, if it appears that by doing so without delay a favorable decision may be obtained.

I have recommended to my Government, in the event of the Chinese Government's associating itself with the President's suggestion, the Government of the United States should take measures to put at its disposal funds immediately required for the purposes you have indicated, and should take steps with a view to such a funding of the Boxer indemnity as would for the time being make available for the [purposes?] of the Chinese Government at least the major portions [of] the current indemnity installments: and I have indicated to you my personal conviction that my Government would be found just and liberal in effecting this or other such arrangements to enable the Chinese Government to meet the responsibilities which it might assume upon the suggestion of the President. I should not be wholly frank with you, however, if I were to fail to point out that the exact nature of any assistance to be given or any measures to be taken must be determined through consultation of various administrative organs, in some cases including reference to Congress, in order to make effective such arrangements as might have been agreed to between the executive authorities of the two Governments: and I, therefore, could not in good faith make in behalf of my Government any definite commitments upon your suggestions at the present time.

I do, however, feel warranted in assuming the responsibility of assuring you in behalf of my Government that by the methods you have suggested, or otherwise, adequate means will be devolved to enable China to fulfill the responsibilities consequent upon associating itself with the action of the United States, without any impairment of her control of her military establishment and general administration.

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I venture the hope that this action which I shall take only under imperative immediate necessity will meet your approval and that my position in this matter may be strengthened by authorization to affirm the acceptance by our Government of the principle of affording China such financial assistance as Great Britain, for example, has given Russia.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3270

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

PEKING, *February 8, 1917, 12 p. m.*
[*Received February 8, 9.30 p. m.*]

. . . After daily deliberations the Cabinet have sent word to me that they will send a note to Germany strongly disapproving submarine policy and declaring that they will break off diplomatic relations if it is persisted in: they are ready to take this action on condition that I give them the assurances reported in my cipher telegram February 2, 12 midnight [*February 6, 11 p. m. ?*]: they offer in return the assurances that any action on the part of Germany which the United States takes as a *casus belli* they will regard as occasion for severing diplomatic relations. I do not propose to give the assurances unless this Government associates itself more fully with the action of ours, but I urgently request your instructions whether I might do so if no more satisfactory action by China could be induced by any other means.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72119/461

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

No. 1335 PEKING, *January 10, 1917.*
[*Received February 8.*]

SIR: During the recent past, various Chinese officials—their excellencies the President, the Premier, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and others—have confidentially discussed with me the position of the Chinese Republic with respect to the settlement after the war. I, therefore, have the honor to report to you on this matter and to request your instructions.

During the course of the war China has been more immediately and directly affected by hostile action between the belligerents, as to her own territory, than any other power. This happened primarily in connection with the defense and siege of Tsingtao, but there have also been many other similar cases, though of less importance.

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The Chinese Government feels that because territorial rights located in China are involved in this war, it would be proper for the Chinese Government to be consulted when the final settlement is made after the conclusion of hostilities. Most of the high officials of China are inclined to believe that the Chinese Government should be represented in any conference of the belligerents which may be called to effect a settlement.

On the other hand, it is also apprehended by them, as well as by others, that should China be drawn into the discussions connected with the adjustment of the position and the rights of the belligerents, it might easily happen that the European powers and Japan would see in China a convenient victim for transactions and deals by which they would give to each other mutual "compensations," or would give to one group of powers "compensations" for concessions which they might make in other parts of the world. Should the representation of China at the peace conference invite such a development, such representation would by all means have to be avoided. It is, however, felt by the Chinese that this matter of "compensations" might be brought up in their absence, without their knowledge and without an opportunity being given them to state their views. It appears to them that this would be an even more undesirable situation, and they are inclined to make an effort to be included in whatever conferences may be held. They do not, however, fail to see that unless it suits the special convenience of a group of powers or unless it is not strongly opposed by any one power, their inclusion in such a conference would not be probable. The Japanese have already hinted that they would gladly undertake to represent the interests of China at such a conference; that they would fully protect China and might even admit a Chinese attaché to the Japanese delegation. This is, of course, the last thing that the Chinese desire.

Under the circumstances, it is very difficult to determine with any degree of assurance what would be the safest course for China to pursue. Considering the manner in which international bodies [decisions] are often formulated, it would even easily be possible to give to a general resolution of abstention from interference in China such a form as would guarantee and fortify such claims already existing.

The following alternatives of policy suggest themselves, several of which might concurrently be put in action:

First: China might formally notify the belligerent powers, at the time of the calling of their conference, that she desires to be directly represented therein as far as the disposition of any rights affecting China should come under discussion. Should China be admitted, her delegation could then insist upon a strict limitation of the action of the conference to the rights of Germany in Shantung, which are

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alone directly involved in the war. Should there be an attempt made to discuss broader questions, the Chinese Government might then state that as such a discussion would affect other powers, the questions should be, if discussed at all, submitted to a special conference where the latter could be represented. The weakness of the claim of China to be represented in the congress arises from the fact that the Chinese Government has already (in 1915) agreed with Japan to sanction any transfer, which may be made at the conclusion of the war, of the rights of Germany in Shantung to Japan.

Second: The Chinese Government might formally notify the belligerent powers that it takes it for granted that any discussion of the transfer of the rights of Germany in Shantung to Japan will be confined strictly to the scope of such rights hitherto specifically and formally recognized by China; and that should the discussion pass beyond this limit the Chinese Government would desire to be represented at the conference.

Third: China might take it for granted that the conference of belligerents would not concern itself with Chinese affairs beyond the rights of Germany in Shantung; and it might then rely upon the general conference of all powers, which will undoubtedly be convened shortly after the war, to give more definite protection to her rights. The work of such a general conference, which would undoubtedly attempt to fortify and perfect the method of arbitration of international disputes, and the effectiveness of international law, and which might find means for providing a sufficient joint guaranty assuring to any power desirous of invoking the protection of international law and of international courts the right to do so, would materially assist China in maintaining her independent position and governmental rights; provided that unfavorable specific action at the conference of the belligerents may be avoided.

Fourth: Should the general situation of the powers in China and the status of the Chinese Government be brought up for discussion at the end of the war, it would appear eminently desirable that there should be called a special conference on Chinese or Far Eastern Affairs, at which all the powers having important interests here should be represented. From such a conference it might be possible to obtain a reenforcement of the integrity of China and of the policy of equal opportunity; find expression in a specific formal declaration to the effect that the powers will not seek for themselves in the Chinese Republic any special territorial or general rights of preference, and that they will oppose no obstacle to the development by the Chinese Government and people, with their own or foreign capital, of any part of China. If absolutely necessary, the special status of Manchuria and parts of Mongolia might be recognized, provided that the principle of equal rights and privileges be formally established throughout the rest of China.

The development of events will possibly indicate with greater definiteness which will be the proper course for the Chinese Government to pursue. Meanwhile, however, the high officials of the Government have repeatedly expressed to me their confidence that they may count on the assistance of the American Government in aiding them to prevent any development during, or at the end of, the

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war which would make of China a field of "compensations" or would result in general declarations that would give scope to the further development of special spheres and preferences.

I have the honor especially to request an expression of your views or instructions with respect to the action of the Chinese Government with regard to international conferences as affecting these general rights, in the maintenance of which the American Government has always been interested.

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3383

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *February 9, 1917, 12 p. m.*
[*Received February 10, 12.10 a. m.*]

My telegram of February 8, 12 midnight. Chinese Government has now replied to the following effect to my note in pursuance of your telegram:[1]

Chinese Government being in accord with the principles set forth in your excellency's note and firmly associating itself with the Government of the United States, has taken similar action by protesting energetically to the German Government against the new measures of blockade. Chinese Government also proposes to take such action in the future as will be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the principles of international law.

It has at the same time addressed to German Minister note of protest expressing the hope that the proposed measures will not be carried out and adding that—

In case contrary to its expectations its protest be ineffectual, the Government of the Chinese Republic will be constrained to its profound regret to sever the diplomatic relations at present existing between the two countries.

It is also making to me by a *note verbale* the following confidential communication interpreting the note quoted above:

In case an act should be performed by the German Government which should be considered by the American Government as sufficient cause for declaration of war between the United States and Germany, the Chinese Government should [at] least break its diplomatic relations with Germany.

This identification with the policy [of] the American Government, though conforming incompletely with its action already taken, appears to be the utmost that can be immediately obtained in view of strong German influences and apprehensions of other dangers and obstacles. In order to bring it about, I found it imperatively

[1] Department's telegram, *ante*, p. 108.

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necessary to give the assurances referred to in my cipher telegram February 7, 6 p. m., which, however, I have pointed out apply to the consequences of action taken concurrently with the United States.

The strongest exertion of influence and persuasion was necessary to obtain this result in the face of numerous unfavorable factors. The most potent [factor] in our favor was the confidence felt by the Chinese in the aims of the American Government and their reluctance to fail to respond when invited to associate themselves with its action.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3270

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 10, 1917, 1 p. m.*

Until further instructed avoid giving any promises or assurances and take no other action in regard to matters mentioned in your cipher telegrams of February 6, 1 p. m. and 11 p. m., February 7, 6 p. m., and February 8, 12 midnight. Matter under consideration.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3245

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram—Extract]

WASHINGTON, *February 10, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your cipher telegrams of February 6, 1 p. m. and 11 p. m. The American Government highly appreciates disposition of China but does not wish to lead it into danger. It regrets practical inability to give any present assurances. Unwillingness of any other important neutral to follow American example ought to be considered very gravely by China, who should in prudence avoid isolated action. The Chinese Government, therefore, would do well to consult its representatives in the Allied countries. . . .

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3301

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

PEKING, *February 12, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received February 12, 10.30 a. m.*]

In view of the result reported in my February 9, 12 midnight, February 10, 1 p. m.,[1] I shall take no action on Department's February 10, 4 p. m., until further instructed. . . .

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[1] Latter not printed.

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Although the assurances I have given apply only in the case of China's complete identification with our action, I would most earnestly urge that the Chinese be not rebuffed in the action they have taken or be made to feel that by being alone in committing themselves to our leadership they have merely risked having their military resources placed under Japanese control instead of being assisted by the United States to fulfil the responsibilities undertaken at the President's invitation.

It is here understood that leadership assumed by the United States entitles the American Government to a decisive voice as to the form to be given any military assistance that may be rendered China, that it could legitimately and with propriety take the initiative in planning the nature of such assistance, and certainly that a proposal for single control by any other nation could not be effectuated over the head of the American Government. Our national security demands that there should be no surrender of Chinese sovereign rights of military control through admissions which would lay a heavy burden on the American nation in the near future; it is recognized that by using the position secured through the action of China the American Government could effect an arrangement which would be just to the vital interests of China as well as of the other powers, or at least could prevent unilateral harmful action.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3310

The Japanese Ambassador (Sato) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *February 13, 1917.*

The Japanese Ambassador has the honor to bring to the confidential knowledge of the Honorable the Secretary of State substance of a telegram which he has just received from Viscount Motono, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs and follows:

On the 12th of February when Mr. Guthrie called upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Viscount availed himself of the occasion to inform him confidentially that the Chinese Minister at Tokyo had visited the Foreign Office with the information that the Chinese Government had sent a reply on the 9th to the latest note of Germany concerning submarine warfare, in which the Chinese Government added that in case its advice to the German Government to reconsider the matter be not given due and careful consideration and proves to be to no purpose, the diplomatic relations between the two countries would have to be severed and that he wished to be advised of the opinion of the Imperial Government. Viscount Motono told him that it would be proper for the Chinese Government to take a similar attitude with the United States Government in regard to the matter.

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File No. 763.72/3327½

The Chargé in Siam (Arnold) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BANGKOK, *February 14, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[Received February 15, 2.45 a. m.]

Your telegram of February 3, 1 p. m.[1] Received from Foreign Office this morning the following:

In reply His Majesty's Government wishes me to inform you that while it sympathizes with the motives and appreciates the action taken by the Government of the United States of America in this matter, yet it feels that, owing to the geographical situation of its territories so remote from the warfare and to the fact that its interest is not yet so directly affected as other neutral powers, His Majesty's Government would, therefore, prefer, while maintaining its neutrality, to watch the further development of the matter until its interests will demand similar action.

ARNOLD

File No. 763.72/3301

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 17, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your cipher telegram of February 12, 4 p. m. The Department's circular telegram of February 3, 1 p. m.,[1] did not contemplate the offer to any neutral power of special inducements to take action similar to that of the United States in regard to Germany.

You informed the Department in advance of your intention to give certain assurances if needed in order to obtain the result desired, but the President and the Department were preoccupied with other pressing matters and did not anticipate that you would act so soon without instruction.

Since, however, you have given the assurances mentioned in your telegram of February 7, 6 p. m., the matter is being most carefully reconsidered and you will be made acquainted with the result as soon as a definite conclusion is reached. You may so inform the Chinese Government orally and urge upon it the necessity for the utmost caution and secrecy. You will be most particular to suggest, furthermore, that it is the opinion of this Government that China should not, unless compelled by extraordinary circumstances, do more than break off diplomatic relations with Germany until the definite

[1] *Ante*, p. 108.

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decision of this Government in the premises is communicated to it. Your personal attention is directed to the need of profound secrecy and of the very close observance of the directions of the Department.

LANSING

File No. 763.72119/461

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

No. 576 WASHINGTON, *February 26, 1917.*

SIR: The Department acknowledges the receipt of your despatch No. 1335 of January 10, 1917,[1] concerning the possible representation of China in any conference of the present belligerents for the re-establishment of peace.

The Department has considered very carefully the several suggestions made by you as to possible courses of procedure to secure for China the protection of her interests.

The American Government is deeply concerned for the continued preservation of China's territorial integrity and administrative entity and the maintenance of the open door for trade and equality of opportunity for all nations in the commerce of China. This Government naturally, therefore, desires the Chinese Government to have such representation in any conference of the present belligerents as the hostilities conducted by them within the boundaries of China entitle it to receive. It seems to the Department that China would do well to await the further development of events. This may indicate the proper course to take. It is not impossible that China may itself become a belligerent before any such conference is held and thus have an undoubted right to the representation desired. The Department, at present, however, is not disposed, in the event of hostilities between the United States and Germany, to urge China to declare war also on Germany. The course of events may make such a course advisable, but it is evident that the United States would not be able to give China the assistance proposed in your telegrams of February 6, 1 p. m., February 6, 11 p. m., and February 7, 6 p. m.,[2] if serious opposition should be offered to such assistance. Attempt to override that opposition might precipitate the very aggression which China fears. . . . The greatest caution, therefore, should be exercised by the Legation in the present situation of affairs lest China through our advice should become involved in difficulties from which we shall be unable to extricate it.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

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[1] *Ante*, p. 404.
[2] *Ante*, pp. 401, 402, 403.

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File No. 763.72/3397

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *February 28, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received March 1, 9.30 a. m.*]

Referring to my cables of February 12, 4 p. m., February 21, 6 p. m.[1] Japan is bringing strong pressure to bear to force China to join the Allies. The Vice President, Premier, and other influential leaders, partly from fear of Japan and partly to advance their political ambitions, are disposed to fall into line. The President favors cautious action. It would appear that the only safe position which he can take to resist Japanese importunity and the intrigues to turn this situation against him is that the action of the Chinese Government has thus far been, and will continue to be, planned to harmonize with that of the United States. Without some [assurance] that our Government will concern itself with the maintenance of China's [independence?] in this matter it will be perhaps impossible for him to resist tendency to forego reliance on the United States and accept the inevitable alternative of entering the war [as] *protégé* of Japan. An early intimation of the decision contemplated in your February 17, 4 p. m., and such information as may be given in regard to recent developments of relations with Germany would be important for my guidance.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3397

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram—Extract]

WASHINGTON, *March 2, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your cipher telegram of February 28, 7 p. m. The French Ambassador has informed the Department that China has made overtures to join the Entente powers provided the latter will secure a consortium loan, agree to revise the tariff, remit the indemnity, and revise protocol of 1901. This indicates that the Foreign Office has not told you the whole situation.

There is nothing in the situation to hasten China's entrance into war under the Entente leadership. . . . China will lose nothing by waiting.

It would seem to be safer for China to take no further action until this Government shall have determined its course. You may communicate the substance of above to Foreign Office.

LANSING

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[1] Latter not printed.

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File No. 763.72/3417

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

PEKING, *March 3, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received March 3, 2.30 p. m.*]

Referring to my cable of February 28, 7 p. m. On account of non-appearance of a satisfactory reply to its protest to Germany, the Chinese Government is now confronted with the necessity of deciding upon a further course of action as its position is fundamentally identical with that of the American Government in that both are neutral and seek no national advantages but only the maintenance of their essential rights. The Chinese Government thinks association with the United States in this matter natural. But Japan is urgently advising union with the Allies, whose representatives, under instructions, have invited China and offered certain inducements, such as the postponement of Boxer indemnity. . . .

The preference of the Chinese Government for alignment with the United States would determine their action, could they be sure of moderate recognition and support. Such action would receive passively or spontaneously the applause of the Allies. The features of the situation are alike favorable to a maintenance of Chinese rights and American vital interests if some financial assistance can come from American sources and the American Government will secure for China a voice in the possible conferences. The very fact of China's being in this matter associated primarily with the United States will make it impossible to impose upon her exclusive outside control of her military establishment.

It is essential that I should have your instructions as I am asked to state the attitude of the American Government.

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File No. 763.72/3416

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *March 3, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received March 3, 2.45 p. m.*]

Your telegram March 1 [*2*], 5 p. m. I have been informed that as Japan was endeavoring to press China to enter the war, the Allies were being sounded as to the assurances they could give to China in that event. Premier and Vice President undoubtedly see a chance of political advantage in securing funds from the Allies, but even they are less eager at present. I am strongly urging your views but am invariably confronted with the question whether the United States

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will really exert itself to enable China to resist importunity of Japan. An early determination of the attitude of the American Government is essential to save the situation.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3490

The Minster in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

No. 1390 PEKING, *February 14, 1917.*
[*Received March 12.*]

SIR: Supplementing my telegrams of February 6, 1 p. m. and 11 p. m., 7, 6 p. m., 8, 12 p. m., 9, 12 p. m.,[1] 10, 1 p. m.,[2] and 12, 4 p. m.,[3] I have the honor further to report on the steps taken in connection with the instructions contained in your circular telegram of February 3, relating to the protest against the German policy of submarine warfare.

Upon receiving your instructions, I immediately informed the Minister for Foreign Affairs, his excellency Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who being ill at present has been represented by his son, Mr. C. C. Wu. I also immediately arranged for interviews with their excellencies the President, the Premier, and the Minister of Finance. During the period from February 4 to 8 I had numerous interviews and conferences with these high officials, as well as with other members of the Cabinet.

In urging that China should associate herself with the policy and action of the American Government in this important matter, I made use of the following arguments:

I stated that the position of the American Government was not based upon any desire to secure national profit or advantage of any kind whatsoever at the expense of other nations, but that it identified American national action with a purpose to vindicate the fundamental rights of all nations, to protect them against further inroads, and to secure the existence of a community of nations mutually respectful of their rights. From both parties of belligerents, the United States, as well as other neutrals, had been made to suffer many serious infractions of its rights; the American Government had met these with strong protests in the hope that at the end of the war common agreement might revindicate and give force to the rights thus disregarded. But when the wilful oversight of neutral rights went to the extent of imperiling not only neutral property but the lives of its citizens, the American Government was obliged to take more forceful action. In this matter the

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[1] *Ante*, pp. 401–404, 407.
[2] Not printed.
[3] *Ante*, p. 408.

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interests of China are entirely parallel to those of the United States: both nations are peaceful and see in the maintenance of international right and peaceful conditions a vital guaranty of their national safety. Through association with the United States, China would enter upon this controversy with a position consonant with every tradition and interest of her national life, a position which would have to be respected by friends and foes alike, as dictated by the highest principles which could guide national action. By taking this action, China would improve her independent standing among the nations, she would have to be consulted during the course of the controversy and at the conclusion of the war: she would, in all this, be most closely associated with that nation which she has always looked upon as peculiarly friendly and just to her. In addition to these arguments, many favorable results were discussed which China would obtain in her tactical position in international diplomacy.

Many arguments were advanced by the Chinese officials in doubt of the policy suggested: it was stated that China had not led up to a breach with Germany by notes of protest, such as had made the action of the United States seem natural and unavoidable; Germany had of late years always been considerate in her treatment of China, a sudden breach might seem treacherous; it might also be taken by Japan as so surprising an action as to give a favorable pretext for pressing the dreaded demands of Group V.[1] It was also apparent that the representatives of the European Allies were not in a position to give China, at the present time, any advice favorable to the action suggested.

I pointed out in turn that were the action suggested once taken by China, the representatives of the Allied powers would have no choice but to applaud it, which some of them at least would do from the fullness of their hearts. As far as Japan was concerned, the situation would be such as to indicate that that country, too, would decide to express approval of the action. Having taken a definite position on this side of the controversy, without yet entirely associating herself with the Allies, China would be in a position to command their good will; any interference with China's sovereign rights would be rendered more difficult because of the situation thus created. It was almost inconceivable that coercive action should be taken against a friend who had declared himself. Moreover, the United States having taken the initiative in inviting China to participate in the protest, it would be unlikely that any action could be taken over the head of the United States or without consulting the American Government.

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1915, pp. 94–97

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As to the suddenness of the action suggested, I urged that the action of the German Government in announcing unrestricted submarine warfare was itself so astounding in its disregard of neutral rights that no action taken in reply could be considered too drastic. It was virtually a threat to kill Chinese citizens navigating certain portions of the high seas; and injury could be prevented only by taking a determined and forceful position.

I was also asked whether, should China follow the lead of the United States, it would then not be made easier for the Allies, under the leadership of Japan, to invite China to join them upon conditions laid down by Japan: I stated that I did not believe such to be the case, particularly if China closely associated herself with the policy of the United States step for step.

Early in the course of the discussions, I was informed quite positively that no action would be possible unless the American Government could give to China some sort of adequate assurance that China would be assisted in bearing the responsibilities which she might incur through taking this step, without an impairment of her sovereign rights and her national control. In my mind, I felt it as a matter of course that should China follow the lead of the American Government, the latter would not allow China to suffer in consequence thereof through lack of every possible support in helping China to bear the responsibilities assumed by her and to prevent any disastrous consequences falling upon her as a result of her action.

I also felt that quick and definite action alone could bring the results desired by the American Government; I felt that the effect upon Germany of the American protest would be enhanced by the early concurrence of important neutral powers. It also appeared to me that the first impulse, apparently present among a number of influential Chinese leaders in favor of associating themselves with the United States in this matter, would result in action only if a prompt decision could be made before all sorts of unfavorable and obstructive influences actually present could get to work. German influence itself, due to a wise course of policy towards the Chinese, has been very strong during recent years and could go far to neutralize action after the danger had once been fully realized.

When, on February 8, it became absolutely certain that the action counseled by the American Government could be obtained in principle, but only upon definite assurances that in the event of action being taken by China the latter could count upon the support of the United States, I felt it necessary to address to the Foreign Office the note embodied in my telegram of February 7, 6 p. m. I did this upon the conviction that at a time when immediate action was necessary and when I could not have your specific instructions, you would support me in action based upon the firm belief that the Government

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would act in a manner consonant with its position as a powerful Government in its relations with those who gave support and associated themselves in carrying through a policy of fundamental importance.

As the secret assurances given by the Chinese Government to the effect that China would "at the least break its diplomatic relations with Germany" in case "an act should be performed by the German Government which should be considered by the American Government as a sufficient cause for declaration of war between the United States and Germany" would not become operative until further action by the United States, they therefore left further opportunity open for determining the exact nature of the action to be taken by China. I stated to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, through his representative, that China found herself in a most favorable position. If she would take firm and decided action on the submarine question, and should be induced by the American Government to follow this up with more drastic action, she had the assurances that reasonable support would not in such an event be denied her.

On February 8 I had a joint final conference with the Premier, the Ministers of Finance and the Navy, and Mr. Wu. At the session of the Cabinet immediately following, the action was taken which has been reported in my telegram of February 8, 12 p. m. A formal notification was given to the Legations concerned on February 9. On February 10 the entire Cabinet reported to a secret session of Parliament on the diplomatic action taken. The report was well received, only a few questions being asked dealing with the procedure followed. No vote was taken on this matter, as it was considered by way of report on action by the Cabinet within the range of its legal functions.

With regard to the results of the important action taken by the Chinese Government, as far as they have become apparent up to the present time, it may be said that in matters of internal affairs the action has been beneficial in increasing harmony among the different factions, as well as the self-respect of the Government. The fact that China has, without coercion, taken a definite stand on a momentous matter and that her choice in associating herself with another country in this step has been entirely free, has inspired the Chinese with hope for the future. They feel that in taking a position for international right, they are strengthening the forces which make for the independence of their country. Among the military leaders the influence of Germany is very strong. Both the Premier and the Vice President are very friendly to Germany: they admire the perfect organization which has produced the remarkable military successes of this war; they also look upon Germany as a just and reasonable friend of China. Nevertheless, they have come to see that a more

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fundamental national interest should ally them with the international policy championed by the American Government. Accordingly, for once all important sections of public opinion are united.

As far as foreign influence and opinion are concerned, the representatives of the Allied Governments have come forward with their approval of the Chinese course of action as was to be expected. In the words of the Belgian Minister, "The air has been cleared; a weight has been lifted off China and the powers. The stock of America has risen one hundred per cent. The Japanese Government fully realizes this new factor and is governing itself accordingly."

I have the honor to enclose, for your information, copies of two despatches (Nos. 1166 and 1170) of February 7 and 9, respectively, from the Consulate General at Shanghai, and articles from the *Peking Gazette* of January 22, February 7, 8, 10, and 12, and from the *Peking Daily News* of February 7, 8, 10, and 13, in which the recent diplomatic developments are discussed.[1]

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3483

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

PEKING, *March 12, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received March 12, 9.45 a. m.*]

The decision of the Cabinet to break off diplomatic relations with Germany has been communicated to both Houses of Parliament and endorsed in both by a vote of confidence. I am informed the decision is to be made effective to-morrow.

Premier still maintains that no commitment as to further action has been made: . . .

The reports of the recent decisive deliberations of the Cabinet show that the action of the American International Corporation, causing the Chinese to believe that Americans could not be safely trusted, has been damaging to our commercial interests.[2] But this handicap might have been overcome, if it had been possible to assure those who have confidence in our leadership of our Government's readiness to do what it could to enable China to meet the responsibilities involved; but without any confirmation of even such general assurances as I reported in my telegram of February 9, 12 midnight,[3] they have no cogent alternative to offer to those won over to Japan and have to let the decision go by default.

REINSCH

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[1] Enclosures not printed.
[2] See *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 207 *et seq.*
[3] *Ante*, p. 407.

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File No. 763.72/3397

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 12, 1917, 3 p. m.*

Department's cipher telegrams of February 17, 4 p. m.,[1] and March 2, 5 p. m.[2] The Department appreciates action of China in awaiting the decision of this Government concerning the assurances which you proposed to give the Chinese Government on condition of action by it concurrent with that of the United States.

After careful reconsideration of the whole matter, this Government sees no reason to alter its decision communicated to you in the telegram of February 10, 4 p. m.[3]

The Department is supporting China's efforts to obtain a loan in the United States. There are serious obstacles in the way but the approaching visit of Mr. Abbott[4] to Peking may possibly remove them.

The United States is not in a position to guarantee China a voice in possible conferences but desires China to have such a voice and in so far as practicable will use its influence to that end.

It must be understood, however, that this Government is not bidding against the Entente for adherence of China to American course of action. There appears to have been on the part of the Legation a misunderstanding of the President's circular invitation to neutral governments. All other important neutrals having declined that invitation, the adherence of China without other powers would be insufficient for purpose originally intended. But the Department is of course deeply interested in the welfare of China and can not but feel that if the Chinese Government will refuse to place itself in a position which will give others a reasonable excuse for demanding control of its military resources there will be no need to seek protection against such domination. LANSING

File No. 763.72/3483

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 13, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your cipher telegram of March 12, 1 p. m. The Department can only repeat the statements made in its telegram of March 12, 3 p. m., but, while unable to give the assurances asked, the Department

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[1] *Ante*, p. 410.
[2] *Ante*, p. 412.
[3] *Ante*, p. 408.
[4] Vice President of the Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago; see *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 125 *et seq.*

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desires you to say to the Chinese Government that the American Government has learned with appreciation that China will support the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany and trusts that the assurance given you that no commitment as to further action has been made indicates an intention to await the movement of this Government. You may say too that it is reported in the United States from unofficial sources that there is intriguing in China for the division of that country between a republic in the south and a monarchy in the north, and that this Government strongly deprecates a revival at this time of monarchical schemes or the promotion of any movement tending to promote discord in China or loss of territory by the Republic. For your guidance it is important to bear in mind that the American Government is disposed to regard as inadvisable a declaration of war by China upon Germany at this time, if such declaration would mean the control of China's military resources by a foreign power.

LANSING

Severance of Relations with Germany by China, March 14—Desires Expressed by the Chinese Government; Attitude of the United States—Declaration of War Against Germany by Siam, July 22; Discussion as to the Disposition of German Ships in Siamese Ports—Declaration of War by China, August 14

File No. 763.72/3496

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *March 14, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received March 14, 9 a. m.]

The Cabinet has been forced to break off diplomatic relations with Germany and passports will be handed the German Minister to-day.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3549

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *March 18, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 6.35 p. m.]

After the breach of diplomatic relations with Germany had been consummated on March 14 the Minister for Foreign Affairs handed me *note verbale* enumerating the following *desiderata:*

1. Suspension of Boxer installments for 10 years.
2. The immediate imposition of a surtax of 50 per cent on the present import duty; thereupon a revision of the tariff, so as to

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produce an effective 7.5 per cent duty; and finally after the abolition of likin, the customs régime of the MacKay treaty.

3. Cancellation of the provisions of 1901 protocol relating to Legation guards and to exclusion of Chinese troops from Tientsin.

An identical statement was given to the Entente powers and neutrals.

In a later conversation about this the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Premier stated that the Chinese Government proposed these measures as due to China from nations desirous to strengthen her position and not as conditions for entering the war. He stated that China was continuing to associate herself with the policy of the United States as was shown by the fact that direct notice of her impending action was given at their capitals to all the powers above mentioned and that relations had not been broken off with Austria-Hungary.

He then asked me whether the attitude of the American Government toward China was still the same as on February 8. I replied that the situation had of course been modified through China's entering *pourparlers* with the Entente powers, looking toward a policy different from that of the United States. He stated that the Chinese Government had kept its hands entirely free; that while there was a party favoring cooperation with Japan, they had by no means convinced the Government; that *pourparlers* had been caused by the urgent advances from the other side which required a reply, and that the entire formal action of China accorded with that of the United States. He also said that should the American Government now abandon interest in China, the Chinese Government would be driven into the arms of Japan, and again asked me whether our attitude had changed. I replied that if the Chinese Government had at the first suggestion from the Allies stated unequivocally that her position being similar to that of the United States she was following the same policy, there would have been no occasion for a change; that the good will of the United States persisted, but it is natural the American Government should feel a less keen interest in a measure as China relied on others; that however there was no intention of abandoning China; on the contrary if the Chinese Government should act with circumspection, the American Government would as heretofore exert itself to protect the independent position of China, to encourage sound loans, and to assist China to get representation in the peace conference. In this sense also I promised to suggest to you favorable consideration of the *desiderata* above mentioned with regard to import duty and Boxer indemnity.

REINSCH

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File No. 763.72/3540

The Chinese Minister (Koo) to the Secretary of State

No. 41 WASHINGTON, *March 17, 1917.*
[*Received March 19.*]

SIR: In pursuance of instructions from my Government, I have the honor to inform you that by reason of the fact that the German Government, in its reply of the 10th instant as communicated by the German Minister, while professing willingness to discuss means for safeguarding the lives and property of Chinese citizens, definitely refused to renounce its methods of submarine blockade, the Chinese Government was forced to conclude that its protest was ineffectual, and therefore notified the German Minister on the 14th instant that diplomatic relations with the German Government were severed. On the same day the Chinese Government delivered to the German Minister and his staff their passports for leaving the country, and issued telegraphic instructions to the different local authorities to deliver to the German consular officers their passports.

Accept [etc.] VI KYUIN WELLINGTON KOO

File No. 763.72/3549

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 21, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your cipher telegram of March 18, 11 a. m. The Department is giving the request sympathetic consideration. You may assure the Minister for Foreign Affairs that there has been no change whatever in the attitude of this Government towards China and that it remains as expressed in Department telegrams of February 10, 4 p. m.,[1] March 12, 3 p. m., and March 13, 6 p. m. It is assumed that you communicated to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the substance of these telegrams. The American Government retains a keen interest in China's welfare and trusts no course will be taken which might endanger its safety.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3549

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 26, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your cipher telegram of March 18, 11 a. m. The Department is disposed to believe that the continued presence of the American

[1] *Ante*, p. 408.

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Legation Guard in Peking and American railway guards at Tientsin and elsewhere would be advantageous to China, but will give the matter further consideration if the other powers concerned agree to withdraw such guards. The American Government was not a party to the agreement excluding Chinese troops from Tientsin.

Since the Chinese tariff is fixed by treaty, the Department will use its best endeavors to obtain such revision of the treaty as will permit an imposition of a surtax of 50 per cent of present import duty and later a duty of effective 7.5 per cent *ad valorem*, provided Entente powers also agree to such increase and on further condition stated at end of this telegram.

Concerning postponement of indemnity payments see Department's telegram of August 20, 1914, 4 p. m.[1] Provided Entente powers consent to postponement for time named of indemnity payments, the Department will attempt to arrange similar postponement of indemnity payments due United States upon the following conditions:

1. That China will agree during period of suspension from the funds thus made available to set aside monthly for the support of the Tsing Hua College and the Chinese students and Educational Mission in the United States a sum equal to that now remitted monthly to China by the United States.
2. That China will agree that Chinese military forces and equipment, arsenals, and munition factories are not to be placed under control of any foreign power.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3641

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *April 3, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received April 3, 10.30 a. m.*]

Your March 18, 11 a. m. I beg to request earliest possible information concerning action of the American Government respecting Germany. The Chinese Government in forming a decision as to its further policy desires to take into consideration such action as well as any intimations the American Government may wish to make.

Political prospects of monarchical movement discouraged by Russian developments, though local trouble still threatening Yunnan, Szechwan.

REINSCH

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[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1914, p. 76.

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File No. 763.72/3697

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

No. 1407 PEKING, *March 1, 1917.*
[*Received April 6.*]

SIR: In continuation of my No. 1390 of February 14 last,[1] and supplementing my telegrams of February 21, 6 p. m.,[2] and February 28, 7 p. m.,[3] I have the honor further to report on the Chinese protest against the German policy of submarine warfare.

Thus far the Chinese Government has not received a formal answer from the Government of the German Empire. Dr. W. W. Yen, the Chinese Minister at Berlin, telegraphed that he had been informed by the German Foreign Office that instructions were being sent to the German Minister at Peking. At the same time Mr. Zimmermann stated that Germany found herself compelled by the action of her enemies to take radical measures of defense, but that every care would be exercised to avoid injury to Chinese citizens. As stated, the German Legation has not yet transmitted to the Foreign Office a formal reply to the Chinese note.

Immediately after the announcement of the position taken by China, the Japanese, who had up to that point discouraged Chinese intervention, suddenly changed; they veered around so completely that the officious Japanese press, following the lead of the Foreign Office, stated that China had not gone far enough. Thenceforward, increasingly strong pressure has been exerted by the Japanese Foreign Office upon the Chinese Government, through the Chinese Minister at Tokyo, with a view to inducing China to associate herself with the Allies.

Among high Chinese officials, the alternative of joining the Allies is at present considered as the course which will probably have to be taken. The Vice President, whose connection with the Shanghai opium purchase has injured his standing, appears to see in a war policy an opportunity of rehabilitating himself. General Tuan Chi-jui and a number of the older officials are working with General Feng Kuo-chang, as they see a good chance of getting the upper hand over Parliament and the President. Those leaders who are specially under the influence of Japan are naturally in favor of the suggested policy. There is considerable danger that the movement, if carried through, would be entirely reactionary in character, as far as Chinese political institutions and practices are concerned. It is of course not known what arrangements have been concluded be-

[1] *Ante*, p. 414.
[2] Not printed.
[3] *Ante*, p. 412.

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tween General Feng and General Tuan, both of whom are rivals for the presidency. But it is suspected that should no arrangement concerning the succession to the presidency prove possible, all these forces may unite in an attempt to restore the Manchu Dynasty and perpetuate the rule of the more reactionary elements.

If it had been possible for me to give any assurance of an active interest on the part of the American Government in having China continue to follow a concordant policy with the United States in this matter, it would have been possible very decidedly to influence the currents of opinion among the high Chinese officials. Under the circumstances I had to confine myself to advising caution in taking any further steps and to pointing out that China was entitled to receive assurances as to essential points protective of her vital rights before committing herself to any joint action.

In confidential conversation I asked the British Chargé d'Affaires what effective assurances they could offer China were she to cooperate with the Allies. He stated that he hoped that China could be safeguarded. I am now informed that, in behalf of the Allies, the French Minister called at the Foreign Office and expressed the readiness of the Allies to give assurances with respect to financial matters, such as the postponement of the instalments of the Boxer indemnity and the upward revision of the Chinese customs tariff. The Chinese themselves are more deeply concerned over the matter of the exercise of their sovereign rights in connection with army control. Should the Allies be able spontaneously to give joint assurances to the effect that in the matter of military collaboration the Chinese Government will be allowed to take its own action with only such assistance as it may itself invite, I believe that the Chinese Government would be very likely to associate itself with the Allies.

There are herewith enclosed a copy of a despatch (No. 1174) of the 12th ultimo from the Consulate General at Shanghai, transmitting certain newspaper reports concerning the subject matter of this despatch, as well as clippings from the *Peking Gazette* of February 28 and March 1, on the same subject.[1]

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3817

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *April 12, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received April 12, 4 p. m.*]

The Chinese Government is still in doubt with respect to further action against Germany. There is much local opposition to a war,

[1] Enclosures not printed.

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in the south, due to popular misunderstanding, to continuing German influence, and to sporadic radical opposition against the Government. The desire to be associated with the American policy, however, remains strongest and China undoubtedly could be brought into the war were it urged.

The Japanese endeavoring to bring China into the war through assuring Premier that financial and other advantages would be obtained through them from the Allies. The latter benefits were, however, not forthcoming as apparently the European Allies were not desirous to enlist China under such auspices. Both the British Chargé d'Affaires and other prominent Allies have repeatedly assured me of their desire that China should stay closely by the side of the United States in this matter. Since America declared war Japanese insistence has almost disappeared. The Premier is embarrassed because the promised assurances were not received upon which he based the general tenor of his policy. The pro-Japanese party including the monarchists are discouraged by these events and the revolution in Russia. The Japanese themselves are nonplussed.

While I have abstained from advising the Chinese to enter the war there are many reasons which would render such action desirable. Aside from the beneficent influence on Chinese internal development of such alliance with the Allied powers, a declaration of war would eliminate all chances of China being used by our enemies and after some preparation would afford a source of real assistance in the conduct of the war. No one is in a position now to interfere with the entry of China. Should Russia be materially weakened the situation would not remain so favorable. Should China enter the war at this time, acting independently in conjunction with the United States and the Allies, the situation in the Far East could be prevented from assuming a character of menace to the United States as it otherwise might.

Another alternative would be the issuance of a declaration to the effect that the Chinese Government, in further association with the policy of the United States and in a spirit of friendship for the Allies, would hold herself prepared to take such military measures against Germany as the action of that power against China should require.

China, either as an ally or associate, would naturally hope to be treated by the United States as are our other Allies with respect to assistance in supporting financial credit for bringing about necessary preparation. Such financial assistance would fundamentally solve the question of Chinese independence and the right of Chinese democracy and republican institutions to develop freely. I beg to request your views or instructions on this matter in consideration

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of the direct bearing of American action regarding Europe upon the present and future security of ["open door"?] and American rights in China.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3817

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 14, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Prior to receipt of your cipher telegram of April 12, 8 p. m., the Department was considering the matter of financial assistance to China as requested in your telegrams of February 6, 11 p. m., February 7, 6 p. m.[1] Such assistance would be available from proposed appropriation for loans to other powers under bill now pending, but the probability is that Congress will limit loans to nations at war with Germany when the bill becomes a law. As yet the bill has not passed either House, though chances are extremely favorable.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3852

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Extract]

No. 1412 PEKING, *March 9, 1917.*

[*Received April 16.*]

SIR: In continuation of my No. 1407 of March 1 last,[2] and with reference to your telegraphic instructions of March 2, 5 p. m.,[3] I have the honor further to report on the Chinese protest against the German policy of submarine warfare.

The Chinese Government has been subjected to persistent pressure on the part of Japan, exercised personally by Viscount Motono on the Chinese Minister at Tokyo, with a view to inducing China to follow the lead of Japan in joining the Entente Allies.

This pressure was accompanied with expressions of resentment because in the previous instance the Chinese Government had not consulted with Japan. Joint action with Japan was made attractive by the offer of financial assistance on easy terms.

On Saturday, March 3, the Cabinet, after long continued daily deliberation, decided that it was necessary to break off diplomatic relations with Germany. It was also agreed upon that this decision should be communicated to the Japanese Government by telegraph,

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[1] *Ante*, pp. 402, 403.
[2] *Ante*, p. 424.
[3] *Ante*, p. 412.

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together with the further statement that the Chinese Government was willing to consider entering the war upon receiving specific assurances upon the matter of the postponement of the Boxer indemnity payments, the increase of the customs tariffs, and the revision of the protocol of 1901.

On March 4 a meeting of the Cabinet took place in the palace of the President, at which the latter expressed dissent from the policy of informing the Japanese Government of the steps to be taken before the policy had been passed on by Parliament. The Premier insisted that the sending of the telegram to the Chinese Minister at Tokyo was a purely administrative matter which was within the proper functions of the Cabinet. As the President did not agree, the Premier stated that under the circumstances it would be impossible for him to continue at the head of the Government. He ordered a special train and proceeded directly to the railway station. Before he could leave, the Vice President went to the station and attempted to persuade the Premier not to leave, but the latter persisted.

Such was the situation which I had to meet in endeavoring to carry out the instructions contained in your telegram of March 2.[1] As Dr. Wu Ting-fang, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was still incapacitated through his illness, I communicated with the Minister of Finance, in order to get a clearer view of the situation than could be gathered from the confused reports current at the time. Dr. Ch'en stated that it had not been the intention of the Cabinet to commit itself to any joint action or consultation with Japan, to the exclusion of other powers. He admitted, however, that it had seemed necessary to do something to give the Japanese Government "face," because of the resentment felt by the Japanese, their insistent pressure, and the consequences which were feared should they be antagonized. He stated that the Cabinet had been discouraged by failure to receive from me any clear indication as to the policy of the American Government; and he proceeded to say that the confidence of the Chinese in Americans had been most seriously shaken by the manner in which the American International Corporation had betrayed the interests of China to Japan in the Shantung canal matter.[2] Those skeptical of American courage and backbone were many, on account of this regrettable move, he said, and they argued that as America was so weak as to run to Japan with matters entrusted specifically to Americans, it might after all be better for the Chinese to deal directly with Japan. Dr. Ch'en stated that this was by no means his opinion or that of the majority of the leaders, but

[1] *Ante*, p. 412.
[2] See *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 207 *et seq.*

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that it was difficult to meet unfavorable statements, such as above outlined.

From other sources I learned that those men who are committed to the support of Japanese policy in China had been very active during the preceding weeks, as indeed I had many opportunities for observing before the decision of the Cabinet was taken. . . .

To resume the recital of the events of the last few days: On March 5 I had a full discussion of the political situation with the President, in which he explained his position as based upon the belief that notice of an impending breach of diplomatic relations with Germany should not be given to any power before Parliament had acted. I acquainted His Excellency with the purport of your instructions of the 2d instant,[1] and he stated that he was fully agreed as to the wisdom of carefully considering every step and of not, in taking any one step, unnecessarily committing the Government to further action. On the same day I also informed Dr. Wu, who was able to receive me, of the views of the Department as contained in the above instructions.

On March 6 the Vice President proceeded to Tientsin, in order to induce the Premier to return to his post. The Vice President succeeded in his errand, and General Tuan returned to Peking the same night. I made an engagement to see him, and on the evening of March 7 had a long and serious conversation with him. The Premier stated to me that because of the failure of the German Government to give any assurances in the matter of submarine warfare, and of the fact that in the sinking of the *Athos* several hundred Chinese laborers had lost their lives, it had appeared necessary to the Cabinet to decide upon an early severance of diplomatic relations. I expressed to the Premier the opinion that if the decision as stated by him was considered necessary, it would appear to be a safe course of action for the Chinese Government, in taking the step decided upon, to keep itself entirely free as to any further measures to be taken and also that it would not in the course of the negotiations entangle itself with any particular power. I stated my opinion to the effect that for the time being China could not reasonably be urged to go beyond the decision as indicated. This action would constitute the strongest possible condemnation of the German policy of submarine warfare; it left the Chinese Government free in the future to take such further action as conditions might require. Thus, for instance, privileges still enjoyed by German residents in China could be withdrawn by way of reprisal should German action become particularly injurious to China. The Chinese Government could also show its friendly attitude for the belligerent Allies in facilitating

[1] *Ante*, p. 412.

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the export of laborers and needed merchandise; and it would hold in reserve a declaration of war, to be used only when such a course of action would appear to be absolutely demanded by new facts, and would be made safe by proper assurances. The Premier expressed complete agreement with these views; he stated that he hoped to keep the hands of the Government free. He intimated, however, that the strongest kind of pressure was being exerted by Japan to force China into the Alliance. Throughout this conversation, in which I communicated to General Tuan the tenor of your instructions of March 2, I took care to give my remarks the character of information as to the attitude of the American Government and of a forecast of the probable results of any action taken by the Chinese Government without seeming to press upon the latter any particular course of action.

I am now informed that the wording of the telegram to be despatched to the Chinese Minister in Tokyo, for the information of the Japanese Government, has been modified so as to make it purely a matter of information and to eliminate any expressions which might be interpreted as an admission of the Japanese claim that the Chinese Government should consult particularly with Japan in this matter. The proposed action is to be reported to Parliament to-morrow. My information is that the members of Parliament are overwhelmingly in favor of breaking off relations with Germany. . . .

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

File No. 763.72/3924

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *April 17, 1917, 12 p. m.*
[Received April 17, 12 p. m.]

As the knowledge of the likelihood of important financial assistance might raise false expectations, I beg to request that in case action such as suggested in your telegram April 14, 4 p. m., should become possible, any indication on the part of our Government to make such financial assistance available to the Chinese Government should be withheld from the knowledge of even the Chinese Minister, Washington, until it shall have been possible to present for your consideration and to receive your attention [*recommendations*] in regard to the methods and conditions of assistance best calculated to further your purposes and to avoid either waste or embarrassment to the Chinese Government.

REINSCH

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File No. 763.72/3924

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 19, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your cipher telegram of April 17, midnight. The Chinese Minister has been aware for some time of possibilities of the situation.

My telegram of April 14, 4 p. m., is not to be taken as limiting assistance to amount mentioned in your telegram of February 6, 11 p. m.[1] Reference to that and one other telegram was to indicate that offer is in response to Chinese request. The bill authorizing financial assistance to powers at war with our enemies passed House and Senate unanimously, but owing to some difference in provisions has been sent to conference.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4004

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *April 23, 1917, 12 noon.*
[Received April 23, 8.30 a. m.]

Your April 19, 4 p. m. If the Department has made any statements to the Chinese Minister with respect to eventual financial assistance, I beg to be informed.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/4004

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 23, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your cipher telegram of April 23, noon. The Chinese Minister has repeatedly conferred with the Department during two or three weeks past and in answer to his inquiry as to assistance under provisions of the pending bill he was referred to the language of the bill which provides that—

For the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war by establishing credits in the United States for foreign governments, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase, at par, from such foreign governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United

[1] *Ante*, p. 402.

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States, their obligations hereafter issued, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under authority of this Act.

He was told that if China should be among those then engaged in war with our enemies she might have some reason to expect such financial assistance. LANSING

File No. 763.72/4047

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *April 25, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received April 25, 7.20 a. m.*]

Your April 23, 6 p. m. As the Chinese Government is on the verge of a decision, I beg to request that after the passage of the bill for financial assistance I be informed so as to report to you before signature by the President. REINSCH

File No. 763.72/4099

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *April 27, 1917, 12 p. m.*
[*Received April 27, 3 p. m.*]

The military governors, now here in conference, are in favor of declaring war, and the President and Parliament will most likely be asked to make a decision next week. Premier stated to me that if China entered the war the Chinese Government would be ready if need be to furnish as many men as could be armed and equipped.

I beg to be informed whether under the law just passed it would be possible to extend financial assistance to China in order to enable the Chinese Government to prepare reserve forces for the war and cooperate in other ways, particularly in the matter of food supply.
REINSCH

File No. 763.72/4047

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 27, 1917, 4 p. m.*

The Department was unable to comply with request in your cipher telegram of April 25, 1 p. m. The bill was signed on April 24. The interpretation is a matter of conjecture and must be decided by the Department of Justice.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72/4156

The Chargé in Siam (Arnold) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BANGKOK, *April 28, 1917, noon.*
[*Received April 29, 4.50 a. m.*]

The Russian Minister handed to me last night an *aide-mémoire*, which he also presented to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and representatives of the Allies, and requested that I transmit it to my Government. Summary of *aide-mémoire* follows:

If any uncertainty existed as to the advisability for Siam's participation in the great Alliance we must admit that the situation has radically changed since the advent of the United States gave the final stamp and seal [to?] the character of the conflict. The war has ceased to be of one coalition against another, but has become a world struggle for the rights of humanity and the liberty of the nations of the earth. We must consider ourselves not only as representatives of our respective governments, but the representatives of the new community of nations and it is our sacred duty to make it triumph wherever we can, and it is not indifferent that a country like Siam should or should not join the Allies. We think that these ideas are beginning to penetrate the Royal Government, which begins to see clearly the trend of events. We must show them that having taken part in two Hague conferences it is not only the right of Siam but its duty to participate in the world struggle for the respect of these standards. If they are not willing to bear their share in the efforts for these rights of mankind they can not expect to reap the benefits as they who fought for them. We have, therefore, no time to lose in persuading the Siamese Government that action be taken at once so as to prevent any counter action of the enemy, particularly that they may not have time to damage their vessels interned in Bangkok.

The French, Russian, and Italian Ministers have received instructions from their Governments to induce Siam to break off the relations with Germany. The British Minister is opposed to it.

ARNOLD

File No. 763.72/4244

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

No. 1429 PEKING, *March 28, 1917.*
[*Received May 1.*]

SIR: I have the honor to report further concerning the severance of diplomatic relations between China and Germany, and to enclose herewith certain articles,[1] dealing with this matter, published in the *Peking Gazette* of March 23, 24 and 26, and the *Peking Daily News*

[1] Not printed.

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of to-day's date; as well as an extra copy of a despatch (No. 10), dated the 16th instant, from the Consulate General at Canton, of which a copy has already been forwarded to the Department, and which is of special value as indicating the attitude of the southern part of China.

The severance of diplomatic relations brought with it a number of difficult technical questions, due to the *régime* of extraterritoriality and the existence of German municipal concessions. The Chinese did not always clearly distinguish between the effects of a breach of diplomatic relations and the results which would follow a declaration of war. As under existing conditions, China could give little military support to the Allied cause, one or two of the Allied Ministers urged strongly upon the Chinese Government that the chief manner of showing its benevolent neutrality, or eventually their good will as Allies, was by taking severe means against the Germans residing in China. The Chinese themselves being not unfriendly to the Germans and predisposed to deal gently with them, were nevertheless inclined to take advantage of the opportunity for recovering authority in the German concessions and making a breach in the system of extraterritoriality by giving wide scope to the breaking off of diplomatic relations.

It might have been argued that the only effect of the interruption of diplomatic relations was the departure of the German Minister and consuls, whose places were to be taken by Dutch officials, with all other relationships left unchanged. The Chinese decided to go beyond this minimum, giving as their reason for such action the principle of national protection and self-preservation. The policing of the German concessions was immediately taken over by the Chinese. The question of the actual relationship of the police to the German municipal authorities and the Dutch consular representatives has not yet been fully determined. It has been suggested that the Chinese authorities should inform the Dutch representative that the police were placed at his disposal for maintaining order in the concessions, but that the Chinese authorities reserve the right to issue orders to the police directly should conditions require.

I have been informed that after the Chinese police had entered the concession at Tientsin, the French and Japanese Ministers tried to prevail upon the British Chargé d'Affaires to join them in a protest with a view to having the policing turned over to one of the Entente powers, in this case Japan; and that the British Chargé d'Affaires stated that he considered the policing of the German concession by the Chinese as a simple and natural solution. The action of the Chinese was taken immediately after the breach of relations.

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An even more difficult question has arisen in connection with extraterritoriality. The Chinese argue that the right of consular jurisdiction is one which can not be transferred from the officials of one country to those of another without the consent of the Chinese Government. They have been urged to assume jurisdiction over the Germans and to create a mixed tribunal, composed of Chinese and foreign judges, to adjudicate any actions brought against Germans. They have so far not decided to do this, although they see in it a possible method of establishing a precedent for such courts through which the system of extraterritoriality might be modified in favor of national sovereignty. The Dutch Minister, who discussed the matter with me and whose views appear to me as well founded, insists that the treaties with Germany are in no way affected through the absence of German diplomatic and consular officials, and that the officials representing German interests have a right to exercise consular jurisdiction at least as long as a state of war does not exist. I believe that the Chinese are inclined to accept this view, but that they will insist, in cases where political crimes are charged—such as espionage, plotting to destroy public property, etc.—that the Chinese Government will have to be represented by a magistrate in the judicial trial. Chinese officials have informed me that at all events they shall have to reserve this right: they base their position on the action taken by the American Government in the case of two Japanese spies in 1894. (*United States Foreign Relations*, 1894; pages 95 and following.)

The French Minister has been urging the Chinese to go to the extreme length in this matter. In conversation with me he stated that the absence of the German Minister and consuls *ipso facto* suspended the treaty granting extraterritorial rights. He stated that it was desirable to inflict the greatest possible damage on Germans and that the Chinese could see [?] their account in this policy through recovering national jurisdiction. M. Conty considered it natural that the Chinese should thus recover their sovereign rights, a view which differs materially from his former attitude on such matters. When I asked him whether the exercise of authority by the Chinese over Germans and eventual harsh measures against them might possibly react unfavorably against all western nations, due to the fact that the Chinese masses do not distinguish clearly between the different countries (as indicated in my despatch No. 1418 of March 20 last[1]), he stated that we must take care of such dangers as best we could. His attitude gave to everyone here the impression that his sole purpose is to inflict injuries on the enemies

[1] Not printed.

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of his country, and that should trouble arise he would be ready to commit his interests to the protection of Japan. As far as I can gather, this particular attitude is not shared by the British and Russian representatives, who have however necessarily abstained from any definite advice or action.

On March 14 when the breach of diplomatic relations was announced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Ministers of the Entente powers, they presented to him a questionnaire as to the effect which the Chinese Government was ready to give the action taken, with respect to the treatment of German residents, disposal of German vessels, the rights of the German bank, and the treatment of German employees in the Chinese public service. On March 23 the Chinese Government answered to the effect that it had placed police control over the German merchant vessels in Chinese ports, and that it had dismissed employees in the operating department of railways, but that in other respects it had made no changes. I am informed that the Allied ministers then expressed the opinion that all German employees should be immediately dismissed; that the German bank, being partially a Government institution, should be prevented from doing further business, and that the German ships should be sequestered by the Chinese Government. No action has thus far been taken by the Chinese Government in response to these suggestions. German residents in China have, however, been ordered to register with the Chinese authorities for purposes of police protection.

I have the honor to enclose a paraphrase of a telegram, dated March 25, 5 p. m., from the Consul General at Shanghai, expressing the apprehensions of the American community in connection with the eventual assumption of jurisdiction over Germans by the Chinese Government; as well as a paraphrase of the telegram sent in reply.[1]

It is my personal belief that the Chinese will proceed with circumspection in this matter, and should they upon the eventual outbreak of war assume jurisdiction over Germans, a form of mixed tribunal will be created which will give assurance of a just determination of actions. Notwithstanding the above, many difficult questions will undoubtedly continue to arise due to the exceptional international arrangements in China.

The political question as to the further action to be taken by China is a subject of intense discussion among all parties and classes. There is no question but that the prevailing opinion is strongly in favor of assimilating the Chinese course of action to that of the United States. This is apparent from newspaper discussions and

[1] Not printed.

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from personal expressions coming from all parts of China. The Parliament itself is strongly in favor of this policy.

Among the high officials themselves, the prevailing desire is undoubtedly also for such a policy. They have, however, been induced to assume an attitude which appears to be more in accord with a policy ultimately to associate themselves with the Allies, though they strongly deny having committed themselves to such a course. I have already reported upon the motives which have induced them to take a somewhat equivocal position. The action of the American International Corporation in making, behind the back of the Chinese Government, an arrangement which is considered universally by the Chinese as a betrayal of their rights, has deeply shaken the confidence of the officials, who know about this matter, in American integrity. The financial needs of the Government, coupled with the political ambitions of certain leaders, have induced them to accept proffered financial assistance from Japan. A strong pro-Japanese clique, comprising Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Tang Hua-lung, Ts'ao Ju-lin, Lu Tsung-yü, and others, is at work with the Premier. As the solution of all the difficult questions concerning the concessions and extraterritoriality is also represented to be easier should war be declared, all factors cooperate to create in the official mind a predisposition to give favorable consideration to the suggestion of the Allies. Substantial benefits are hoped for as a result of such association in lightening the financial burden of China and making possible an increase of customs revenues.

Notwithstanding all these factors, I believe that even the majority of the officials, situated as described above, would prefer to continue in close association with the United States.

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

[Enclosure]

The Consul General at Canton (Heintzleman) to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

No. 10 CANTON, *March 16, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to inform the Legation that I was advised by the Civil Governor and the Admiral in charge of the Naval College and docks at Whampoa, on the evening of the 14th instant, that a telegram had been received from Peking in the afternoon of that day announcing the severance of diplomatic relations between China and Germany. Admiral Teng stated that he had been directed by the Naval Board to maintain most careful watch over the German gunboat *Tsingtau*, which has been interned at Whampoa since the beginning of the war, so that no harm could be done

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the vessel. He added that the *Tsingtau* would be placed, as a precautionary measure, in the Whampoa dock and that the crew of four, who had been retained on board as caretakers, would be removed from the vessel and brought to Canton to be interned. The same treatment was to be accorded the two or three German merchantmen and their crews at Swatow.

The Vice Consul for the Netherlands advised me yesterday that he had received a telegram from his Minister at Peking that the Dutch Government was entrusted with the protection of German interests in China. This morning I was informed by the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs and also by a representative of the Civil Governor that the Department of the Interior had reported the rupture of friendly relations with Germany and had instructed the local authorities to protect German subjects. Dr. Lin, of the Civil Governor's Secretariat, stated that no word had yet been received from the Foreign Office. He also told me that he had just called on the British Consul General, informing him of the instructions received from Peking and accordingly extending an offer of the local authorities to place Chinese police on Shameen to assist in preventing any disturbance or destruction of property by the Germans. Mr. Jamieson replied that Chinese police assistance was not desired and that he would assume full responsibility for the safety and proper conduct of the German residents on the British Concession. Mr. Jamieson suggested that the Chinese ask the German Consulate and business houses on Shameen not to fly the German flag; also that the Germans be forbidden to use so generally their motor boats which were moored off Shameen. The Chinese are prepared to comply with Mr. Jamieson's wishes in both matters. Dr. Lin told me that the German in charge of the smokeless powder factory here would be relieved of his duties at once; and he thought the question of the Germans in the customs and postal services would be disposed of at Peking. Dr. Lin added that the secretary in the German Consulate would be permitted to remain as custodian of the consular archives and property.

The news of the action of the Central Government in breaking off relations with Germany is not being received with enthusiasm by the natives of the southern provinces. The Cantonese have been rather inclined toward Germany in their sympathies since the outbreak of the war, but this was chiefly due, not to any positive friendliness toward Germany, but rather to Chinese suspicion and fear of Japan and, likewise, to their experience of British and French encroachments on Chinese territory in the past. Moreover, Chinese military circles here, as elsewhere in China, have been impressed by the fighting power of Germany, though they profess an aversion to

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the essentially military fabric of that country. These facts serve to explain, in part at least, the attitude of South China on this question.

Many influential southern men and institutions have expressed themselves strongly and fearlessly against any rupture of relations with Germany. On the other hand, I have been unable to find a single official, public institution, or newspaper advocating such a course. Four members of the Kwangtung Provincial Assembly had jointly despatched a telegram to the Central Government urging that China should continue to maintain strict neutrality in the war and that she should not sever existing relations with Germany. The Seventy-two Commercial Guilds and the Nine Charitable Institutions had also telegraphed the Central Government petitioning it to remain neutral during the present crisis over the German submarine policy. The Provincial Assembly was expected to take similar action. The local chamber of commerce had telegraphed to the President, the Cabinet, the Parliament, and the United Chamber of Commerce protesting against the entry of China into the war, stating that by doing so trade would be adversely affected and the nation not benefited. They declared that the Government should preserve strict neutrality. The Acting German Consul here recently called on the Military Governor of this province, who had at the time as a guest the Military Governor of Kwangsi, Chen Ping-kun. Both Governors assured Mr. Tigges that the present crisis would not change their friendly attitude toward the Germans in the Two Kwangs. A senator from Kwangsi, educated in Germany, had addressed a memorandum to the Premier setting forth the reasons why China should not break off diplomatic relations with Germany and pointing out the dangers and disadvantages China would encounter in consequence of a diplomatic rupture.

An important factor determining the attitude of the Cantonese on this question was the historical opposition between North and South and a desire to embarrass the Central Government in any measure which the latter was believed to view with favor. The Kuomintang, whose southern members include leaders of such wide influence here as Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan, Tang Shao-yi, and Sun Yat-sen, is clearly identified with the protests sent to the Government against any extreme measures toward Germany, and Sun Yat-sen's recent telegram to the British Premier was given wide publicity here and sympathetically commented upon by the officials and press. There can be no doubt that this recent action of the Central Government adds another disquieting factor to the local situation in that it affords an opportunity for Canton to oppose Peking. One local newspaper in a leading article made the following statement, which,

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however, should be taken as indicating the attitude of the extreme radicals, of whom, however, there are many, in the matter:

While China should stand with America in the attempt by peaceful measures to check ruthless submarine warfare and protect the interests of neutrals, yet if China really wishes to go to war, let the fourth revolution, which is expected, come immediately in order that the old corrupt officialdom may be eliminated once for all. Let the young republicans arise against internal foes to help China become a nation really independent!

In explanation of the reference to the disquieting political conditions here, I should report the constantly recurring rumor as to impending trouble in Yunnan. I am privately informed that the French diplomatic agent at Yunnan had told the agent of the Standard Oil Company there that he really believed that Yunnan would take the lead in another revolution of secession on the part of the southern provinces against the Central Government about April 1. Mr. Wilden, who has since been promoted as Acting Consul General for France at Shanghai, stated that he was not sure as to the date, but that he had many reasons to believe that the trouble would begin about April 1. My British colleague here tells me that he has information to the effect that the trouble brewing in Yunnan will commence about June 1. While these are merely rumors, in which too much reliance can not be placed, yet it is certain that the government of Yunnan is now receiving large amounts of guns and ammunition and that the general dissatisfaction throughout the southern provinces with the Central Government, as it is constituted at present, is growing. The chief menace in the situation lies in the provincial armies and the need of funds to pay the wages of the soldiers in arrears; and there is a real and justified fear that the problem of raising money will supply the seed of another revolution, since fresh taxation to maintain the military establishment or to meet interest charges on loans for that purpose will surely increase the prevailing discontent. There can be little doubt that the Kuomintang is working for the separation of the South from the North, and it is quite natural that this idea is receiving a stimulant through the failure of the authorities to solve the financial and other problems confronting them. There is also to be considered the strong provincial feeling and the desire for local autonomy which incline towards a system of government less autocratic than that regarded as superimposed from Peking. This intense sectionalism, which has doubtless given rise to the traditional opposition between North and South, continues to foster this spirit of hostility. The most hopeful element in the situation is the general belief that China's attitude in the submarine controversy with Germany was taken in response to

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a request of America, in whose sincere friendship the people have every confidence and whose sympathy and helpfulness is acknowledged to be of vital importance to them; and the ground for hope lies in the likelihood that the southern Chinese will be loath to have this action, which grew out of the close relationship with America, appear to be the cause of a popular uprising or the beginning of another era of unrest in South China.

I shall keep the Legation fully and promptly informed of further developments in the situation.

I have [etc.] P. S. HEINTZLEMAN

File No. 763.72/4612

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Extract]

No. 1449 PEKING, *April 13, 1917.*
[*Received May 12.*]

SIR: In connection with my Nos. 1429 of March 28 [1] and 1448 of April 13,[2] I have the honor to submit a brief *résumé* summarizing the essential features in the development of the diplomatic situation after February 8, the date of the Chinese protest against the German submarine warfare issued in response to the American invitation. On February 13 his excellency Lu Cheng-hsiang called on me and stated that the Chinese Government was being strongly urged by Japan to commit itself to a war policy; that there was considerable opposition to such a policy in the interior of China; that particularly among the Mohammedans of western China the danger of an uprising appeared imminent. He asked me what financial assistance China could expect from the United States in order to enable her to face this danger. I stated to him that the matter had already been submitted to the American Government for its decision. Mr. Lu then informed me that he considered China, before committing herself to the war, should endeavor to obtain such assurances from the Allies as would guarantee her financial independence.

On the same day Mr. Lu had interviews with the British, French, and Russian Ministers; in these he stated that the Chinese Government could not undertake the responsibility of taking any further steps in the direction of war without having the assurances of the powers that they would allow China certain financial benefits, particularly the postponement of the Boxer indemnity installments during the remainder of the war, and an increase of the customs duties to which China is entitled by treaty. He added that it would also

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[1] *Ante*, p. 433.
[2] Not printed.

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be necessary to cancel the agreement for the exclusion of Chinese troops from Tientsin. Mr. Lu acted as the unofficial representative of the Premier. The fact that the suggestions were first taken up with the European Allies indicates the desire to avoid committing the conduct of Chinese foreign affairs to the hands of the Japanese. If, however, hopes had been entertained that assurances would be immediately obtained from the European Allies, such expectation had to be given up as they could not act without more general consultation. On the next day, therefore, Mr. Lu submitted the same suggestion to the Japanese Minister as well as to the Belgian and Italian representatives.

. . . . . .

On March 2 Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao came to see me and asked me many leading questions, all of which gave me to understand that he was determined to push the Premier into a war policy and that he was confident of his success in this effort. Thus he asked me whether I did not believe that it would be wise and safe for China to enter the war if she should receive adequate assurances on the matter of financial support and the independence of her military establishment. Thereupon he stated that China had such assurances, including specifically oral assurances on the part of Japan that no control would be asked over the Chinese military system. He asked me whether such oral assurances were sufficient, to which I replied that the recipient of such assurances must form his own opinion as to their sufficiency. . . .

On March 3 the Cabinet decided to break off diplomatic relations and practically to endorse a policy looking to entry into the war.

On March 4 the President objected to such action being taken without reference to Parliament. This opposition led to Tuan's flight to Tientsin, already reported on. Upon his return from Tientsin on March 7 I had an interview with the Premier in which he stated that China would not commit herself at the present time to a policy of declaring war.

On March 10 Parliament approved of the breach of diplomatic relations, which was notified to the representatives of the powers on March 14 as reported in my No. 1448 of to-day's date, and in No. 1429 of March 28.

In the unofficial and official explanations of his policy, made to members of Parliament and to the Parliament in session, the Premier gave to understand that he was in possession of assurances from the powers which made it safe for China to take the step of breaking off diplomatic relations and to look forward towards taking further appropriate action.

After March 14 there seemed to take place a gradual cooling off in the war policy. It is apparent that this was due to the realization

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that binding assurances were as distant as ever. The loan of 20,000,000 yen seemed less attractive, when, instead of being made purely against treasury notes as was first intimated, it was found by the Japanese representative that after all it would be to the best interest of all if some security, namely the land tax, were insisted upon. Efforts, however, to induce China to take a further step continued, . . .

. . . . . .

Towards the end of last week the representatives of the Entente powers agreed to suggest to their governments an answer to the Chinese proposals of March 14,[1] which can not but be extremely disappointing and irritating to the Chinese and which will further accentuate the disappearance of the hopes aroused earlier by the Japanese representative. I am informed that these proposals include the deferment of the Boxer indemnity installments until the end of the war and the immediate increase of the customs duties by 30 per cent, as well as the withdrawal of the prohibition against stationing Chinese troops in Tientsin; but these concessions are coupled with the provision that all outstanding diplomatic claims of the representative nations against China shall be immediately settled. . . .

Under the circumstances, as set forth, it is apparent that the strongest motive which would now induce the Chinese Government and people to arraign themselves on the side of war against Germany will be found in the action of the United States, and the most natural policy for China would be to associate herself still more completely with American action. There are certain factors opposed to the war. My information leads me to believe that throughout the center and south of China the commercial classes are not favorable to taking any further step. This is due partly to the fear of the uncertainties inherent in war, and partly to propaganda on the part of the German merchants who still remain in China. I believe, however, that should war be declared, especially in association with American action, no serious opposition would subsequently be incurred from the above sources.

Another element is constituted by the southern revolutionists in Tang Shao-yi and Sun Yat-sen. These men seem to be determined to cause difficulties to the Government at any cost. They have declared themselves as opposed to war and state that they fear unrest and other bad consequences. It is possible that they might help to realize their apprehensions.

A conference of the representatives of the military governors has been called to meet in Peking on April 21. The main subject of

[1] *Ante*, pp. 420–421.

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discussion for this conference will be the policy with regard to Germany. Should the military leaders be willing to hold themselves responsible for the consequences in the provinces, it now seems likely that the Cabinet would then propose to Parliament a declaration of war against Germany. The Premier and the majority of the Cabinet are in favor of such a step.

There are herewith enclosed for your information certain articles from the *Peking Gazette* and the *Peking Daily News*, relating to the subject of this despatch, including an editorial dealing with the American declaration of war.[1]

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

File No. 763.72/4729

The French Ambassador (Jusserand) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *May 12, 1917.*
[*Received May 17.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I took care to report to my Government the conversation I had on the 5th instant with the Counselor of the Department of State regarding the contingency of instructing the representative of the United States at Bangkok to urge, in conjunction with the Allied agents, the Siamese Government to break its diplomatic relations with Germany.

In his reply to my communication, the President of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs, while admitting, as had been remarked by Mr. Polk, that the material interests of the United States in Siam are comparatively unimportant, feels that the Government of the United States will surely realize the great interest involved in overlooking no opportunity to weaken our enemies, and the advantages that all the Allies would derive from a further diminution of the foothold of the Germans in the Far East.

These advantages would be of various kinds. To begin with, a breach between Siam and Germany would enable the first-named country to make a final end of the intrigues which the Germans from French and English possessions in Asia, who took refuge in Siam, have not ceased to foment, in concert with the German residents of the country, among the Hindoo and Annamite elements, in spite of the satisfactory measures taken by the Siamese Government.

Furthermore, as your excellency is aware, German commercial houses are powerful in Siam and companies of that nationality control three-fourths of the sea trade of Bangkok. Finally, a number of German cargo boats are tied up in that port and a rupture might enable the Allies to make direct or indirect use of them.

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[1] Enclosures not printed.

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In requesting me to impress your excellency with these various arguments, the Government of the Republic wishes me to urge upon you the advisablity of having the Federal Government which, on account of the presence of an American advisor at Bangkok, enjoys great influence in Siam, join in the efforts of the Allies to endeavor to deal the economic position of Germany in the Far East another blow that can not but be deeply felt by her.

Be pleased to accept [etc.] JUSSERAND

File No. 763.72/4729

The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Jusserand)

No. 1853 WASHINGTON, *May 19, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th instant in which you communicate to me the views of the President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, regarding the importance to the interests of the nations in arms against Germany of a rupture of the diplomatic relations between Siam and Germany.

The American Government having in February last suggested to the Government of Siam that it would make for the peace of the world if the neutral powers could find it possible to take action similar to that of the United States by breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, and having been told in reply that while the Siamese Government sympathized with the motives of the United States they preferred to maintain neutrality, the present moment does not appear to me to be opportune for a renewal of the suggestion.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72/5170

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

No. 1490 PEKING, *May 10, 1917.*

[*Received June 6.*]

SIR: In continuation of my despatch No. 1449 of April 13, 1917,[1] I have the honor to report on the further development of the diplomatic situation in connection with the question as to whether China is to declare war against Germany. I am also enclosing newspaper articles containing reports and discussions in connection with this matter.[2]

On April 18, when I was calling upon him, Doctor Wu broached the question of financial assistance to China by the United States

[1] *Ante*, p. 441.
[2] Not printed.

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in the event of China declaring war upon Germany. Doctor Wu made some inquiries in connection with the bill for financial assistance to the Allies, and asked me whether China would be included in this assistance. I stated that I had no instructions but that I could say, as a matter of personal opinion, that if China were to cooperate with the United States she would be given as favorable treatment as other associated powers. Doctor Wu then asked me as to what amount of assistance China might expect and mentioned the figure of $100,000,000. I stated that I could offer no estimate as to the probable amount of such assistance, that, however, plainly, the European belligerents who had made enormous sacrifices and who were in the thick of the battle would require particular attention. Doctor Wu then asked me whether I would wire to my Government for information. I stated that I could do this but that it was not likely that the matter of assistance to China could be formally considered until China had actually entered the war.

On the same day I had a long conversation with the Premier. The Premier proceeded on the assumption that the United States had joined the Entente; he said he had been so informed by the Japanese and French Ministers; he also stated that he had no apprehensions of any danger with respect to the attempted control of the Chinese military establishment by Japan because he had received assurances on that point from the Japanese. He gave the impression of continuing in his purpose to enter the war. He also gave the impression, at the time, of relying a good deal on Japanese assurances. In this and subsequent conversations, I tried to make the Premier understand that the United States is not interested in the special European war aims of the Allies, but cooperated with them independently for the purpose of strengthening international law and the security of the community of nations; also that with respect to the war the position of China was very similar to that of the United States.

After the conversation I intimated to Mr. C. C. Wu, who had been interpreting for the Premier, that the latter gave the impression of having rather completely committed himself to Japanese guidance.

On April 21, when I saw the Premier again, he gave me a different impression. He informed me at this time that the Japanese Minister had made inquiries as to whether a contract had been concluded in connection with the Shanghai arsenal. The Premier, as is his usual attitude, seemed again to be most desirous of keeping closely associated with the United States. In talking with him at this time, and with the President on the same day a little later, concerning possible financial assistance from the United States, I stated, having in mind the information meanwhile received from you on this matter,

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that the language of the bill providing for financial assistance would include China were China a belligerent at the time the bill should become a law, and that China could, therefore, look forward to a favorable consideration of her needs in the event of participating in the war. I made this as a statement of fact and made it plain that the United States was not bidding or holding out an inducement for China's entry into the war, but would act in accordance with the requirements of the case and the traditional American friendship with China.

On April 23 I had a long conversation with the Premier. He stated that China was ready to do her part in the war, that she could furnish a force of 100,000 or 200,000 men, or a million or even more, if only the armament could be provided. He implied that the efficiency of her action would depend to a large extent upon the financial assistance she could receive for making the necessary preparations. The Premier was at this time much concerned about reports from Russia, particularly regarding the danger of a separate peace; I stated that a strong movement for a separate peace would not be likely in Russia unless after a radical change in the German form of government.

During all this and the subsequent time discussions were going on between the Chinese Government and the different ministers. The Entente powers could not reach a common basis of action, particularly on account of the opposition of the Japanese to an increase of the Chinese tariff to an effective 5 per cent. In conversation with me the Russian Minister also stated that it would seem unjust to ask Russia to postpone all her Boxer indemnity because, in this way, Russia would be giving up much more than the other powers. I did not ask him an obvious question at this point.

The Premier, in order to strengthen himself in his war decision, had called a conference of all the military governors. Nine governors general came to Peking for this conference, including the Governors of Chihli, Hunan, Hupeh, Shantung, Kiangsi, and Fukien; all the other provinces were represented by delegates. The conference has held a number of meetings and by April 28 had come to the decision to support the war policy.

On April 29 I entertained the members of the conference at my house. In conversation with the governors general the war situation was discussed. It was interesting to see how these men, who had formerly been so pro-German, now viewed the probabilities of war.

On May 2 the representatives of the Allied powers again made an inquiry as to whether China would not now decide to enter the war. The position they had now for some time taken was that China should not attempt to get definite assurances but should take action

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friendly to the powers who would then reciprocate in the same spirit. On the day subsequent, as I have been informed in strict confidence, the Japanese Minister called upon President Li and assured him that it was in the interest of China to enter the war, and that should any local disturbances happen in China in consequence of such a step the Japanese Government would immediately come to the assistance of China. The President did not consider this information very appropriate.

The decision of the Chinese Government to enter the war had now matured; backed by the united action of the military governors, the Cabinet (i. e., in this case the Premier) submitted to the President and to Parliament the decision to enter the war. The policy of the Premier is set forth in the article upon the Chinese foreign policy by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, copy of which is herewith enclosed.[1]

The decision of this momentous question is now before Parliament. The complicated character of the situation is indicated in the article on "The War and Political Parties" from the *Peking Gazette* of May 10 which is herewith enclosed.[1] The leaders of the different parties in Parliament have assured me that as to the policy of entering the war the majority in both Houses are favorably disposed. The opposition party, which has the majority in Parliament, is, however, not willing to authorize a declaration of war unless unmistakable assurances are given that the war power will not be used by the men who surround General Tuan, and who inspire his action, for the purpose of overriding Parliament. They fear that the extraordinary war powers and the extraordinary war funds will be used to the disadvantage of the majority party in Parliament and, possibly, for the purpose of suppressing Parliament entirely. They, therefore, insist that before a decision is taken the Cabinet should be reconstructed in such a manner as to give assurance that the entourage of General Tuan can not dominate the situation.

The entourage spoken of is composed of three elements: First, the military element which endeavors to control the entire military party in behalf of General Tuan; the chief representative of the Premier on the military side is General Hsu Shih-chang. Secondly, the leaders of the Chinputang party, particularly Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Hsiung Hsi-ling, and Tang Hua-lung. As this party helped Yuan Shih-kai to overthrow Parliament in 1913, so the Kuomintang fear that they may again assist in the destruction of Parliament in order to increase their own power. Thirdly, the narrower pro-Japanese ring, headed by Ts'ao Ju-lin and Lu Tsung-yü.

The Kuomintang (party) fear that the combination of the Chinputang (party) with the military element would in the event of

[1] Not printed.

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war be strong enough to oust their opponents from public life. The Premier has already hinted that if Parliament does not approve the war policy it will be dissolved. The President shares the apprehensions of the Parliamentarians and desires a reconstruction of the Cabinet.

The Cabinet itself is in a pitiful condition. The position of Doctor Ch'en Chin-tao has been filled through the appointment of Li Ching-hsi, the nephew of Li Hung-chang; but Li will not assume office until the present problems have been solved. It is possible that the President might wish to appoint him Premier of a reconstructed Cabinet, leaving General Tuan in the position of Minister of War. This would be acceptable to the Parliamentarians. They would be willing to forego having a Cabinet composed of their partisans as long as representative and reputable public men were selected. The Ministry of Communications has been vacated; the Minister of Education, also acting Minister of the Interior, is seriously ill; the Ministers of Justice and of Agriculture and Commerce have lost their influence with their party in Parliament—the Kuomintang.

On May 8 I had a conversation with President Li. He is favorable to a declaration of war provided it can be obtained without doing violence to Parliament. On May 9 I had a long conversation with the Premier in which he expressed himself on many important matters. A memorandum of this conversation is herewith enclosed.

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

[Enclosure]

Memorandum of the Minister in China (Reinsch) of a Conversation with the Premier (Tuan), May 9, 1917

The American Minister spoke to the Premier in connection with the proposed first bond issue on the railway undertaken by the Siems-Carey Company.[1] He pointed out that delay in this matter was dangerous because conditions in New York might change at any time so as to cause the revocation of the authority now in the hands of Mr. Carey to conclude the loan. The Premier agreed and promised to give instructions to the Acting Vice Minister of Communications to complete the transactions without delay.

The Premier then went on to discuss the existing political situation. He stated that Parliament was indeed opposed to a declaration of war, but that the policy would be carried through regardless of this opposition. He stated that if Parliament were obstinate it would be dissolved. The American Minister expressed surprise at

[1] See *Foreign Relations*, 1916, pp. 179 *et seq.*

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this statement as well as his hope that the question might be settled without resorting to such methods, as it would make a very bad impression in the United States and other Western countries if Parliament were overridden in so important a matter, and that it would accordingly be difficult for the United States to be of assistance to China should such a situation come about.

The Premier stated that the opposition of Parliament was disregardful of national interests, and based merely upon a desire to secure partisan advantage; he stated that the national need for war action had been fully explained to Parliament and opposition could only have a selfish motive. The Minister stated that should rash action be taken against Parliament it would probably precipitate internal trouble and would bring on the danger of foreign intervention. The Premier replied that he was confident that any local opposition could be handled by the Government.

Going on to discuss the attitude of Japan, the Premier said that the Japanese Minister had assured him that if he should follow a strong policy he could count on Japanese support, that in fact Japan would support the party which showed itself the strongest; he said that circumstances forced the Chinese Government to take an attitude friendly to Japan, but that it was his policy not to give up any valuable rights, and also to strengthen China in every way so that resistance might be offered to any attempted injustice. He asked whether we could have confidence in the Southern leaders of the Kuomintang; he had proof that both Sun Yat-sen and Tsen Liang-kuang had given written assurances to the Japanese Consul General at Shanghai that were either of them to be made President of China they would conclude a treaty with Japan granting to the latter rights of supervision of military and administrative affairs, more extensive than those asked for in Group V of the "Twenty-one Demands."[1] The Premier asked whether such men and those whom they controlled could be considered safe leaders.

The Premier also stated that it was his policy to resist every attempt made by an outside power to gain control over the military establishment of China, but that he believed it dangerous to give a formal assurance to this effect to the American Government at this time, because it would be interpreted as an act of hostility by the Japanese Government. Such a thing could not be kept confidential, as is shown by the manner in which negotiations in connection with the Rosseter contract leaked out.

Reverting to the Parliamentary situation, the American Minister stated that it was his impression that the leaders of the younger elements among the Parliamentarians trusted the Premier and would

[1] See *Foreign Relations*, 1915, pp. 93–97.

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be glad to associate themselves with him were they at all encouraged. He expressed his opinion that dangerous dissension could be avoided and national unity established on a firm basis if Parliament were won over instead of being antagonized. He again emphasized the fact that it would be difficult for the United States to be helpful should reactionary methods be applied.

From the foregoing it is evident that the Premier relies to some extent on Japanese assistance, hoping, however, to maintain his independence of action; he is irremediably opposed to the majority party in Parliament; he believes that by strong action against Parliament the authority of the Government can be vindicated; he counts on the united support of the military party. He was most frank in his expressions, stating that he spoke as a friend without reserve.

In the course of the conversation the bill now before Parliament to reserve iron deposits for development by Chinese who have sufficient capital was touched upon. The Premier stated that a member of Parliament had already made an agreement with Japanese capitalists to turn over to them the mines in Hunan Province, while a Cantonese agent was buying up claims in Anhui for the Japanese. While this [was] done without authority it leads to claims which are only got rid of with great difficulty.

[For correspondence relating to the political disturbances in China, May–August, 1917, in which the question of participation in the war was involved, see *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pages 46–98.]

File No. 763.72/5206

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *June 8, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received June 8, 1.55 p. m.*]

Your telegram March 26, 4 p. m.[1] Though United States is not formally party to the agreement excluding Chinese troops from Tientsin because not at the time represented by military commander there, yet we are now cooperating in the protection of Mukden Railway and, therefore, I beg to request your instructions whether, in order not [?] to avoid danger of conflicts, the exclusion of Chinese troops from the two unlikely [*protective?*] zones along railway, guarded by foreign troops, may be enforced by us jointly with other powers.

REINSCH

[1] *Ante*, p. 422.

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File No. 763.72/5206

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 9, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Your June 8, 6 p. m. Department considers it inadvisable to change its attitude upon this question. See *Foreign Relations*, 1902.[1]

LANSING

File No. 763.72/5569

The Chargé in Japan (Wheeler) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

TOKYO, *June 27, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received 11.25 p. m.*]

Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday addressing the Diet, just opened in special session, expressed profound gratification the entrance into war of the United States, which Viscount Motono called "An event without precedent in the annals of history"; referring to the close collaboration of the two nations against the common enemy as "tending, in a marked manner, to make our cordial relations more close and to unite our efforts with the greatest sincerity." In reply to a question whether any pledge had been secured looking to retention by Japan of Tsingtao and the islands taken from Germany, he stated that the Japanese Government has taken properly effective measures to protect Japan's rights and interests in Shantung and the Southern Islands and concluded: "Am very confident that upon restoration of peace the Allied powers will not object to such arrangements as Japan will deem necessary in order to ensure peace in the Orient." Interpellated with reference to the recent American note to China,[2] he said that when Ambassador Sato on June 15, handed the Japanese memorandum[3] to the Secretary of State "the latter stated that inasmuch as the Governments of Japan, Great Britain, and France deemed it unnecessary to warn China he was in full accord with the view therein expressed." When interpellated in the same connection as to the giving out by an official of the Foreign Office of statements calculated to disturb the good feeling existing between Japan and the United States (see my telegram of June 1, 11 p. m.[4]) Viscount Motono declined to reply.

WHEELER

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 184–201.
[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1917, pp. 48–49.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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File No. 763.72/5925

The Chargé in Siam (Arnold) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BANGKOK, *July 22, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[Received 5.40 p. m.]

Siam declared war against Germany and Austria about 6 o'clock a. m. to-day. Germans and Austrians are being interned. German and Austrian Legations protected by special guards. All German ships interned at once.

ARNOLD

File No. 763.72/6074

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

No. 1540 PEKING, *June 22, 1917.*
[Received July 30.]

SIR: There has just come to my notice an article published by Mr. Samuel G. Blythe in the *Saturday Evening Post* entitled "First Time in Five Thousand Years," which deals with the action taken by the Chinese Government against Germany on February 9. The manner in which the American suggestion of action was presented to the Chinese Government was reported to the Department in my No. 1390 of February 14, 1917.[1] From this report it will be evident to the Department that Mr. Blythe could not be aware of the really essential steps taken in this important negotiation.

As to the incidental activities of various outsiders, men of influence with the Chinese, out of which Mr. Blythe weaves his interesting story, I have no detailed information concerning the accuracy of any of the incidents set forth by Mr. Blythe. In his effort to tell a dramatic story, Mr. Blythe has, however, injected an element which, to my knowledge, was not actually present, in that he sets forth that a certain group of men acted concertedly, as a temporary informal organization, under the direction of the American Minister. It is known to me that a number of influential men, of both American and British nationality, believed that it was highly desirable, both from the point of view of Chinese and Allied interests, that China should take action; in using their influence to assist in bringing about this end they acted spontaneously with the sole connecting link of a common purpose. The sum of their influence probably did make itself felt among various groups of Chinese public men. But their mode of action, as far as I know, differed in no way from that which takes place ordinarily and at all times in efforts to influence public opinion.

As far as the Chinese are concerned, my action was confined strictly to the negotiations as reported in despatch No. 1390; my

[1] *Ante*, p. 414.

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conversations were chiefly with the Premier, incidentally with the President, members of the Cabinet, and Mr. C. C. Wu, representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The action of the Chinese Government was taken solely on the basis of the facts and considerations laid before them.

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

File No. 862.85/104

The Acting Secretary of State to the Chargé in Siam (Arnold)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 31, 1917, 6 p. m.*

American International Corporation has proposed to Siamese Government, through Pitkin, purchase nine recently seized German steamers. Inform Siamese Government, corporation trusts its proposal will be favorably received. You are instructed to take such steps as you may find possible to expedite the transaction.

POLK

File No. 862.85/106

The Chargé in Siam (Arnold) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BANGKOK, *August 7, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[Received 2.40 p. m.]

Your telegram of July 31, 6 p. m. British Government has requested all nine seized German boats, saying that as her loss of ships sunk is greatest her need for the boats is paramount. French Government desires that the seized boats be apportioned along the same lines as the Portuguese seizures. Japanese Government has asked for an apportionment. In an interview, Minister for Foreign Affairs requested me to communicate to my Government that if it is interested in the seized German boats to confer with the Allied Governments regarding their disposition, as Siam will accept their final decision for their disposal. The British, French, and Japanese Ministers have referred the question to their respective home Governments for settlement as an agreement was found impossible in Siam.

ARNOLD

File No. 763.72/6381

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *August 9, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[Received August 11, 5.50 a. m.]

In order to forestall possible action adverse to Chinese independence and possibly American interests, I have the honor to suggest au-

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thorization to inform the Chinese Government, upon the eventual issuance of declaration of war against Germany, that the American Government is ready to send to China a commission for the purpose of consultation concerning feasible mutual assistance during the war.

If such overture can be made to China promptly, it will put her in a position gracefully to decline proffers of exclusive or prominent assistance which may possibly be made, and possibly give to all assistance naturally growing out of the war a purely international character.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/6396

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *August 11, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received August 12, 11.45 a. m.*]

The action suggested in my telegram of August 9, 4 [*8*] p. m., would accord with expectations of China to complete our original invitation to sever diplomatic relations with Germany.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/6407

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *August 12, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received August 13, 9.30 a. m.*]

In connection with impending declaration of war by common consent, Allied Ministers suggest giving following assurances to China:

My Government is pleased to take this opportunity to give to the Chinese Government the assurance of its solidarity, of its friendship, of its support. It will do all that depends upon it in order that China may have the benefit in her international relations of the situation and the regards due from a great country.

I beg to request your instructions. Chinese Government also proposes to introduce mail censorship and to request assistance of foreign post offices in China.

REINSCH

File No. 763.72/6381

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *August 13, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your cipher telegrams of August 9, 8 p. m., and August 11, 11 p. m. The Department believes that the character of China's participation

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in the war should be decided by her after consultation with all the Allied Governments. Consult your Allied colleagues informally and report their views.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/6407

The Secretary of State to the Minister in China (Reinsch)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *August 14, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your telegram of August 12, 6 p. m. After declaration of war by China you are authorized to give to the Chinese Government the assurances proposed by the Allied Ministers.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/6466

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PEKING, *August 14, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received August 15, 8 a. m.]

Following note has just been received from the Foreign Office:

On March 14 last the Chinese Government severed its diplomatic relations with Germany, which fact was duly communicated to your excellency [for] transmission to your Government. As there is no hope of the Central European powers modifying their policy of submarine warfare, a policy contrary to Prussians' [*provisions of*] international law and violating the principles of humanity, the Chinese Government has therefore declared that a state of war exists simultaneously between China and Germany as well as Austria-Hungary at 10 o'clock a. m. of the 14th day, 8th month of the 6th year of the Republic of China, and that all the treaties of whatever nature between China and Germany as well as Austria-Hungary are abrogated, as well as all such provisions of the protocol of September 5, 1901, and other similar international agreements as only concern China and Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Chinese Government, however, declares that she will conform to the provisions of The Hague conventions and other international agreements respecting the humane conduct of war.

I have the honor to request your excellency to take note of this communication and be so good as to transmit its contents to your Government.

I avail [etc.]

REINSCH

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File No. 763.72/7377

The Minister in China (Reinsch) to the Secretary of State

No. 1637 PEKING, *September 27, 1917.*
[*Received October 22.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a copy of the note addressed by the Legation to the Foreign Office on August 14 [1] upon the occasion of the declaration of war between China and Germany in accordance with your telegraphic authorization. A copy of the text of the assurances in French, in the version contained in the notes as handed in by those Allied ministers who make use of the French language, is here inserted.

Mon Gouvernement est en l'occurrence heureux de donner au Gouvernement Chinois l'assurance de sa solidarité, de son amitié, et de son appui. Il fera tout ce qui dépéndra de lui pour que la Chine bénéficie dans ses rapports internationaux de la situation et des égards dus à un grand pays.[2]

The Chinese Government had suggested the following form:

Mon Gouvernement est très désireux d'accorder à la Chine tout son concours afin de lui faire obtenir la jouissance des avantages résultant de l'égalité (entre puissances) dans les rapports internationaux.

As it, however, seemed that the use of the term "equality among the powers" might be held to involve admissions contrary to the continuance of the régime of extraterritoriality, it was decided to substitute the version actually adopted.

As previously reported to the Department I had repeatedly made efforts to effect an agreement for a declaration favorable to the maintenance of the sovereign rights of China, beginning with my conversation with the Japanese Minister reported in my despatch No. 1335 of November 1, 1916 [*January 10, 1917*[3]]. When China was considering the entry into the war I suggested the desirability of the making of such a declaration and hinted to the Chinese officials concerned that they might be successful in obtaining upon this occasion a statement which would fortify the sovereign rights of China. The colleagues with whom I incidentally took up the matter were not unfavorable or opposed to the idea. It would undoubtedly have been possible for the Chinese Government to secure a more specific declaration than the one actually made, but as often happens instead of taking advantage of the position which the readiness to declare war gave

[1] Not printed; see the Minister's telegram of Aug. 12, 6 p. m., and the Secretary's answer of Aug. 14, 4 p. m., *ante*, pp. 455, 456.
[2] For English text see *ante*, p. 455.
[3] *Ante*, p. 404; while the despatch of Jan. 10, 1917, bears the despatch number referred to by the Minister, it contains no specific mention of a conversation with the Japanese Minister. The Department's files contain no despatches from the Minister on this subject during November, 1916.

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them, and boldly proposing such a declaration as a necessary condition, they discussed the matter too long until the substance of the declaration had been worn down to the rather empty formula finally adopted. Nevertheless the use of the phrase "the regards due to a great country" was extremely flattering to Chinese *amour propre* and the note was received as an assurance of cooperation in maintaining Chinese sovereignty.

I have [etc.] PAUL S. REINSCH

RELATIONS OF LIBERIA WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH EUROPEAN BELLIGERENTS AS AFFECTED BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WARFARE AND BY BRITISH AND FRENCH COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS

Liberian Request for Protection Against the Dangers Resulting from a Breach with Germany—Visit of a British Warship to Monrovia—Severance of Relations with Germany, May 8—British and French Demand for the Expulsion of Germans; American Demand for the Removal of Allied Trade Restrictions—Receipt of Satisfactory Assurances from the British and French Governments—Project of a Convention with Liberia

File No. 763.72/3240

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *February 6, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 11.45 p. m.*]

Department's February 3.[1] Contents immediately made known to Liberian Government in connection with note. Liberian Government replies and says that it is in complete accord with announced views of the Government of the United States regarding published threat of the German Government and stands ready in the event of the German Government's executing its said threat to take similar action to the extent of delivering to the German representative here his passport, and that while the Liberian Government, as the Government of the United States very well knows, is without appreciable military force to contribute materially towards the efforts of the Government of the United States in protecting the rights of neutrals engaged in peaceable and lawful errands on the high seas, yet in the event of hostilities between Germany and the United States of America, the Liberian Government will place at the disposal of the Government of the United States all of its territories for such naval and military operations as may be desired, relying in the meantime upon the support of the Government of the United States for the protection of its vital interests against all eventualities.

CURTIS

[1] *Ante*, p. 108.

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File No. 763.72/3658

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *April 4, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[Received April 5, 1.30 a. m.]

In view of the imminent war between the United States of America and Germany and because of rumors of a German outbreak here, in such event due to the belief that Liberia will join its fortune with the United States, Liberian Government respectfully requests, in consonance with Legation's despatch pertinent thereto and now *en route*, that immediate arrangement be made for such aid from the United States, or at the behest [of] the United States from one of Allied powers, as will enable it to successfully handle such an outbreak.

Is it advisable for Liberia to proclaim its sympathetic attitude towards the United States in the war against Germany?

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/3658

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)[1]

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 19, 1917, 6 p. m.*

4726. Department has received telegram from American Legation, Monrovia, to the effect that because of the "imminent war between the United States of America and Germany, and because of rumors of a German outbreak here, in such event due to the belief that Liberia will join fortune with the United States," the Liberian Government requests immediate aid from the United States or from one of the Allied powers to enable it successfully to handle such an outbreak.

This Government has no ship available for immediate use in Liberian waters. You may take up the matter informally, inquiring whether the British Government would be disposed to send a ship temporarily to Liberia. Department is making a similar inquiry of French Government.

On ascertaining if the British and French Governments, or either, were in a position to give temporary protection to Liberian Government, this Government would advise Liberia to sever relations with the German Government. It is hoped that with the termination of German official representation in Liberia the Allied Governments

[1] The same, on the same date, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Ambassador in France (No. 2179).

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may find it possible to permit the resumption of the British and French trade with the Liberian people under whatever guaranties may be desirable.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3982

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *April 20, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received April 21, 7 a. m.*]

The Liberian Minister for Foreign Affairs at a conference called by him this day, consisting of the representatives of the United States of America, Great Britain, and France, announced that the Government of Liberia had decided to change its position of declared neutrality in the present world war to one of sympathetic cooperation to the extent of its ability and to make manifestation of said changed position by the revocation of the exequatur of the German Consul at Monrovia.

The consensus of the foreign representatives present, as expressed to the first mentioned official, is that the publication of Liberia's changed position should be held in abeyance pending instructions from their respective governments as to what steps, if any, said governments or either of them will take looking to the protection of the Liberian coast against attack by the common enemy or from internal disorder fomented by German intrigue.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/4044

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *April 24, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received 9.30 p. m.*]

6077. Your 4726, April 19, 6 p. m. British Government is now instructing Spring Rice to propose that American, French, and British representatives at Monrovia jointly advise Liberian Government to break with Germany; promises such assistance as may be necessary.

The suggestion of sending a ship or ships to Liberian waters seems good to the Foreign Office who are consulting Admiralty and will give me answer later.

PAGE

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File No. 763.72/4044

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 30, 1917, 6 p. m.*

4772. Your 6077, April 24. Department has to-day informed the British Embassy that upon receipt of information that adequate protection has actually arrived in Liberian waters, an instruction will be sent to the American Minister in Monrovia to join with his British and French colleagues in advising the Liberian Government to break with Germany.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/3982

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 3, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your April 20. In view of no vessel immediately available to send to Liberia, British and French Governments have been asked to assist in affording Government protection. When adequate protection has arrived in Liberian waters, you will be instructed to join with British and French colleagues in advising Liberian Government sever relations with Germany.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4392

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *May 6, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received 5.20 p. m.]

Department's May 3, 4 p. m. British war vessel *Bacchante* arrived this morning Monrovia. I await instructions.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/4458

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *May 7, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received May 8, 7.30 a. m.]

At conference to-day composed of Liberian Secretary of State, Captain of *Bacchante*, and representatives of France, Great Britain, and United States it was unanimously agreed that following sever-

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ance of relations with Germany all Germans should leave Liberia. Before agreement is made effective instructions are requested on the following points. First: Should international character of German Receiver, Customs entitle him to differential treatment? Secondly: How should case of the Consul for Norway who is German subject be handled? Thirdly: Can arrangements be made permitting Germans who leave to take residence in Spanish territory? If not, what should be their destination? Fourthly: Can safe-conduct for German Consul to Germany be procured from Allied powers?

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/4509

The Liberian Consul General at Baltimore (Lyon) to the Secretary of State

BALTIMORE, *May 9, 1917.*
[*Received May 10.*]

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have just received instructions from the Government of the Republic of Liberia that relations between her and the Imperial German Government have been severed, and the exequatur of the German representative has been revoked; and that the attitude of the Liberian Government is one of sympathetic cooperation with the United States and the Allied Governments of Europe.

I have been instructed to inform the great Government of the United States whom Liberia considers to be her great and good friend. In support of these instructions I respectfully ask for a conference at such time as may be convenient. I shall upon your designation of the day and hour hasten to Washington.

For the Department's file I am transmitting a copy of the cablegram.[1]

I have [etc.] ERNEST LYON

File No. 763.72/4818a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 10, 1917, 8 p. m.*

4814. Department's 4726, April 19. Before advising Liberia in the matter of declaration of war against Germany, as has been suggested by the British Government through the British Embassy here, Department would be glad to be informed whether it is the intention of the British Government to resume trade with Liberia after the German citizens have been transported to some Allied

[1] Not printed; see the note of May 8 to the Acting German Consul, *post*, p. 472.

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country. The situation in Liberia is critical on account of the lack of trade, and it is essential for the welfare of the country that merchant ships should resume their calls at Monrovia. Please cable immediate reply.

[File copy not signed]

File No. 763.72/4458

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 11, 1917, 3 p. m.*

Your May 7, 4 p. m. Definite instructions will be sent you after conclusion consultation with British Government.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4656

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *May 14, 1917, 12 noon.*

[*Received May 15, 9 p. m.*]

6208. Your 4814 May 8 [*10*], 8 p. m. British Government informs me it has received same inquiry through Spring Rice to which it has replied that it supposes our Government understands there has been no formal interruption of trade, although the statutory list has led to a great diminution of trade with Liberia.

It is added that as soon as German subjects are removed, which is what Liberians earnestly desire, the resumption of normal trade will be allowed, but that British Government must retain: (1) a statutory list of 72 names of firms and individuals of which 7 are Spanish, 10 Liberians, and the rest Germans; (2) a published white list of firms and individuals in Liberia to whom alone shipments from the United Kingdom may be consigned; (3) certificates of interest will be required to cover shipments from Liberia to Great Britain and British possessions.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/4664

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *May 15, 1917, 1 p. m.*

[*Received 4.05 p. m.*]

6219. My 6208, May 14, noon, and previous telegrams. Liberian Minister here asks me to urge strongly the desire of his Government that all German subjects in Liberia be deported immediately; their continued presence constitutes a public danger.

PAGE

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File No. 763.72/4677

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *May 15, 1917.*
[*Received 10 p. m.*]

Bacchante sailed for Sierra Leone last Saturday afternoon. At a gathering [at] Legation of the United States, in connection with cruiser's presence here, General Receiver, Customs voiced disapproval as to severance relations with Germany by Liberia without something in writing from the governments that advised such step to Liberia respecting the future protection of Liberia against Germany and has requested me in addition thereto to transmit Department the following: "Foreseeing that financial difficulties are practically certain to overtake Liberia as a result method of severance relations, I desire to inform Department that step was taken without my knowledge." On April 19 I brought fact unofficially to the attention General Receiver that such a step was contemplated by Liberia. Decision from the Government of Liberia pertinent thereto was made known to me April 20.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/4567

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 16, 1917, 6 p. m.*

4843. Department is discussing with British Embassy here question presented by British Government, of Liberia declaring war on Germany and transferring German population in Liberia to an Allied country. Embassy was told that before United States could advise Liberia to take this step, this Government would be glad to receive assurance British trading vessels would be permitted to resume their trade with Monrovia. We did not consider it fair to Liberia, which is starving because of prohibition of all trade, that she should be asked to declare war and receive no return.

Take matter up with Foreign Office and ask whether trade with Monrovia may be resumed.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4567

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 16, 1917, 6 p. m.*

Before Liberia should be asked to declare war on Germany, United States would expect first that British trading vessels on

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coast of West Africa be permitted to resume their trade with Monrovia. The Department is endeavoring to obtain assurance from British Government that this will be done.

Suggest to Liberian Government that it take no further action against Germany until advised to do so by the Government of the United States.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4719

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *May 17, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received, 2.15 p. m.*]

Bacchante returned 15th to await instructions. Last night large meeting of citizens from various sections of the Republic enthusiastically endorsed action of Government concerning Germany without a dissenting vote. Approval of citizens down coast also made known, including the Chief Justice. The dominant note sounded was that no guaranty from the Government of the United States was necessary because the attitude of the Government of the United States towards Liberia in the past is a sufficient guaranty as to the future.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/4656

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *May 25, 1917, 5 p. m.*

4877. Department has had conversations with Percy and Peterson of the British Mission regarding attitude of British Government as outlined in your 6208. Department feels that if Liberia, on the advice of this Government, declares war against Germany and permits the German residents in Monrovia to be removed to an Allied country, it is only fair that Liberia should be benefited thereby and should not be subject to war restrictions as heretofore imposed. Department is anxious to have the matter settled as promptly as possible, and sincerely hopes that the British Government will be disposed to abandon the suggested restrictions on trade to Liberia.

LANSING

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File No. 763.72/4957

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *May 28, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 8.30 p. m.*]

6299. Your 4877, May 25, 5 p. m. Foreign Office assures me British Government has no intention or desire to restrict legitimate Liberian trade, which it indeed wishes to foster as far as possible. The measures outlined in my 6208 are designed for cooperation with the United States in circumscribing German activities and interests there with a view to their complete elimination. Spring Rice is being instructed to confer with you and explain.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/5018

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

No. 5452 PARIS, *May 15, 1917.*
[*Received May 31.*]

SIR: Confirming my telegram No. 2086 of the 8th instant,[1] relative to the attitude of the French Government regarding the breaking off of relations between the Liberian and the German Imperial Governments, I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy and translation of a note from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs sent me following the verbal statement made by that Ministry on which my said telegram was based.

I have [etc.] W. G. SHARP

[Enclosure—Translation]

The French Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy

The American Embassy has been good enough to communicate with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs regarding the steps to be taken to facilitate the severance of relations between Liberia and Germany, and to express the hope that when this severance shall have been accomplished, the Cabinets of Paris and London will entertain the question of the resumption of commerce between France and the United Kingdom and Liberia, under conditions to be agreed upon.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has the honor to inform the American Embassy that a telegram has been received from the French Chargé d'Affaires at Monrovia to the effect that diplomatic relations between Liberia and Germany have been broken off and that the delay granted to German residents to leave Liberia has been limited to a fortnight.

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[1] Not printed.

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Mr. Baret added that President Howard had expressed the wish to be able to notify the Germans as soon as possible as to the country in which they would be interned and as to the name of the ship which would transport them to destination.

When directing the Ambassadors of the Republic at Washington and at London to bring this information to the knowledge of the Federal and the British Governments, the President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, requested Messrs. Jusserand and Paul Cambon to inform Mr. Lansing and Lord Robert Cecil that, in his opinion, all mobilizable Germans resident in Liberia should be interned in American, British, or French territory, and that those who are not mobilizable should be sent back to Germany. Messrs. Jusserand and Paul Cambon must have added that the Government of the Republic would be willing to intern the mobilizable Germans on French territory.

On the other hand, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has begged the Ministry of Marine to come to a direct understanding with the American and British Admiralties regarding the transportation of German residents in Liberia to the country on the territory of which they are to be interned.

When the Germans domiciled in Liberia shall have left that country, the Government of the Republic will not raise any opposition to the normal resumption of Franco-Liberian trade, every precaution being taken, of course, in order that the business of German firms possessing establishments in Liberia should not be carried on under cover of native or neutral intermediaries.

PARIS, *May 10, 1917.*

File No. 763.72/5071

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *June 2, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 5 p. m.*]

British war vessel *King Alfred*, Admiral Sheppard having command, has arrived at Monrovia. Delay in consummating program with regard to inviting German subjects to leave Liberia affording opportunity for further German intrigue, which is apparently being utilized to divide the Cabinet in its sympathies. I am advised by the Admiral that the President of Liberia made known to him his disinclination to accept any advice to send German subjects to an enemy country, and I have been asked to concur in his proposal to be made to the British Government to the effect that German subjects be sent to Spain, and I have answered that while personally I do not see any grounds for objection I must await further instructions

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before acting. At the same time I urged that Liberia should not be put in the position where it must choose either to disregard the advice of its friends or appear to act under pressure. The majority of the Cabinet, including the Liberian Minister for Foreign Affairs, will steadfastly vote to follow the advice of the Government of the United States regardless of personal views of the President as I am advised by Liberian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5085b

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 2, 1917, 5 p. m.*

For your information. The Department is still negotiating with the British Government regarding the resumption of normal trade conditions in Liberia. Until this question has been settled the Department will not advise Liberia to declare war against Germany and remove the German population.

Your telegraphic despatches, more especially your unnumbered telegram of May 11,[1] convey the impression that the American Receiver General is anxious to retain the German Receiver in Monrovia. The Department does not fully understand his attitude and does not acquiesce in the view that the British and French Receivers will use their majority vote to offset his influence. The Department desires a cable report on this matter.

LANSING

File No. 763.72/4957

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 4, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4918. Your 6299, May 28, 2 p. m. Under instructions the British Embassy has again taken up Liberian matters. Department explained that it would be glad to advise Liberia to take the desired step and to transfer the German residents to an Allied country as soon as Liberia has received assurances that with the departure of Germans normal trade conditions would be resumed. Department does not feel that the retention of a published white list and certificates of interest, as reported in your 6208, May 14, will be necessary after the removal of the Germans. It is felt that after Liberia has entered the war she should be able to count upon the assistance of the Allied Governments, as far as possible, to reestablish herself.

LANSING

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[1] Not printed.

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File No. 763.72/5188

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *June 7, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 1.15 p. m.*]

French Chargé d'Affaires has approached Liberian Government, British Consul General concurring, both acting pursuant to instructions by cable from their respective Governments, with a definite proposal that all Germans under 60 years of age be sent to France on board a French naval vessel, others to Germany via Holland or Scandinavian states; and Liberian Government has been advised in like manner of the accord of British and French Governments that safe-conduct be given former German Consul to Germany via Holland or Scandinavian states, with an inhibition against traversing French territory. Liberian Government answered yesterday to the effect that, as evidence of its sincerity in changing its proclaimed neutrality, it is willing to adopt said proposal with the full realization that such a step constitutes an act of war against Germany as soon as it is advised as to the attitude of the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain, and France on the following points, whereon an expression from the said Governments is besought, to wit: First, that said Governments make no peace with Germany, jointly or severally, without including in the terms thereof provisions for the protection of Liberia against German aggressions after the war. Secondly, that upon the departure from Liberia of all German subjects, the restrictions placed upon Liberian commerce by the Government of Great Britain and its Allies be immediately removed and every facility afforded Liberia for the restoration and development of its commerce with them.

Nothing will be done in the premises by Liberia except upon the advice of the Government of the United States.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5257½

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 11, 1917.*

Following is memorandum from British Embassy dated June 8:

His Majesty's Government have no desire to hamper Liberian trade, and the restrictions which have been placed upon that country have been directed solely with the object of preventing Germans from trading under cover of Liberians.

These restrictions His Majesty's Government would be prepared to withdraw on the following conditions.

(*a*) All Germans to be removed from Liberia.

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(*b*) Effective steps to be taken by the Liberian Government to prevent the carrying on of German firms by nominees who would subsequently, after the war, hand them back to their original owners as going concerns.

His Majesty's Government attach very considerable importance to this latter condition, and they feel they would find it impossible to withdraw, as they would wish, all existing trade restrictions unless it were carried out. They will, however, be ready to consider favourably any concrete proposals for the rehabilitation of Liberia as soon as the Germans now there are definitely removed.

Submit Liberian Government and cable statement of steps Liberia will take under condition (*b*).

LANSING

File No. 763.72/5332

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *June 15, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received June 16, 1 a. m.*]

Department's 11th. Liberian Government expresses its gratification that Government of Great Britain will consider favorably any concrete proposal for the rehabilitation of Liberia as soon as German subjects in Liberia are definitely removed and says that it now stands ready to take the following steps in compliance with the terms upon which existing restrictions against Liberian trade may be removed, as stated in condition (*b*) of said British memorandum:

First, to issue a proclamation forbidding Liberian citizens or resident aliens to purchase any of the stock and property of any German mercantile firm in Liberia, directly or indirectly, except through the Liberian Government, or to become the assignees or agents in Liberia of any of said firms during the present war;

Secondly, to itself take over the stock and property of all such firms, liquidate the same and place proceeds thereof in the Bank of British West Africa in Monrovia in the name of Liberian Government;

Thirdly, to appoint the American, British, and French receivers of customs as agents of Liberian Government in their respective districts to give effect to the stipulations in clause second herein.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5621

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *June 30, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received 1.15 p. m.*]

President of Liberia issued a proclamation yesterday afternoon practically in the terms of the Legation's June 15, 10 a. m., and

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made application to any transaction affecting the property of German firms in Liberia subsequent to last May 8 with heavy penalty attached, also formally notifying German subjects that they must leave Liberia at the earliest possible moment.

As soon as advised, war will be declared and deportation effected.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5642

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *July 1, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received July 2, 5 a. m.*]

Liberian Minister for Foreign Affairs called a conference this morning of representatives of United States, France, and Great Britain and requested each to inquire [of] his Government whether the issuance [of] the proclamation of yesterday regarding Germans in Liberia meets the requirements of said Governments. He also requested a reply to the Liberian Government's proposals numbers one and two, submitted in Legation's June 7, 10 a. m. As soon as a reply thereto has been received, Liberian Government will fix the time for the embarkation of Germans for France and simultaneously therewith will advise governments concerned.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5735

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

MONROVIA, *July 6, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received July 7, 12.10 a. m.*]

Liberian Government received yesterday through the Spanish Consul, as the representative of German interests, strong protest from the German Government against the deportation or internment in Liberia of German subjects as in violation of Article 2 of a treaty of commerce between Liberia and Germany dated October 31, 1867, which German Government claims is not abrogated by simple rupture of diplomatic relations. A demand personally made for safe-conduct for every German regardless of age or sex to neutral territory coupled with threat to hold Liberian Government responsible for any resulting damage. . . .

CURTIS

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File No. 763.72/5734

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

No. 99 MONROVIA, *May 18, 1917.*
[*Received July 7.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith enclosed a printed copy of the note of the Liberian Secretary of State to the Acting Imperial German Consul near this Capital, whereby relations were severed between the Governments of Germany and Liberia, and the reply thereto by the latter official.[1]

I have [etc.] JAMES L. CURTIS

[Enclosure]

The Liberian Secretary of State (King) to the Acting German Consul (Dopffel)

141 C. F. MONROVIA, *May 8, 1917.*

SIR: As the policies of a nation must always be adjusted to meet new conditions affecting its vital interests, as they arise from time to time, so the transpiring of certain events in connection with the great European War, which has staggered humanity in its ruthless operations and stupendous financial output, have rendered necessary a change of Liberia's attitude of strict neutrality, hitherto assumed and consistently maintained. I refer to the new German submarine program, drawn up by the Imperial German Government, and put into execution on the 1st day of February of the present year: the detail operations of which you are very well conversant with and informed.

While Liberia has endeavoured to stand aloof from a conflict, the original causes of which were of purely European concern and interest, yet the method adopted by the Imperial German Government and its allies to vindicate what they conceive to be their national rights and honour, and to bring to their arms a speedy and successful victory by such means as the sinking of unarmed ships of their enemies and neutrals without warning; the bombardment of undefended towns and villages; and the violation of the rights of small neutral states, are such flagrant violations of the rules of civilized warfare as to justly create, on the part of Liberia, grave apprehensions and fears of the eventual permanent establishment of the doctrine of " might " over " right " in the realms of international relations: which doctrine, if allowed to obtain, can only result in the

[1] Reply not printed.

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complete subjugation and elimination from the sisterhood of nations of all small and weak states.

Hence the Government and people of Liberia can not any longer, in their own interest, continue to view with indifference and unconcern the present world's cataclysm, especially since the new German submarine program seriously threatens the lives of Liberian citizens travelling, on the high seas, as passengers and crew on Allied and neutral ships.

Although Liberia is fully conscious of her utter inability to enforce upon any of the belligerent nations respect and due regard for the rights and safety of her citizens, yet that fact will not deter her from protesting, by the most effective means at her disposal, against any attempt to infringe upon her sacred international rights—in spite of the veiled threats made by the Acting Imperial German Consul in his published statement of *War News*, issued and circulated in this city under the official seal of his Imperial Government on the 21st of April, to the effect that powers of the third and last importance will be held to strict accountability for all damages done to German interest, the bill for which will be presented and payment thereof enforced after the happy issues of the war.

The Liberian Government is, therefore, constrained, as an earnest protest against the continued enforcement of the new German submarine program, which threatens the lives of Liberian citizens as well as grave financial and economic embarrassments to the Republic, to sever relations with the Imperial German Government, and to revoke the exequatur granted to Germany's official representative at this Capital.

With assurances [etc.] C. D. B. KING

File No. 763.72/5804

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *July 11, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received 8.28 p. m.*]

Legation reliably informed that President of Liberia has received from British Consul General a private note couched in terms calculated to force Liberia to fix and publish date not later than 14th for deportation of Germans.

CURTIS

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File No. 763.72/5804

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 13, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your July 11, 6 p. m. Department awaiting British reply to Liberia's reply to conditions of British Ambassador's memorandum, June 8.[1] When that received instructions will be sent you. Suggest to Liberian President that meanwhile he defer deportation action.

POLK

File No. 763.72/5833

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *July 13, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received 7.42 p. m.*]

Yesterday Liberian Government received the following cablegram:

British and French Governments advise declaration of war. Will guarantee protection. Trade restrictions will be removed. Crommelin.[2]

Liberian Government awaits the advice of the Government of the United States.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5914

The British Embassy to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

The present situation with regard to the negotiations concerning Liberia is that His Majesty's Government stated that it would be ready to withdraw all restrictions on Liberian trade provided that all Germans were removed from the country and that the Liberian Government took such measures as would effectively prevent German businesses from being carried on by persons who would merely act as representatives and restore them to their original owners in *statu quo* as soon as the war is over. The United States Government agreed to these conditions, but they desired that guarantees should be provided of a nature to insure that Liberia would be free from molestation on the part of Germany, both during and after the war.

With regard to this latter point, it is manifest that Liberia can only be attacked so long as the war lasts from the sea, and the British naval forces at Sierra Leone will furnish all necessary protection.

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[1] *Ante*, p. 469.
[2] Liberian Minister in Great Britain.

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With regard to the *post bellum* period, His Majesty's Government would be ready to unite with the Governments of France and the United States in giving a firm assurance to protect Liberia against the attacks from Germany to the best of their power. They have sent instructions to the British representative to join with his United States and French colleagues to make a communication in this sense to the Liberian Government. The French Government have agreed already to this step.

The French Admiralty will doubtless make the necessary arrangement with the Liberian authorities, as soon as that Government accepts the proposed guarantees, for the deportation of the Germans.

As soon as the German subjects in the country have been carried away, and the Liberian Minister states that the German firms are being closed, the restrictions which were placed on trade with Liberia in order to wreck German enterprises there will be cancelled.

WASHINGTON, *July 14, 1917.*
[*Received July 18.*]

File No. 763.72/5914

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 18, 1917, 6 p. m.*

The Department has received a memorandum from the British Embassy here, dated July 14, stating that as soon as the German subjects in Liberia have been carried away and the Liberian Minister states that the German firms are being closed, the restrictions which were placed on trade with Liberia in order to wreck German enterprises there will be canceled. The Department regards this assurance as adequate, and you may therefore advise the Liberian Government that this Government sees no objection to that Government taking the contemplated steps with regard to Germany.

POLK

File No. 763.72/5957

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *July 23, 1917, 9 p. m.*
[*Received July 24, 2.20 p. m.*]

Department's July 18, 6 p. m. British and French representatives authorized and ready to sign draft convention from the Liberian Government substantially as follows:

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ARTICLE 1. Liberian Government undertakes to declare war against Germany, deliver all Germans of military age to Governments of United States, Great Britain, and France, or either of them, for internment in France, and liquidate business of all German firms in Liberia in accordance with memorandum of British Ambassador of June 8.

ARTICLE 2. Said three Governments jointly and severally pledge their firm assurances to defend and protect Liberia to the best of their power against aggressions of any hostile nation.

ARTICLE 3. All necessary protection from the sea will be given during the war by the British naval vessels at Sierra Leone.

ARTICLE 4. Mutually agreed by all parties signatory that Articles 2 and 3 are guarantees against molestation of Liberia during, as well as after, the war and that no financial compensation shall be required of Liberia from either of the said powers for such guarantees.

ARTICLE 5. The removal by Great Britain of all the restrictions on Liberian trade, hitherto imposed to destroy German trade in Liberia, shall immediately follow said deportation and said liquidation of business.

Articles of the convention to be submitted to the respective competent authorities of each of the contracting parties for approval and ratification. Consummation only awaits my signature. Shall I sign? Immediate answer respectfully requested.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5963

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *July 24, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 11.50 p. m.*]

After further conference I feel that convention mentioned in Legation's July 23, 9 p. m., can be consummated with the Governments Liberia, Great Britain, and France as the only parties signatory and that my official signature to a postscript as merely acquiescing therein will be acceptable to parties concerned. Is this preferable?

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/5957

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Liberia (Curtis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 28, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Your July 23, 9 p. m., and your July 24, 1 p. m. Department is not inclined to favor the Liberian Government's entry into any convention with British and French Governments by which they guar-

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antee Liberia against molestation after war, as indicated by Article 4, and it would not authorize you to participate in any way in such a convention. Less objection would be seen to an agreement limited in effect to duration of present war, but this would seem to be unnecessary in view of assurance given in the British memorandum of July 14, mentioned in Department's July 18, 6 p. m., that British naval forces at Sierra Leone will furnish all necessary protection to Liberia so long as present war lasts. This assurance together with the assurance that Great Britain will cancel trade restrictions and the interest which Liberia knows the United States takes in her welfare should satisfy Liberian Government; but if that Government enters into an agreement with France and Great Britain limited to duration of present war, such agreement should make it clearly understood that any naval or military base established thereunder, within the jurisdiction of Liberia, will be promptly discontinued upon termination of present war.

POLK

Liberia's Declaration of War against Germany, August 4—Deportation of Germans

File No. 763.72/6210

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *August 5, 1917, 9 a. m.*
[*Received August 6, 5.15 a. m.*]

Department's July 28, 5 p. m. Instructions followed. Suggestions Liberian Government were adopted. French naval vessel arrived yesterday morning. Joint resolution declaring war against Germany unanimously passed by Liberian Congress an hour later. All German men in Monrovia were arrested by Liberian soldiers before commander came ashore and all except the manager of each firm, who are left here to inventory and turn over German property to the Liberian Government, were taken aboard French naval vessel at 4 o'clock p. m.

French naval vessel sailed last night for Grand Bassa, thence to Sinu and thence to Cape Palmas where all German men will be taken aboard after a sufficient wait to enable them to inventory and turn over their property to the Liberian Government. Returning from last mentioned place, managers left here, Grand Bassa, and Sinu, together with all Germans at Cape Mount, will be picked up, and the French naval vessel will then proceed to France.

Women and former German Consul and Receiver will sail under safe-conduct at the earliest practicable date for Germany via Scandinavian states.

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The conduct of Liberian soldiers admirable. No disorder among the populace.

CURTIS

File No. 763.72/6451

The French Ambassador (Jusserand) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *August 11, 1917.*
[*Received August 14.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: My Government informs me that it has received from our Consul at Monrovia a report to the effect that the Liberian Government expressed a wish that the German Consul, the German Receiver, and the German women and children be put as early as possible on an English or Spanish steamer bound for England, whence they would proceed to Germany by way of a Scandinavian country.

The answer to Mr. Baret was that there was no objection to that arrangement on the part of the Government of the Republic, but that he should concert with his American and English colleagues. It should further be understood that the steamer will not call at the Spanish port where those Germans could not easily be prevented from landing and staying.

I have the honor to bring the foregoing to your excellency's knowledge for all pertinent purposes.

Be pleased to accept [etc.] JUSSERAND

File No. 763.72/6451

The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Jusserand)

No. 1923 WASHINGTON, *August 17, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 11th instant regarding a report received by your Government from its Consul at Monrovia to the effect that the Liberian Government has expressed a wish that the German Consul, the German Receiver, and the German women and children be put as early as possible on an English or Spanish steamer bound for England, whence they would proceed to Germany by way of a Scandinavian country, and to say in reply that this Government would have no objection to this, if it is the wish of the Liberian Government, but that the Department has received no advice in that relation from the American Minister at Monrovia.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

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File No. 763.72/6631

The Liberian Consul General at Baltimore (Lyon) to the Secretary of State

BALTIMORE, *August 28, 1917.*
[*Received August 29.*]

SIR: I have the honor to submit in connection with my interview, as per instructions, and to enclose a memorandum giving Liberia's account of the several incidents leading up to the severance of diplomatic relations between her and the Imperial German Government for your careful and respectful consideration.

LIBERIA'S IMPRESSION

Liberia has always had reasons to believe that both England and France desired to draw her into the war for the purpose of having her included in their great program of German commercial exclusion from Africa after the war. Liberia's impression has been more recently emphasized by official interviews with the representatives at the Capital.

LIBERIA'S SYMPATHIES

The sympathies of Liberia have always been with the Allies. In fact Liberia could never wish for German success in the face of German treatment of her on numerous occasions as well as her treatment of the native races in Africa. Liberia has studiously kept out of the war because she believed that it was a white man's war for supremacy in the world. She resisted strenuously every effort made to get her into it until the United States, her only real friend, decided to go in and sent her, in common with the other neutrals, her circular letter which is here incorporated:

[Here are inserted a note of the American Minister to the Liberian Secretary of State, February 5, 1917, enclosing a copy of the circular telegram of February 3, *ante*, page 108; and the reply of the Liberian Secretary of State, summarized in the Minister's telegram of February 6, *ante*, page 458.]

In the circular, the United States Government took the step she felt forced to take; and even here Liberia remained neutral. But when the United States declared war against the Imperial German Government, then Liberia felt that she was bound to carry out her promise to sever diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government, the common enemy of human liberty.

LIBERIA RELIES UPON THE STRONG ARM OF THE UNITED STATES

Liberia in taking action in accord with the United States reminded the United States concerning her impotent condition either

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to render military aid to the United States or to defend herself against the superior forces of the Imperial German Government during and after the war, and would therefore rely upon the strong arm of the United States to protect her against the eventualities accruing from such a course.

Equivalent to a "Quid Pro Quo"

It was quite natural, and indeed logical, for Liberia to assume that since the United States had suggested the course, which Liberia afterwards adopted, that that fact in itself was equivalent to a *quid pro quo*, in so far as the United States and Liberia were concerned. The action, therefore, which was taken by Liberia was based upon this logical interpretation, and Liberia felt and still feels that the United States is in a better position to get from the powers concerned the necessary guaranties for her future safety.

Public Opinion Divided in Liberia

Liberian public opinion was divided on the Government's course.

(*a*) Some were of the opinion that before severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government the Liberian Government should require a guaranty from the United States Government of future protection from German retaliation and indemnities.

(*b*) Others were of the opinion that the Liberian Government should act on the suggestion of the circular letter of the President of the United States without any formal guaranty or expressed *quid pro quo*, since the United States had been extending protection to Liberia in many of her diplomatic tangles with European nations. Now was the time for Liberia to manifest faith in the integrity of the United States Government.

The Latter Opinion Prevailed

The latter opinion, therefore, prevailed that Liberia should fulfil her promise and pool her fortunes with the United States. Liberia also remembered that she was accused of being pro-German, and feared that the least hesitancy on her part might be construed by both England and France as pro-German sentiment, hence she decided to act upon the circular letter. But before doing so a conference with the Allied representatives was held; Liberia was represented by the Secretary of State. At this conference Liberia made known her decision to the Allied representatives, and asked them, for reasons, to make the fact known to their respective Governments for instructions.

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THE ALLIED INSTRUCTION TO THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN LIBERIA

Legation of the United States of America,
Monrovia, Liberia, May 7, 1917.

Honorable C. D. B. King,
Secretary of State,
Monrovia.

SIR: We, the undersigned, have the honor to respectfully request that you arrange an audience for us and the captain of His Brittanic Majesty's Royal Navy with the President of the Republic of Liberia at the Executive Mansion on Tuesday, May 8, 1917, at 10.30 o'clock in the forenoon of said day, whereby we may advise the Liberian Government to perfect its decision to sever relations with Germany, in obedience to instructions so to do from our respective Governments, which have been cabled to us upon our requests following the conference to which we were bidden by you at the State Department April 20, 1917.

We desire also on the occasion of said audience to bring to the attention of the Liberian Government matters, which we deem to be a logical corollary to the severance of said relations, in the form of proposals, a copy of which is herewith enclosed for your advance consideration and examination.

With assurances [etc.]

James L. Curtis
American Minister Resident
E. Baret
French Chargé d'Affaires
M. Y. H. Parks
Acting British Consul-General

THE PROPOSALS OF THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES

At a conference held at the American Legation, May 6, 1917, at 4.30 p. m.

Present: French Chargé d'Affaires
Captain Armstrong, H. B. M. R. N.
Acting British Consul-General
American Minister Resident

The consensus prevailed that the following proposals should be broached to the Liberian Government as the advice of said conferees:

1. That the German Consul be notified that relations are severed between Liberia and Germany.
2. That simultaneously a thorough search be made of the homes and place of business of all German subjects resident here, and arms and ammunition of all description found therein be confiscated by Liberia.
3. That the British war vessel with its marines render such assistance as specifically requested by the Government of Liberia.
4. That all German subjects should be removed from Liberia.
5. That safe-conduct for the German Consul from Liberia to his home be requested from the Allied powers.
6. That the names of German subjects willing to leave Liberia as interned civilian non-combatants be secured by the Liberian Govern-

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ment and also the names of those unwilling to go under such an arrangement, in order to facilitate any further action that exigencies may suggest to Liberia.

7. A reasonable time be allowed German subjects to arrange their business affairs, to wit: not less than two weeks.

8. That a suitable patrol of the city be ordered by the Liberian Government during the search and disarming of German subjects.

(*a*) Signal officers from the battleship are permitted to land for the purpose of communicating with the ship in case of any resistance being offered by the Germans to the carrying into effect of the suggestions made in paragraph 2.

Proposal No. 4

When the representatives of the three Allied powers advised that German subjects residing in Liberia should be deported, the questions "whereto" and "by whom" arose. Liberia has no concern as to where the Germans are sent, whether to France, England, or anywhere else. Her sole and only business is to see, as best she can, that their deportation does not entail on her future troubles. What Liberia wants is *assurance* and the Germans may be sent anywhere.

Liberia has not forgotten 1913, when for four months three German warships were in her harbor making all sorts of demands on her for the trouble which they themselves had created in River Cess, at which time all the world was silent. Liberia contends, if it is desired that she take a step which will benefit the cause of the Allies, she is agreeable to taking that step if the Allies assure her that they will stand by her when demands will be made on her by Germany for having taken that step.

The Attitude of the Representatives of the Allied Powers

When the question "whereto" was put to the representatives of the Allied powers they did not answer. Subsequently they met Secretary King at the State Department and the French Chargé d' Affaires informed the Secretary that he had received instructions that the Germans should be sent to France and that the British Government concurred in this. Secretary King then inquired of the British Consul and of the American Minister Resident if they had also received similar instructions and they replied in the negative. Secretary King then informed the Allied representatives that as the Liberian Government had received a joint note from the three of them advising the removal of the Germans, and had in turn addressed a note in reply to them jointly, inquiring where the Germans were to be removed to, he could make no reply for the Government of Liberia until he had heard from all of them, or at least from a majority of them, but assuring the French Chargé d'Affaires that he would take note of what he had said as to his Government's instructions.

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What Happened on the Fifth of June

On the fifth of June, by appointment of the three representatives of the Allied powers, the Secretary of State met them. The French representative handed in his answer saying that his Government required the Germans to go to France, that is to say, all of mobilizable age (none are over 45), and that the ex-German Consul would be permitted to return to Germany via Holland or Scandinavia in a ship that would touch at an English port, in order that the right of search might be made, and that under no circumstance was he to touch French soil.

The British representative then read his, which stated that his Government had been advised that the French Government was making certain representations to the Liberian Government in reference to the Germans which they hoped would be complied with as speedily as possible.

The American Minister Resident, at this date, was still without instructions.

Liberia's Reply to the Allied Representatives

Having heard from a majority of the Governments, Liberia replied that she was prepared to comply with the demands or requirements of the Allies, but was of the opinion that such an act would be construed as one of hostility and therefore would be prepared to do so when the three Governments, the United States, Great Britain, and France, assured her that they will not severally or jointly make peace with Germany without safeguarding her vital interests against German aggression after the war; and secondly, that after all the Germans have left Liberia, that Great Britain and her Allies remove the restrictions placed on Liberian commerce.

I am instructed that the Secretary of State convoked them and read Liberia's decision to them jointly, and discussed it, and then gave each representative a copy, which they promised to submit to their respective Governments.

The State Department's July 23 to Consul General Lyon

The State Department's July 23 to Consul General Lyon completes the assurance which Liberia desired before attempting to carry out the proposals referred to. For the sake of record the Secretary's letter is herein incorporated:

Meanwhile, it may be of interest to you to know that the Department of State received a memorandum from the British Embassy here, dated July 14, stating that as soon as the German subjects in Liberia shall have been carried away and the Liberian Minister of Foreign Affairs shall have stated that the German firms are being closed, the restrictions which were placed on the trade with Liberia

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will be cancelled, and that the Department cabled to the American Minister at Monrovia on July 18 that it regarded this assurance adequate and that he may, therefore, advise the Liberian Government that the Government of the United States sees no objection to Liberia's taking the contemplated steps with regard to Germany.

I have [etc.] William Phillips
Assistant Secretary

WITH REFERENCE TO RECEIVER LANGE

It is Liberia's opinion that the decision to remove Germans should not include Receiver Lange and the German doctor for reasons. The removal of Mr. Lange would put the board into the hands and control of England and France, a condition which threatens to nullify the American side of the loan agreement. If Lange is removed, Worley should be given a proxy in order to retain the balance of power.

OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO LIBERIA

1. That the Allies assure Liberia that they will not severally or jointly make peace with Germany without safeguarding Liberia's vital interest against German aggression after the war.

2. Liberia is of the opinion that when the Germans are removed the next step will be a demand that the German cable property be handed over to England and France.

3. Liberia is unwilling that either England or France should assume control of the cable and wireless stations.

4. She is quite willing that the United States should take charge of these institutions rather than England or France.

5. In the event that the United States will not assume charge of these stations, then Liberia will take charge of them with the understanding that the United States will give its aid and assistance.

6. I am instructed to cable the Department's answer to the foregoing.

I have [etc.] ERNEST LYON

File No. 763.72/6631

The Secretary of State to the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore (Lyon)

WASHINGTON, *August 30, 1917.*

SIR: The Department acknowledges the receipt of your communication of the 26th instant regarding the severance of diplomatic relations between the Liberian Government and that of Germany.

I am [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
WILLIAM PHILLIPS
Assistant Secretary

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File No. 763.72/6809

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

No. 122 MONROVIA, *August 10, 1917.*
[*Received September 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to report for the further information of the Department in connection with the previously reported proposed convention, embracing the matters and things promised and undertaken by Liberia, Great Britain and France, *quid pro quo*, that the said convention was not proposed or suggested by the Liberian Government but by the Acting British Consul General, who represented that he was under instructions to insist upon the consummation of such a convention by and between the Government of Liberia on the one hand and the Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain on the other, and that the Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain were in complete accord on the matter.

In private conference between the representatives here of the latter Governments, and also in the conference with the Liberian Secretary of State, I declined to concur in the necessity or desirability for said convention and the Liberian Government was not insistent on any convention. However, to meet what the Liberian Government believed to be a condition precedent on the part of the British Government, a tentative draft of the proposed convention was made and submitted to the three foreign representatives concerned, which I promptly declined to sign or discuss until instructed in connection therewith.

I accordingly cabled the terms of said proposed convention to Department, and two days thereafter the British Consul General advised me of his receipt of instructions to delete all reference to the convention from the joint communication to be transmitted to the Liberian Government.

As Liberia considers the counsel of the Government of the United States both wise and disinterested, the subsequent bringing of the views of Department relative to the convention to its attention sufficed to effectually and finally dispose of the convention proposal and to write *finis* to the vexatious question of the deportation of the Germans and the corollaries thereto.

I have [etc.] JAMES L. CURTIS

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File No. 763.72/6870

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

No. 124 MONROVIA, *August 11, 1917.*
[*Received September 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith enclosed for the information of Department a copy of the Liberian Government's reply to the protest of the Imperial German Government, through the Spanish Consul, against the contemplated deportation of the Germans resident in Liberia, whereby the thread of the narrative begun in Legation's No. 120,[1] is woven into a completed story.

I have [etc.] JAMES L. CURTIS

[Enclosure]

The Liberian Secretary of State (King) to the Acting Spanish Consul (Hoenigsberg)

249/C. F. MONROVIA, *July 17, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 3d instant, in which you inform me that you have been instructed by your Government to say that the Imperial German Government, referring to the treaty of commerce between the Republic of Liberia and Germany, dated the 31st of October, 1867, and with respect to Article 2 thereof, insists that this treaty is not abolished by a simple rupture of diplomatic relations, and that in consequence liberty of sojourn as well as of commerce remains guaranteed to subjects of the two contracting parties. Therefore, deportation or internment of the German subjects in Liberia against their will, as well as the liquidation of their businesses is inadmissible; and in view of the foregoing, you are ordered by your Government to "energetically protest" against any arbitrary action contrary to the stipulations of said treaty of commerce, and to formally declare that the Imperial Government has to render Liberia responsible for any damage that might result therefrom.

The Liberian Government, after a very careful consideration and study of the view taken by the Imperial German Government of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, between Germany and Liberia, and the effects of the present rupture of relations between the two Governments upon the provisions of this treaty, as set forth in your said note, now begs to submit the following as its reply thereto:

1. While it is conceded by the Liberian Government that all subjects of the German Empire have the right under Article 2 of the

[1] Not printed; see telegram of July 6, *ante*, p. 471.

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treaty of 1867, between the North German Confederacy and the Republic of Liberia, to reside and carry on trade in Liberia, yet it does not admit that by said treaty Liberia divested herself of the right inherent in her, as a free, sovereign, and independent state, to close her doors at any time to any foreigner or group of foreigners who for social, political, or economic reasons, she may deem expedient to exclude from her territories.

Realizing this inherent right, the Legislature of Liberia at its session of 1915–16 enacted a law regulating the residence of aliens within the Republic. This law provides, *inter alia*, that—

> The President of Liberia is hereby invested with authority to deport or cause to be deported from the Republic, any alien permanently or temporarily residing therein, whose presence would by the authorities be deemed a menace to public security, or who is otherwise or in anywise undesirable as a resident within the borders of the Republic.

The validity and soundness of such legislation, on the part of the Legislature of Liberia, has never been questioned or contested by the Imperial German Government as an infringement upon the treaty rights of German subjects in Liberia; but, to the contrary, the German residents, with the knowledge and tacit approval of their Government, have most cheerfully and willingly complied with all of its conditions and provisions.

The right, therefore, of the Government of Liberia to expel from the Republic such foreigners whose presence are a menace to its security and political safety being thus tacitly admitted by the Imperial German Government, it only remains to show in what way would the continued presence of the Germans in Liberia be in any way a menace to the Republic's present safety and security, in order to justify their expulsion.

In the President's proclamation of June 28, 1917, copies of which were duly forwarded you, it is stated that the engagements growing out of the definite alignment of the Republic of Liberia with the Allied powers now at war with the German Empire render the continued residence of German subjects within the borders of the Republic a source of embarrassment to the Government of Liberia. This fact alone renders the Germans undesirable in Liberia, and, therefore, in the opinion of the Liberian Government, would justify their expulsion.

2. The Liberian Government regrets its inability to follow the Imperial German Government in its conclusions that Article 2 of the treaty of commerce between Liberia and Germany, concluded the 31st of October 1867, "is not abolished by a simple rupture of diplomatic relations."

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In the consideration of treaties and their binding effects it will be discovered that there are several circumstances under which a treaty may be modified and abrogated. As for an instance: "When a state of things which was the basis of the treaty, and one of its tacit conditions no longer exists." (See Moore's *International Law Digest*, volume 5, page 319, paragraph 720.)

. . . By reference to the treaty of 1867 between Liberia and Germany it will be discovered that said treaty is not only a treaty of commerce, as would appear from the observations made upon the same by the Imperial German Government, as set forth in your said note, but also a treaty of "amity."

The title and Article 1 of said treaty read as follows:

TITLE

"Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the Republic of Liberia and the North German Confederacy, concluded October 31st, 1867, ratified by the Senate December 20th, 1867, ratifications exchanged April 28th, 1868."

ARTICLE 1

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Republic of Liberia and the North German Confederacy, their subjects and citizens."

From the above-quoted title and article of said treaty, it can not but be apparent that the basis of the treaty was that of "amity" or friendship between the Republic of Liberia and the North German Confederacy, their subjects and citizens.

The announcement, by the Liberian Government in its note addressed to the then Acting Imperial German Consul at this capital on the 8th of May last, of the rupture of its relations with the Imperial German Government was not intended as a mere empty diplomatic statement, but as a solemn declaration on the part of the Liberian Government of the breach, by Germany, of that "amity" or friendship which, according to the terms of the treaty of 1867, should be the basis of the relations between the two Governments.

Therefore, it is the opinion of the Liberian Government that the rupture of that friendship, which was the basis of the treaty between Liberia and Germany, operates as a suspension of Article 2 of said treaty until the resumption of friendly relations between the two Governments.

Furthermore "If a treaty," says Mr. Taylor, an eminent authority on International Law, "is consistent at the outset with the right of self preservation it is an implied condition that it shall remain so. . . .

"Therefore, a treaty which was not intended to be a menace to the life or independence of a state at the time of its execution becomes voidable the moment subsequent events invest it with that character."

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Now, the progressive destruction of that system of rules which have for centuries given security to international relations; the denial to neutrals the right freely to travel the ocean highways of the earth; the repudiation, without just and legal causes, of international engagements, are all acts committed by Germany in the present world's war, which seriously menace the life and independence of Liberia, and therefore at once render voidable, on the part of the Liberian Government, the treaty of 1867 between Germany and Liberia.

As to the request of the Imperial German Government, made through your Government, that a safe-conduct for every German without distinction of age and sex who would be willing to leave Liberia for Spain, or any other neutral country, be procured by the Liberian Government, I beg also to say that in view of the position taken by the Liberian Government upon the treaty of 1867, as herein above indicated, it is not conceived that such obligations rest upon the Liberian Government, except in the case of the former Acting Imperial German Consul and the German Receiver of Customs.

With the continued assurances of my high esteem and profound respect,

I have [etc.] C. D. B. KING

File No. 763.72/6869

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

No. 128 MONROVIA, *August 14, 1917.*
[*Received September 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith for the information of the Department a copy of a joint note from the representatives of the Governments of France and Great Britain, dated July 21 and marked enclosure No. 1, whereby are conveyed to the Liberian Government the instructions of the foreign offices of said Governments anent the guaranties of said Governments as to the canceling of restrictions on Liberian trade and the protection of Liberia from German aggression, and subjoined thereto the acquiescence of the undersigned regarding the statement that said representatives were so instructed and the accord of the undersigned regarding the advisability of the deportation of the Germans.

A copy of the answer of the Liberian Government to said communication, dated August 13 and marked enclosure No. 2, is likewise enclosed herewith.

I have [etc.] JAMES L. CURTIS

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[Enclosure 1]

The French Chargé (Baret) and the Acting British Consul General (Parks) to the Liberian Secretary of State (King)

MONROVIA, *July 21, 1917.*

SIR: The undersigned representatives of the Government of France and the Government of His Britannic Majesty, duly accredited to the Government of Liberia, have the honor to reply to the note 194/D of the Liberian Government, dated June 6, 1917, as follows:

1. That His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic are not now prepared to consider the proposal of the Liberian Government that the treaty of peace should provide to free Liberia from German aggression after the war, but the representatives of the two above-mentioned Governments at Monrovia are now jointly instructed to make a communication to the Liberian Government, with their American colleague, to the effect that His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic and that of the United States are willing to jointly give to Liberia a firm assurance that they will defend her to the best of their power against such aggression.

2. That all necessary protection from the sea, which appears to be the only side on which Liberia can be attacked, will be given during the war by His Britannic Majesty's naval squadron at Sierra Leone.

The above two paragraphs refer to guaranties against molestation of Liberia during or after the war.

The deportation of Germans to France will be arranged at once by the French Admiralty in conjunction with the Liberian authorities upon the above guaranties being accepted by draft convention from the Liberian Government.

The danger of German firms in Liberia resuming business after the war will have been removed by the winding up of such firms, which we understand is now in progress, and by the deportation of the Germans.

The removal of restrictions on Liberian trade will follow, as these were imposed in order to destroy German trade.

Upon the acceptance of the above guaranties by the Liberian Government, it is hoped that we will be immediately notified, so that the Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic may summon a French warship to effect deportation before the German subjects become aware of the action of the Liberian Government in this regard.

With renewed assurances [etc.] E. BARET
M. Y. H. PARKS

I acquiesce in the foregoing, and am in accord with the advisability of deporting the Germans.

JAMES L. CURTIS

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[Enclosure 2]

The Liberian Secretary of State (King) to the American Minister (Curtis), the French Chargé (Baret), and the Acting British Consul General (Parks)

No. 274/D MONROVIA, *August 13, 1917.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your joint note addressed to the Liberian Government on the 21st of July of the current year, embodying the guaranties which the Governments of Great Britain and France, and that of the United States acquiescing, are willing to give to the Liberian Government with respect to the deportation to France of the German residents in Liberia of mobilizable age, and the protection of Liberia against German aggression during or after the war.

In reply I am directed by the President to say, that the said guaranties are, in his opinion, quite adequate, and are therefore acceptable to the Liberian Government, who have, accordingly, declared a state of war existing between Liberia and the German Empire, as from the 4th of August 1917, and taken the necessary steps for the deportation to France of all unofficial German subjects in Liberia of mobilizable age by the French cruiser *Desaix* now within the territorial waters of the Republic.

I am further instructed by the President to say, that should the establishment of a naval base in Liberia be found necessary, by His Britannic Majesty's Government, in order to afford the naval protection contemplated in paragraph two of your said note, permission for same will be immediately granted upon the understanding that such naval base thus established will be within the jurisdiction of Liberia and will be promptly discontinued upon the termination of the war.

Assuring you of my personal devotion to the common cause with which our respective countries are now identified, I beg to subscribe myself [etc.]

C. D. B. KING

File No. 763.72/7241

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *October 12, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 8.55 p. m.*]

Have been informed that all the German women in Liberia embarked last night on board Spanish vessel under safe-conduct from British Consul General for Germany with the proviso that the vessel must call at Gibraltar for search of their effects before

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touching at any point in Spain. Former German Receiver, Customs, following example previously set by former German Consul, sailed on the aforementioned Spanish vessel in violation of the terms of the safe-conduct granted him.

CURTIS

BRITISH PROCLAMATIONS AND ORDERS IN COUNCIL AFFECTING NEUTRAL TRADE—THE DETENTION OF NEUTRAL SHIPS

File No. 763.72112/3263

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 1, 1917.*
[*Received 3 p. m.*]

Proclamation December 29 announces following as additional absolute contrabrand:

Oxalic acid and oxalates, formic acid and formates, phenates, metallic sulphites and thiosulphates, soda lime and bleaching powder, platinum, osmium, ruthenium, rhodium, palladium, iridium, and alloys and compounds of these metals, strontium salts and compounds thereof, sulphate of barium (barytes), bone black. Schedule 1, proclamation October 14, 1915,[1] amended as follows: for item 8, "ethyl alcohol; methyl alcohol," substitute "alcohols, including fusel oil and wood spirit, and their derivatives and preparations"; for item 35, "aluminium, alumina, and salts of aluminium," substitute "aluminium and its alloys, alumina and salts of aluminium"; for item 41, "wolframite, scheelite," substitute "tungsten ores"; Schedule 2, for item 5, "fuel, other than mineral oils," substitute "fuel, including charcoal, other than mineral oils."[2]

SKINNER

File No. 763.72112/3295

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 13, 1917.*
[*Received 10.30 a. m.*]

Retaliation order, March 11, 1915,[3] under which in effect blockade is maintained, amended because of doubts as to whether the term "enemy" in Articles 3 and 4 of said order includes any countries other than Germany. Present amendment provides as follows:

In Articles 3 and 4 of order of 11th March, 1915, terms "enemy destination" and "enemy origin" shall be deemed to apply and shall

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1915, Supplement, p. 175.
[2] A similar list was received from the Consul General at Paris, Jan. 3 (File No. 763.72112/3275).
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

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apply to goods destined for or originating in any enemy country, and the term "enemy property" shall be deemed to apply and shall apply to goods belonging to any person domiciled in any enemy country. Effect shall be given to this order in the application of order of 11th March, 1915, to goods which previous to the date of this order have been discharged at a British or Allied port being goods of destination or origin or property which was enemy, though not German, and all such goods shall be detained and dealt with in all respects as is provided in order of 11th March, 1915.

SKINNER

File No. 763.72112/3385

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 22, 1917.*
[*Received 10 a. m.*]

Order in council, March 11, 1915, modified by proclamation dated 16th, promulgated 21st [as] new order, after reciting that German memorandum declaring that after February 1 neutral ships will navigate certain zones at their risk and similar directions by other enemy powers are in flagrant contradiction with rules of international law and treaty obligations of enemy and, therefore, renders it necessary to adopt further measures to prevent commodities from reaching or leaving enemy countries, announces that from and after February 16:

1. A vessel which is encountered at sea on her way to or from a port in any neutral country afforded means of access to the enemy territory without calling at a port in British or Allied territory shall until the contrary is established be deemed to be carrying goods with an enemy destination or of enemy origin and shall be brought in for examination and if necessary for adjudication before the prize court.

2. Any vessel carrying goods with an enemy destination or of enemy origin shall be liable to capture and condemnation in respect of the carriage of such goods provided that in the case of any vessel which calls at an appointed British or Allied port for the examination of her cargo no sentence of condemnation shall be pronounced in respect only of the carriage of goods of enemy origin or destination and no such presumption as is laid down in Article J shall arise.

3. Goods which are found on the examination of any vessel to be goods of enemy origin or of enemy destination shall be liable to condemnation.

4. Nothing in this order shall be deemed to affect the liability of any vessel or goods to capture or condemnation independently of this order.

5. This order is supplemental to the orders in council of the 11th day of March, 1915, and the 10th day of January, 1917, for restricting the commerce of the enemy.

SKINNER

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File No. 763.72/3443

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

No. 5822 LONDON, *February 16, 1917.*
[*Received March 1.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith, for the information of the Department, three parliamentary white papers comprising (No. 4) "Reply to the German Peace Note, communicated by the French Government on behalf of the Allied Powers to the United States Ambassador in Paris, December 30, 1916;" (No. 5) "Reply of the Allied Governments to the Note communicated by the United States Ambassador on December 20, 1916;"[1] and (No. 6) "Report drawn up by the Committee on the Administration of the Order in Council of March 1916 (1916).

I have [etc.] WALTER HINES PAGE

[Enclosure]

Report drawn up by the Committee on the Administration of the Order in Council of March 1915, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the President of the Board of Trade, and presented to Parliament, February 1917

SIRS: The committee appointed to enquire whether any avoidable delay is caused by the methods hitherto adopted for dealing with ships and cargoes brought into British ports under the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, and to make such general recommendations as they might think fit for improving such methods, have completed their investigation and have now the honour to submit the following report:

1. NATURE AND SCOPE OF ENQUIRY

Neutral vessels are brought into British ports under the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, in order that the belligerent may be satisfied as to the character, ownership, destination, or origin of the cargo which they carry. Whether any delay caused by the methods employed in dealing with ships and cargoes so brought in is or is not avoidable must be determined by reference to the delay which is inseparable from the effective exercise of this right.

That its exercise must involve some delay is plain. This would be true even if the belligerent were to rely exclusively on the older practice of search at sea. But we are satisfied upon the evidence that the maintenance of this practice is neither possible, in view of the increased size of ships, nor, in view of the conduct of enemy submarines, desirable in the interests of neutral lives and property.

[1] Enclosures No. 4 and No. 5 not printed. See *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 124-125; also *ante*, pp. 6-8.

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Not only so, but to exercise the right solely by means of the older practice would be tantamount to a complete abandonment of the right itself. The documents carried on a ship no longer furnish conclusive, or necessarily even presumptive, evidence of the true character, ownership, or destination of the cargo. The great increase of facilities by which goods can be circuitously conveyed to or from an enemy country, and the existence of other and speedier means of communication between traders than the ship carrying the goods, afford almost infinite opportunity for concealment. The documents which would disclose the true nature of the transaction, the contracts, correspondence, and cables may pass independently. Unless, therefore, the neutral is provided with better credentials than the documents carried by the ship, the evidence of the real facts has to be sought for by the belligerent from sources outside the ship.

Some alteration, then, not of principle but of practice, became necessary; and the machinery for carrying into effect the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, is the modern equivalent of the older methods. In order to determine whether the delays resulting from the modern methods can be diminished or avoided, we have considered it our duty to investigate, point by point, the whole of this machinery, and have examined witnesses from all the departments concerned.

2. Methods Employed in Dealing with Ships and Cargoes under the Order in Council, March 11, 1915

(1) *Visit at Sea.*—All ships intercepted by the patrolling squadrons are visited, the time occupied in so doing being about three hours, except in heavy weather, when delay occurs till the weather moderates sufficiently to permit of boarding. On a decision being taken to send the ship in, she is despatched under an armed guard to the most convenient port, called a port of detention; in the case of ships going "northabout," for the most part to Kirkwall or Lerwick, but sometimes, if westward bound, to Stornoway, or very occasionally to Ardrossan. Ships going "southabout" are detained in the Downs or sent into Falmouth or Dartmouth.

(2) *Visit and Search at the Port of Detention.*—On arrival at a port of detention the ship is visited by the customs officers, who examine the manifest, bills of lading, and any other relevant documents which she may be carrying, and prepare a detailed analysis of her whole cargo. Ships detained in the Downs are visited and reported upon in the same way by the naval authorities.

The question whether cargo is to be discharged or released has to be determined by different authorities in the case of westward and eastward bound ships, and the procedure by which information

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as to their cargoes is transmitted also differs slightly. In the case of westward-bound ships, the analysis of the cargo is sent to the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and the Board of Customs. If the ship is proceeding southabout and the cargo comprises less than 25 items, the analysis is sent by telegram, and if more than 25 items, by train. If the ship is proceeding northabout, the analysis, whatever the number of items, is sent by telegram. In the case of eastward-bound ships the analysis is sent to the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, the Board of Customs, and the War Trade Intelligence Department, invariably by telegram.

3. War Trade Intelligence Department (Eastward-Bound Ships)

In the War Trade Intelligence Department every kind of information which can in any way assist in disclosing the real destination and ownership of cargoes, gathered from various sources, of which cables, wireless messages, confidential reports, and intercepted letters form part, has been indexed, collated, and focussed as it came to hand. A separate file or *dossier* is kept for individual ships and traders, while selected members of the staff make a special study of all facts relating to particular commodities or groups of commodities. The Department is thus ready to prepare a report embodying all information relevant to each item in the list as soon as it receives the detailed analysis of the cargo supplied by the customs officers, or, in the case of slower ships, the manifest forwarded independently by the British consul.

The time occupied in the preparation of this report varies, of course, with the number of separate items comprised in the cargo. Where the manifest has reached this country in advance of the ship, all the necessary work can be done before her arrival, and in such cases the report is made at once. When the first intimation of the nature of the cargo is contained in the customs cable, this is impossible. But as a general rule the organisation already indicated enables the War Trade Intelligence Department to furnish its report upon a customs cable received in the morning by 3 o'clock the same day. Even in exceptional cases a delay of 24 hours is rarely exceeded.

4. The Contraband Committee

The report by the War Trade Intelligence Department upon cargoes eastward bound is then put before the Contraband Committee, a committee composed of a representative of the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and the Board of Trade, and now presided over by Mr. Ernest Pollock, K. C., M. P. The work of this committee is

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both onerous and responsible, and its urgency necessitates daily sittings. Its functions are to consider promptly what is the real ownership or destination of the cargo, to place the goods in the prize court only if there is reasonable ground for concluding that they are of enemy ownership or destination, to detain them for further investigation in cases of doubt, and in all other cases to secure their release at the earliest possible moment, without the delay and formality of prize-court proceedings.

In the course of their enquiry, the Contraband Committee have to determine whether the cargo in question is covered by any of the agreements which have been made with traders or shipowners, collectively or individually.

These agreements vary much in scope, but all result in lessening the inconveniences arising from the exercise of belligerent rights. There are, for instance, undertakings from neutral shipowners or consignees, either general or relating to specific shipments, for the return of the goods to this country in consideration of the ship being allowed to proceed without discharging here; undertakings from traders that goods shall not reach or have not originated with the enemy; undertakings to comply with restrictive conditions in consideration of bunkering facilities; or, again, so-called rationing agreements, which assure free passage to such quantities of particular commodities as are *bona fide* required for the use of the neutral country to which they are consigned. These have recently been supplemented by a scheme of proposed bookings or letters of assurance, under which shipments can be submitted to and sanctioned in advance by the committee.

The advantages of these arrangements are twofold. They shorten and facilitate the labours of the Contraband Committee and, what is vastly more important, they secure for neutrals the speedy release of ship and cargo.

In cases not covered by any agreement, the committee, upon the evidence before them, and in the light of the experience they have gained in dealing with other cargoes, are generally in a position to determine at once whether the cargo is to be released or detained in whole or in part. But if the available evidence, while suggesting an enemy destination, is insufficient for them to act upon, they obtain through the Foreign Office, where their meetings take place, such further information as can be supplied by our diplomatic or consular services in the country to which the goods are ostensibly consigned. Unless any such further enquiries are necessary, the decisions of the Contraband Committee are arrived at forthwith, and the whole of each day's business is disposed of before the committee adjourns.

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5. Enemy Exports Committee (Westward-Bound Ships)

In the case of westward-bound ships, it is the origin rather than the destination of the cargo upon which, apart from questions of ownership, the seizure depends. The decision of this question rests with the Enemy Exports Committee. This committee sits every day at the Foreign Office. It is composed of representatives of the Foreign Office, Admiralty, and Board of Trade, and is presided over by the Right Honourable Commander Leverton Harris, R. N. V. R., M. P.[1]

The methods of this committee are substantially identical with those of the Contraband Committee, but its labours are much simplified by the fact that it has been found possible, by the use of certificates of origin and licences, to give free passage to the bulk of westbound traffic.

The best evidence, perhaps, of the advantages of such arrangements in abridging delay is that during the last six months this committee has ordered only some ten ships into port for discharge, while many ships have been allowed to proceed without their papers coming before the committee at all.

Even in cases where the ship's papers are laid before the committee for consideration, a delay is not necessarily involved. Westward-bound ships often, and liners almost invariably, call of their own accord at a United port. In such cases their papers are taken off in the Downs or at Kirkwall as the case may be, and, if in order, are transmitted to meet the ship at her port of call.

6. Admiralty Marshal's Department

If it is decided to release a ship, instructions are sent by telegram either to the Board of Customs, or to the naval authorities in the Downs, and she is allowed to proceed forthwith. If it is decided that cargo is to be seized, instructions to that effect are similarly given to the Admiralty Marshal as well as to the Board of Customs, particularising the items which are to be discharged. The Admiralty Marshal then telegraphs the necessary orders to the customs officers at the port at which the ship is lying, who, acting on behalf of the Marshal, make the formal affidavit of seizure.

It is to be noted that, at this stage and in all subsequent dealings with cargo which has been ordered to be discharged, the customs officers at the various ports act as agents for the Admiralty Marshal.

[1] Sir Alfred Bateman, K. C. M. G., succeeded Commander Leverton Harris as chairman in June, 1916.

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7. Committee for Diversion of Ships in War Time

Simultaneously with the instructions to his agents, the Admiralty Marshal gives the Admiralty Committee for the Diversion of Ships in War Time particulars of the ship and of the quantity and nature of the cargo to be discharged.

This committee, by a system of daily returns, keeps in touch with the conditions prevailing in the various ports, and assigns to the ship the most suitable port for her discharge. This decision involves many considerations. Regard must be had to the size and draught of the ship, to the facilities of the port for dealing with the particular cargo to be discharged, to the supply of labour, and to the accessibility of markets, particularly if the cargo is perishable. The materials for such a decision are all before the committee in their daily advices, and they have the additional advantage that their secretary is a member of the Port and Transit Committee which was created to enquire into "all the difficulties and congestion arising at ports in the United Kingdom and to regulate the work and traffic thereat." The report which this committee receives, disclosing fully the position at all ports in regard to berths, labour, &c., is, through the secretary, at the disposal of the Committee for the Diversion of Ships. The selection of a port, however, is not finally made until the port authority has been communicated with by telephone, and it has been definitely ascertained that the cargo can be dealt with. Thus the committee confirm the correctness of their own decision and the port authorities on their side are informed of all that it is material for them to know before the ship starts from the port of detention.

It has occasionally happened on Saturday afternoons or on Sundays that there has been no responsible person at the port of discharge to give the assurance that the ship could be dealt with if ordered there, and a ship has consequently remained at the port of detention until such assurance could be obtained. This appears to us to be a defect in practice rather than in method. Such occurrences have been infrequent and the remedy is obvious.

Subject to this exception and to the fact that application has sometimes to be made to many ports without success, the choice is made promptly. The name of the port is forthwith communicated to the Admiralty Marshal, who now has jurisdiction over the cargo, and by him to his agents.

8. Port of Discharge

A ship which has been required to discharge is taken under an armed guard to the designated port and there awaits her turn. How

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soon she can be dealt with depends upon the degree of congestion prevailing in the port and the supply of labour available. Undoubtedly these factors have not been such as to favour a speedy discharge; but we find that every available facility has been provided and, unless preferential treatment is to be accorded to diverted ships, quicker despatch is not feasible.

If the ship has no agent at the port to which she is ordered, she may be under the disadvantage that no arrangements can be made for discharge before her arrival. In practice vessels have lost, perhaps, a tide from this cause, but the delay is due rather to the ship than to the methods upon which we are reporting.

Having discharged the required items of her cargo, the ship has not to await a further reference to the committee or the Admiralty Marshal, but obtains her clearance forthwith.

Subsequent evidence may of course cast suspicion on further items of the cargo, but should their discharge involve the removal of the hatches a second time, the practice is to give the ship the benefit of the doubt.

9. Procurator-General's Department and Prize Court

We have traced the dealings with the suspect cargo down to the time of its discharge from the ship. In all subsequent proceedings the Procurator-General's Department and the prize court are alone concerned. The affidavit of seizure having already been made, the first step taken by the Procurator-General before preparing the case for trial is, in the interest of claimants, to give notice of the seizure to the consuls of those countries whose nationals are concerned.

The goods have been put into the prize court on the authority of the Contraband Committee or of the Enemy Export Committee. The necessity for prompt decision by these committees renders it imperative that they should act on evidence less formal and conclusive than that which is required in a court of law. While the materials before them may raise so strong a presumptive case against the goods as amply to justify a provisional detention, the preparation of the formal case and of the evidence to be put before the prize court necessarily involves a much more detailed and comprehensive enquiry. The Procurator-General, who is also the Treasury Solicitor, controls the whole of the prize-court work. The actual litigation is conducted by the law-courts branch of his Department, which is in touch both with the Contraband Committee and the War Trade Intelligence Department. A representative attends the meetings of the Contraband Committee, and a branch of the Department works in the War Trade Intelligence Department. This branch receives from the War Trade Intelligence Department its report to the Contra-

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band Committee, and, from the representative attending the Contraband Committee, a report of the grounds for the committee's decisions. Thus the Procurator-General's Department has easy access to the materials assembled in the War Trade Intelligence Department, and is in a position to carry the enquiry beyond the point at which it was presented to the Contraband Committee.

The cases to be presented are of great complexity; the essential documents have generally to be procured from other countries, often after much difficulty and delay, and since the possibility of fabrication can not be ignored, the genuineness of the documents when forthcoming may have to be tested by further investigation.

If, in the course of preparing the case, the Procurator-General is satisfied that he is not likely to succeed ultimately, the court will release the goods upon his application. We would point out that any undue delay can be controlled by an application, on the part of the claimant, to the court, and that such applications have been very few. On the other hand, applications by claimants for postponement of trial have been numerous.

With regard to the prize court itself, we find that it is well able to deal with all, and more than all, the cases ready for trial. Not only are there no arrears, but the court disposes of its business by sitting three or four days a week.

Summary

Such is the system now in use. Described in detail it may seem elaborate and complicated, but the situation which it has been framed to meet is many-sided. In practice it works smoothly. It originated in the fact that methods of search sanctioned by usage in the past are now impracticable, and that the evidence which, in the shape of documents carried on the ship, the neutral shipowner and trader were required to provide, has been robbed by changed conditions of much of its value. Other evidence, therefore, or guaranties must be forthcoming if the rights of the belligerent are to be preserved. The system has been so constructed as to furnish facilities by which, if he is disposed to avail himself of them, the neutral can provide such evidence or guaranties, and so be assured of the minimum disturbance of his trade.

The present system has been built up gradually as the need for it arose. On the outbreak of the war there was little more than the nucleus of an organisation for dealing even with prize. It was inadequate for this purpose owing to the altered conditions to which we have referred, and still more so for coping with the larger situation created by the order in council of the 11th March, 1915. For these reasons not only has the old organisation been expanded,

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but the new and supplemental machinery, which we have detailed, has been set up. So considerable has been the change that it would be truer to say that a new organisation had to be created to meet the new conditions than that an old and inappropriate one has been applied to work for which it was never intended. A ruling consideration throughout has been the desire to impose on neutral shipping as little inconvenience as is consistent with the interception of the enemy's sea-borne commerce, and it has been very apparent to us in the course of our investigations how steadily the officials concerned have kept this object in view.

It is quite clear that by the establishment of the Contraband and Enemy Export Committees many ships which would otherwise have to be brought into port for discharge are enabled, after a short delay, to proceed upon their course. The committees act as courts of preliminary enquiry, sift the available evidence, and at once release the vessel when the *prima facie* case is not sufficiently strong. In the absence of such committee, all vessels stopped and all goods brought in would have to be placed in the prize court by the Procurator-General and adjudicated upon by the court.

It is evident from the very nature of the work both of the War Trade Intelligence Department and of the Contraband and Enemy Export Committees, that it tends to become both more expeditious and more effective as their experience and stock of information increase. The time occupied in collating materials and considering them can not, in our opinion, be fairly described as delay, much less avoidable delay. We have no evidence that any increase in the staff of the War Trade Intelligence Department would be of substantial advantage. The work appears to be decentralised as far as it safely can be, having regard to the fact that it depends in a peculiar degree for its efficiency upon the accumulation of experience by individuals. As a matter of fact, the Department is able to supply material to the Contraband Committee as quickly as that committee can deal with it.

Similar considerations apply to the Contraband Committee, and it would, in our view, lose efficiency if it were to sit in two or more divisions.

While the work of the Enemy Export Committee is comparable to that of the Contraband Committee, the questions for its determination are so different that the two bodies could not advantageously be merged in one.

The materials for the decisions of the Enemy Exports Committee are derived from the same source as those of the War Intelligence Department, and are collated and indexed, on a similar system, but by a separate staff. There does appear, therefore, in this respect to be a certain amount of duplication of effort, though the informa-

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tion obtained by the War Intelligence Department covers a far wider field than that required by the Enemy Exports Committee. No delay, however, is imposed upon ships or cargoes by this overlapping, and we have therefore not considered how far, if at all, it can be avoided.

It was not to be expected that a system which has developed as the necessity arose should have worked smoothly and well from the beginning. Until it was complete, there were undoubtedly stages at which delay took place. Ships, for instance, were at first kept an undue time at Kirkwall or Lerwick awaiting the visit of the customs officers. This was due to the shortage of staff, and to the inexperience of the customs officers at that time in the new work required of them. Again, there appears to have been insufficient connection between the Contraband Committee and the Procurator-General's Department, and it would perhaps be true to say generally that there was some lack of co-ordination between the Departments, and that information did not pass freely from one to the other. But these defects were remedied at an early stage.

The congestion at the ports of discharge, which is a persistent source of delay, is consequent upon a state of war. So long as that congestion exists, its effects must be felt by ships brought in under the order in council, as by all others; but they are dealt with in their turn and given at least equal facilities.

Owing to the geographical position of such neutral countries as Holland and Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the task of discriminating between cargoes of enemy or of neutral destination must be beset with difficulties. The various agreements concluded have done much to lessen inconvenience and promote co-operation. As a result of these agreements vessels are detained, either on the high seas or at the port of detention, only for a time sufficient to establish their credentials; they are not called upon to discharge any cargo, and thus not only save their own time, but assist the discharge of other vessels by lessening the congestion at ports. It is, of course, for neutrals themselves to determine whether the restrictions imposed by these agreements are not more than counterbalanced by the advantages which they confer. However this may be, it is, in our opinion, plain that their more general acceptance would still further lessen the occasions of delay.

It is a matter for remark that although the existence and proceedings of this committee have been advertised in the press of this country and of neutral countries, no specific cases of delay have been brought before us by complainants. It may not be unfair to suggest that when complaints of delay have been made they arise rather from objections to the provisions of the order in council of the 11th

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March, 1915, than to the machinery by which those provisions are enforced.

We have been unable to discover that, consistently with the effective exercise of belligerent rights, there is any avoidable delay caused by the existing methods of dealing with ships and cargoes brought into port under the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, and we do not offer any suggestions for the improvements of those methods.

In conclusion, we should like to record our appreciation of the zeal and ability of our secretary, the Hon. S. O. Henn Collins, and our assistant-secretary, Sub-Lieutenant Sir F. Newnes, Bart., R. N. V. R.

PEEL, *Chairman*
KENNETH S. ANDERSON
B. A. COHEN
K. WALLACE ELMSLIE
ALMERIC PAGET

S. O. HENN COLLINS, *Secretary*
FRANK NEWNES, *Sub-Lieutenant, R. N. V. R., Assistant Secretary*

File No. 300.115/12206

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

LONDON, *April 11, 1917.*
[*Received April 26.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith, in duplicate, a return of shipping detentions at Kirkwall during the month of March, 1917.[1] The Department no doubt will be interested in observing the great falling off in the number of arrivals at Kirkwall during the last month which, undoubtedly, is due to the fact that Scandinavian shipping has remained, to a large extent, in home ports on account of the submarine peril.

I have [etc.] ROBERT P. SKINNER

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[1] This report which is not printed indicates that the number of detentions during March was 14 as compared with the following detentions of preceding months:

Jan., 1916	51	Aug., 1916	98
Feb	51	Sept	110
Mar	53	Oct	107
Apr	72	Nov	87
May	99	Dec	87
June	93	Jan., 1917	57
July	115	Feb	34

A later report showed only one detention during the month of April (File No 300.115/12471).

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BRITISH CONTROL OF NEUTRAL SHIPPING THROUGH BUNKERING AGREEMENTS AND BLACK LIST OF NEUTRAL SHIPS

File No. 763.72112/3267a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 28, 1916, 7 p. m.*

4224. Department has had several interviews with Crawford, of British Embassy, on subject of bunker agreement. Several cases have arisen recently where American steamship lines have been told that they could not charter or use ships of other neutral countries, which ships had signed bunker agreement, unless American company agreed to bind not only chartered ships but also all the ships owned by the American company. Careful examination of bunker agreement and statement of subordinate British official indicates an intention to secure control of all neutral shipping through so-called agreement. If the agreement were limited to the chartered ships which signed agreement, Department could understand position of British Government, but the attempt to control American ships not requiring British facilities is entirely unreasonable and can not possibly be permitted by this Government. Crawford states he has cabled in detail to his Government views of the Department. Investigate subject and report as promptly as possible any information you can gather.

LANSING

File No. 341.115C71/1

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1916, 4 p. m.*

4232. Colombian Maritime Co. (Ltd.), New York corporation, president of which states no belligerent capital of any description is employed in its business, complains its steamship *Balboa* placed on black list. British Consul General, New York, explains to company this action taken because vessel carried from Buenaventura to Canal Zone goods consigned to Schutte-Bunemann & Co., New York, which is understood to be on black list. President of company represents British Government have refused coaling privileges to other vessels desired to be chartered by company because of this blacklisting *Balboa;* that it is feared agents *Balboa*, as well as shippers who may ever have occasion use other means transportation, will discontinue patronage *Balboa*, through fear being blacklisted if patronage continued. It appears cargo which resulted in blacklisting was carried on initial trip in which *Balboa* entered into com-

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petition with Pacific Steam Navigation Co., British concern, which had previously enjoyed monopoly carrying business between Buenaventura and Canal Zone, and that consequently any disadvantage caused *Balboa* will occasion corresponding advantage to British concern. Bearing in mind neutral character commerce between South America and United States, attention British Government should be recalled to following statements in its note October 10,[1] which do not seem to be entirely consistent with action in this case: First. "Government United States can feel confident this system of prohibitions will not be carried further than is absolutely necessary." Second. "To allow it to interfere with what is really genuine neutral trade of country with which we desire closest commercial intercourse, would be contrary to British interests." Third. "Self-interest alone would render His Majesty's Government anxious not to place upon statutory list names of any firms which carry on genuine *bona fide* neutral trade." Mention may also be made of British Government's disavowal of intention "merely to foster their own trade at the expense of that of neutral countries."

Communicate with the Foreign Office in the sense of the foregoing, and say that since it is readily perceivable that the effect of the Trading with the Enemy Act, as apparently applied in this case, is inflicting great and undeserved injury on neutral citizens and commerce, and since this action of the British Government appears to be contrary to the British declarations and assurances regarding the black-list measures, this Government believes that, upon a reconsideration of the case, the *Balboa* will be removed from the black list.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3268

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 2, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received January 3, 8.15 a. m.*]

5404. Your 4224, December 28, 7 p. m., 4225, December 28, 8 p. m., 4232, December 29, 4 p. m.,[2] and other similar instructions.

Lord Robert Cecil promises earliest answer possible in each case.

Unofficially in the course of conversation he said he was trying to prepare also a comprehensive statement which would cover as many cases of this kind as possible and explain fully the position of his Government and the principle on which it is proceeding. He went on to say in this private conversation that the whole trouble was at

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 462–465.
[2] Telegram No. 4225 of Dec. 28 not printed.

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bottom a submarine trouble. European neutral shipping companies whose ships normally ply between England and continental countries are alarmed by German submarines and seek business on the American side of the Atlantic. These measures of bunker agreement and objections to chartering are meant to discourage such European neutral ships from deserting European waters.

I remarked that his purpose was obvious but that the trouble was with his methods. But I felt sure we should welcome such a comprehensive statement.

The foregoing gives the key to the British action, and they use bunker agreements and such like devices in their effort to justify their action. Their comprehensive statement, so far as I can see, can hardly be bomb proof.

I ventured to suggest that he can not charter and insure Scandinavian ships himself and thus in a practical way avoid this kind of trouble. I venture also to suggest to the Department as a purely practical measure the encouragement of American coal merchants to provide coal for American ships at some American West Indian port.

I shall insist on prompt answers to each of your instructions.

PAGE

File No. 341.115C71/3

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 17, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received 2.30 p. m.]

5488. Your 4232, December 29, 4 p. m. Foreign Office informs me steamship *Balboa* has been removed from black list.

PAGE

File No. 763.72112/3315

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 19, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[Received January 20, 9 a. m.]

5500. Your 4224, December 29 [*28*], 7 p. m., and my 5412, January 3, 5 p. m.[1] Foreign Office replies to my written representations based on your above in note to be forwarded next pouch; substance follows.

One of the conditions of British bunker agreements with neutral shipowners is that such shipowners undertake not to surrender the

[1] Latter not printed.

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control of any of their vessels to a third party without the previous consent of British Government, given only if such third party subscribes to the same conditions. Since the large majority of neutral shipowners in all European countries have accepted these conditions, it is concluded that they are found in practice advantageous to such shipowners. Regarding American shipping firms British Government has done nothing more than to advise them of the actual conditions in bunker agreements with neutral European shipowners to be followed in cases where latter desire to charter their vessels to third parties. Since a very considerable number of American firms have voluntarily expressed their willingness to subscribe to these conditions it would appear that they are satisfied some positive advantage will accrue to them from their acceptance. British Government is, of course, desirous that American shipping firms should consult it as to the trade in which vessels in their service may be engaged in the light of the possibility that such ships may be employed to supply enemy commerce raiders as happened in 1914 on various occasions. The use of the word "control" however puts the entire question into a legal and controversial channel out of which British Government would prefer to keep it. It is hoped that British policy may be now more clearly understood in view of present discussion of the matter between State Department and British Embassy.

PAGE

File No. 763.72112/3344

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *January 30, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4364. Reported that committee representing Entente Allies formed at London to supervise and control chartering neutral steamships plying between Allied and neutral ports, and that rates acceptable to that committee must be agreed to as a condition precedent to obtaining bunker coal in England. Investigate, and if this or similar measure actually in effect or contemplated give briefly your opinion as to probable effect upon American shipping and ocean freight rates.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3345

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 2, 1917, 10 a. m.*

[*Received 2.50 p. m.*]

5577. Your 4364, January 30, 4 p. m. Am informed by competent private authority that committee referred to propose to fix charter

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rates and in certain cases indicate persons of Allied nationality whom they approve as charterers of neutral vessels. It is probable that type of cargo and voyage will also be stipulated. Neutrals may bid against the price set for Allied charterers and, provided they are willing to perform the stipulated service, will probably be able to obtain the ship in question, other things being equal. British coal will be given only where conditions set by committee are met by neutral charterer. It is hoped by these measures to concentrate any neutral tonnage coming into the market on services most needed by the Allies and to regulate the movement of freight by the reduction of ballast voyages.

It is hoped the plan will reduce ocean freights and apart from the effect of possible high neutral charter bids it will probably do so.

PAGE

ARRANGEMENTS WITH GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS OF GERMAN ORIGIN DETAINED IN THE NETHERLANDS

File No. 763.72112/3351a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 5, 1917, 9 p. m.*

4400. In view of urgent necessity in this country for various goods long awaiting shipment from Rotterdam and in view of changed shipping conditions and loss involved in further delay, it is considered an opportune moment to present newly, and independently of all former representations, an urgent request for prompt and favorable decision in general ruling upon all applications pending for American-owned goods now held in Rotterdam awaiting safe-sea assurance.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3430a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 20, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4566. Department's 4400, February 5, 9 p. m. The changes in international circumstances since the date of the telegram noted seem to suggest the expediency and desirability of definitely disposing of the question of goods of German and Austrian origin detained at neutral European ports by a general or blanket permit to cover all merchandise of American destination which arrived at such ports prior to June 1, 1916, without other qualification. Regardless of conditions of purchase the Department is unable to see how the re-

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lease of these goods can benefit the German sellers, but it is plain that their continued detention will, on the other hand, damage the interested American owners. Through the undertaking given by Great Britain, whereby uninterrupted shipment was allowed merchandise proven to have been bought and paid for prior to March 1, 1915, goods to the amount of some $14,000,000 were released. It is thought that the value of merchandise remaining is approximately $3,000,000, a considerable portion of which is detained because of expiration of time limitation imposed. There has always been a certain amount of controversy about the sufficiency of evidence which formed the basis of rejections of applications in a fair number of other cases and the Department has been compelled to meet much criticism from interested quarters because of its inability to influence the British authorities in making more liberal decisions. Aside from these considerations much of the merchandise involved is subject to deterioration and the owners will have to meet losses caused thereby in addition to heavy storage costs. The Department believes that the release of this merchandise at the present time will be productive of much good and it hopes that the British Government will let itself be influenced by the considerations specified, which you are instructed to emphasize in your further unofficial endeavors to make the general arrangement about which you were instructed on February 5.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3437

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

No. 5901 LONDON, *March 7, 1917.*
[*Received March 26.*]

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Department's telegraphic instructions No. 4400 of February 5, directing me to present to the British authorities an urgent request, independently of all previous representations, with a view to obtaining prompt action regarding a general ruling upon all applications now pending for American-owned merchandise detained in Rotterdam awaiting safe-sea assurance.

In accordance with the Department's instructions I submitted to the Foreign Office such a request as above outlined, and I now have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of the Department a copy of the note, dated the 5th instant, which I have received from the Foreign Office in response to my representations in the premises.

I have [etc.] WALTER HINES PAGE

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[Enclosure]

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Balfour) to the American Ambassador (Page)

No. 35125/C LONDON, *March 5, 1917.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have given careful consideration to the note which your excellency was good enough to address to me on the 12th ultimo (No. 2954) representing to me the desire of certain American firms to obtain permits from His Majesty's Government to enable them to ship from Rotterdam goods contracted for and purchased by them.

2. I have assumed that the goods in respect of which facilities are desired have originated in countries with which His Majesty's Government are at war, although your excellency's note does not contain any explicit statement to that effect, as in any other event His Majesty's Government would not presumably be expected to offer any special facilities.

3. Without certain further particulars in regard to the exact scope of the request now made by your Government, and in regard to the actual circumstances which have prompted it, His Majesty's Government find it difficult to formulate any definite reply to your excellency's enquiry.

4. The request, as His Majesty's Government understand it, is that they should make a general statement of the policy which they intend to follow in regard to goods of enemy origin destined for the United States of America and now awaiting opportunity of shipment, and there appears to be a suggestion that this policy should be framed with a view to allowing the shipment of all such goods. The motives for the request are stated to be the changed conditions which have lately come about in the shipping situation and the loss which further delay in the shipment of these goods would put upon the American firms concerned.

5. If the object of the communication which your excellency has made by instructions of your Government is in fact as suggested above, your excellency will doubtless understand that a question of considerable importance would be raised which would demand the most careful consideration on the part of His Majesty's Government, and before proceeding to examine the matter in detail they would be glad to be assured that they have rightly understood the intention of the United States Government.

6. I have the honour therefore to request that your excellency will be so good as to furnish me with an exact statement of the points in regard to which the United States Government desire that His Majesty's Government should give a general ruling or statement, and it would perhaps assist them in considering the matter in all its as-

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pects if an indication could be given of the manner in which the present shipping conditions are held to have affected the situation.

I have [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
VICTOR WELLESLEY

File No. 763.72112/3437

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 25, 1917, 5 p. m.*

4753. Your despatch No. 5901, March 7, 1917. Department believes that its cablegram No. 4566 of 4 p. m., March 20, 1917, adequately covers all points raised in Foreign Office note of March 5 transmitted with your despatch concerning proposal for release of German and Austrian goods.

LANSING

File No. 300.115/12452

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *May 21, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received May 21, 5.30 p. m.*]

6260. Department's 4832, May 14.[1] Foreign Office informs me to-day that, *re* goods in Rotterdam, it has accumulating evidence showing goods are still being ordered into Holland from Germany by American merchants with object of shipping after the war, this evidence coming from intercepted letter in case of Swiss Clock Company of New York, some of the goods referred to in it being still in Germany and have not been paid for.

The United States Government would doubtless refuse to support any application for shipment of such goods but your excellency will see from this instance that if any further facilities are to be granted for shipment of enemy's goods from Rotterdam to America the utmost care will have to be exercised to insure that only *bona fide* applications are granted and that orders of this kind will receive no consideration.

PAGE

File No. 300.115/12464

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Secretary of State

No. 146 WASHINGTON, *May 21, 1917.*
[*Received May 23.*]

SIR: I have the honour to inform you that His Majesty's Government have given instructions to His Majesty's Consul General at

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[1] Not printed.

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Rotterdam that all permits which were issued for the release of American goods of German origin and which lapsed owing to difficulties of finding shipping space have now been renewed.

I have [etc.] CECIL SPRING RICE

File No. 300.115/12641

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *June 11, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 3.40 p. m.*]

979. See Legation's 967, June 9.[1] Am arranging that further preferential shipments go forward on *Sommelsdyke*, sailing June 20, and *Noordam*, sailing June 30.

British Consul General, Rotterdam, and American Embassy, London, have informed Legation that British shipping permits which had lapsed owing to impossibility of shipment are to be renewed. This concession however affects scarcely a dozen small shipments. As the shipment of goods from Holland to America is becoming more uncertain and may be stopped altogether, respectfully suggest that Department press the matter and endeavor to secure immediate British shipping permits for goods of enemy origin and American ownership which have not yet received such permit.

LANGHORNE

File No. 300.115/12790

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *June 27, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 11.10 p. m.*]

1019. Legation's 979, June 11. A memorandum from the American Ambassador, London, dated May 25, encloses note, same date, from British Foreign Office which in effect states that goods stored in Rotterdam for export at the end of war and goods, in connection with whose application for shipment fraud has been discovered, will not be granted shipping permit.

Goods whose licenses lapsed owing to delay in shipping are now being forwarded. The Foreign Office apparently overlooked about 15,000 tons of Belgian, German, and Austrian origin which have

[1] Not printed.

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been sold to American order and desire immediate shipment. Large amounts of these shipments are, from time to time, being called back by enemy shippers owing to poor prospects of effecting shipment. It would seem, therefore, to serve the American owners if these goods could be shipped and at the same time would prevent large portions of them from being returned to the enemy.

Among the goods desiring immediate shipment are . . .

LANGHORNE

File No. 300.115/13034a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 18, 1917, 6 p. m.*

5169. Foreign Office is now considering a recommendation from British Embassy that all German and Austrian goods consigned to firms in this country be released provided (1) they are paid for, (2) they are now at a neutral port, and (3) application for their passage through the blockade shall have been filed with the British Embassy prior to November 1, 1915. Upon fuller consideration of matter it is realized that inasmuch as former requirements did not embrace filing of proof of payment as a condition of release of goods, to do so now would be to institute an entirely new procedure and require reopening of cases in such a way as to cause both Governments much trouble through the series of inquisitions that will be demanded. As a result of an informal discussion the British Embassy and the Department are in agreement that the suggested procedure ought to be avoided and that an arrangement should be substituted releasing all goods at neutral ports, leaving the question of delivery and payment therefor, if not already effected, to the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy Act now pending before Congress and whose passage seems practically assured. The British Embassy, however, feels indisposed to interpose at this stage of the Foreign Office's consideration of the case a proposal which reverses its former recommendation on the subject, but has suggested that you might personally advance and urge the substitution proposed without prejudicing the general question. Considering the Embassy's and the Department's joint desire to dispose of the entire matter with as little regard to detail as possible, you are requested to follow this suggestion as vigorously as possible, assuming full responsibility for the Department's acquiescence in the substitute proposal in case the point is made that the Department has agreed to the plan now under consideration. This matter of importance as Congress is being urged to investigate.

POLK

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File No. 300.115/13035

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *August 10, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received 11 p. m.]

6917. Replying to my representations based on your 5179 [*5169?*], July 18, 6 p. m., Foreign Office states this matter recently formed subject of telegraphic correspondence with British Ambassador, Washington, who on July 14 reported the anxiety of United States Government that shipment to America be allowed of all German goods now at Rotterdam having been paid for by the American importers, and Sir Spring Rice was informed that to expedite dealing with the matter British Government desired to be furnished with detailed list of such goods giving name of applicant in America, name of vendor in Germany, number of cases, bales, etc., nature of contents, present whereabouts of goods, and their value in each case, but the United States Government's request was understood to refer only to goods for which appraisals were filed with British Ambassador, Washington, before November 1, 1915. Reference is made to the suggestion in your 5169 that the question of delivery and payment, if not already effected, should be dealt with under provision of Trading with the Enemy Act pending before Congress, and it is pointed out British Government have no knowledge of these provisions but presume the act is framed to prevent shipment to America of enemy goods not yet paid for. If so, British Government are ready to consider the proposal on receiving definite information regarding provisions of act and its operation, and Sir Spring Rice has been instructed to suggest that the list as above indicated would prove the best alternative. Foreign Office adds that British Government are sincerely desirous of effecting a satisfactory settlement of this matter and feel confident no serious or essential difference exists between their attitude and that of United States Government. Copy of note follows next pouch.

PAGE

File No. 300.115/13324b

The Counselor for the Department of State (Polk) to the Commercial Adviser of the British Embassy (Crawford)

WASHINGTON, *September 26, 1917.*

MY DEAR SIR RICHARD: Referring to previous negotiations for the uninterrupted shipment of German and Austrian goods lying in neutral ports, I beg to enclose herewith a list which gives such de-

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tails regarding these shipments as I understood to be desired by your Government.[1] The details include the names of the American importers and of the German and Austrian vendors, the respective marks of the various packages, the total value of each lot, the names of the warehousemen or storage companies with whom the goods are stored, and remarks, where appropriate, concerning particular pertinent facts.

In giving consideration to the particular cases involved, the Department has adhered strictly to the arrangement which was informally agreed to by us at our conference on the subject on August 6 last, namely, that only the release of importations would be considered that were actually in a neutral port and paid for prior to April 7[6], 1917, the date of this country's declaration of war against Germany.

Practically all the information indicated in the list in reference, except that relating to payment and the names of the vendors, was received from the American Legation at The Hague. Necessarily in many cases the values corresponding to the several shipments are approximations only, but they are believed to be as accurate as the circumstances allow.

The question of payment, where not previously determined in the course of earlier consideration of exceptions to the provisions of the order in council of March 11, 1915, has been carefully investigated in each case, and the list I am now recommending for release embraces only those cases of whose payment there is reasonable certainty. There have been found certain cases payment for which is alleged by the owners, but about whose payment there appears to be reasonable doubt. I have reserved these cases for a later list in order that their consideration may not prejudice prompt action upon the cases first named. I have dealt with these doubtful cases in another letter of this same date, to which I respectfully invite your attention.[1]

As this manner of concluding the question of these detained goods has been agreed upon in principle, I hardly feel it necessary to emphasize my interest in having the first list accepted and the goods corresponding thereto released at the earliest moment possible. The owners of these goods are daily importuning the Department's good offices in hastening the release of the shipments, urging in this connection the practical consideration that the shipments consist largely of holiday merchandise whose value to them would be greatly enhanced by their receipt for timely distribution to the local markets before Christmas. Further, the present uncertainties in the matter

[1] Not printed.

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of transportation between Holland and this country gives added weight to the anxiety to the owners of the goods lest they arrive too late for sale this year.

I might note that the total approximate value of the detained goods at Rotterdam as reported by the Legation at The Hague is $3,956,056 (M. 684,210; Kr. 44,970; Fl. 9,413,258). The list transmitted herewith embracing the cases recommended for release, aggregates $1,725,260. The cases which are reserved for later consideration represent a value of $1,474,300.

For convenience, conventional values of the several foreign denominations used have been employed in arriving at the foregoing values in dollars rather than the rates of exchange currently prevailing in the several cases: marks, $0.238; florins, $0.402; kronen, $0.202; francs, $0.20.

I am [etc.] FRANK L. POLK

File No. 300.115/13719

The Commercial Adviser of the British Embassy (Crawford) to the Counselor for the Department of State (Polk)

[Extract]

WASHINGTON, *October 29, 1917.*
[*Received October 30.*]

MY DEAR MR. COUNSELLOR: With your letter of the 26th September last you were good enough to forward to me a statement giving the names of American importers who had shown to your satisfaction that they had, prior to April 7, 1917, actually paid for certain specified goods of enemy origin lying at that time in Rotterdam. No time was lost in transmitting this statement to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who, in a telegram just received, directs us to acquaint you that His Majesty's Government are happy to give immediate effect to the desire of the United States Government as expressed in your letter. They will accordingly allow to come forward, without interruption on their part, all the merchandise for which such favourable treatment was bespoken in your statement above referred to. They note further that you have reserved seven cases for presentation later as soon as full proof of payment is in your hands. . . .

I may add finally that none of the permits will authorise transshipment at British ports, but will only be available for direct shipments from Rotterdam to the United States.

Believe me [etc.] RICHARD CRAWFORD

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BRITISH DECLARATION OF A "DANGEROUS AREA" IN THE NORTH SEA—PROTEST BY THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 19

File No. 841.801/80

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 25, 1917.*
[*Received 11 p. m.*]

5544. Following notice dated January 24 received from Foreign Office with request that it be brought immediately to attention of United States Government:

In view of the unrestricted warfare carried on by Germany at sea by means of mines and submarines not only against the Allied powers but also against neutral shipping and the fact that merchant ships are constantly sunk without regard to the ultimate safety of their crews, His Majesty's Government give notice that on and after the 7th proximo the under-mentioned area in the North Sea will be rendered dangerous to all shipping by operations against the enemy and it should therefore be avoided.

Area comprising all the waters except Netherland and Danish territorial waters lying to the southward and eastward of a line commencing four miles from the coast of Jutland in latitude 56° N., longitude 8° E. from Greenwich and passing through the following positions: latitude 56° N., longitude 6° E.; latitude 54° 45′ [N., longitude 4° 30′] E., thence to a position in latitude 53° 37′ N., longitude 5° E., seven miles off the coast of the Netherlands.

To meet the needs of the Netherland coastal traffic which can not strictly confine itself to territorial waters owing to navigational difficulties a safe passage will be left to the southward of a line joining the following points: latitude 53° 27′ N., longitude 5° E.; latitude 53° 31½′ N., longitude 5° 30′ E.; latitude 53° 34′ E. [*N.*], latitude [*longitude*] 6° E.; latitude 53° 39′ N., longitude 6° 23′ E.

PAGE

File No. 841.801/83

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 15, 1917.*
[*Received 7.25 p. m.*]

5701. Following revised notice, dated February 13, received from Foreign Office respecting dangerous area in North Sea which is intended to replace notice quoted my telegram 5544, January 25, 1917:

North Sea. Caution with regard to dangerous area.

Caution. In view of the unrestricted warfare carried on by Germany at sea by means of mines and submarines not only against the Allied powers but also against neutral shipping and the fact that

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merchant ships are constantly sunk without regard to the ultimate safety of their crews, His Majesty's Government give notice that on and after the 7th February, 1917, the under-mentioned area in the North Sea will be rendered dangerous to all shipping by operations against the enemy and it should therefore be avoided.

Dangerous Area. The area comprising all the waters except Netherland and Danish territorial waters lying to the southward and eastward of a line commencing four miles from the coast of Jutland in latitude 56° N., longitude 8° E. and passing through the following positions: latitude 56° N., longitude 6° E. and latitude 54° 45′ N., longitude 4° 30′ E., thence to a position in latitude 53° 27′ N., longitude 5° E., seven miles from the coast of the Netherlands.

To meet the needs of the coastal traffic which can not strictly confine itself to territorial waters owing navigational difficulties, it will be safe to navigate between the coast of Jutland and a line passing through the following positions: latitude 56° N., longitude 8° E.; latitude 55° 40′ N., longitude 8° E.; latitude 55° 36′ N., longitude 7° 15′ E.; latitude 55° 32′ N., longitude 7° 15′ E.; latitude 55° 22′ N., longitude 7° 45′ E.; latitude 55° 19′ N., longitude 8° 4′ E.; latitude 55° 22′ N., longitude 8° 19′ E., which is three miles from the coast of Fanö Island.

Also a safe passage will be left along the Netherland coast southward of a line joining the following positions: latitude 53° 27′ N., longitude 5° E.; latitude 53° 31½′ N., longitude 5° 30′ E.; latitude 53° 34′ N., longitude 6° E.; latitude 53° 39′ N., longitude 6° 23′ E.

PAGE

File No. 763.72/3859a

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Spring Rice)

No. 1485 WASHINGTON, *February 19, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: From time to time during the present war, as your excellency is aware, the Government of His Britannic Majesty have given notice of certain delimited areas of the high seas, designated as "military areas" or "danger areas," within which merchant shipping of all kinds, fishing craft, and all other vessels, were warned that they would be subject to the gravest dangers from mines laid by His Majesty's Government, and from hostile operations, and that they would enter such waters at their peril. This matter was referred to in the Department's memorandum of August 13, 1914,[1] and has been the subject of subsequent correspondence between the American Ambassador at London and the British Foreign Office.

As the question of appropriating certain portions of the high seas for military operations, to the exclusion of the use of the hostile area as a common highway of commerce, has not become a settled principle of international law assented to by the family of nations, it will

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1914, Supplement, pp. 455–456.

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be recognized that the Government of the United States must, and hereby does, for the protection of American interests, reserve generally all of its rights in the premises, including the right not only to question the validity of these measures, but to present demands and claims in relation to any American interests which may be unlawfully affected, directly or indirectly, by virtue of the enforcement of these measures.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 841.801/88

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 23, 1917.*
[*Received 1.30 p. m.*]

5876. My telegram 5701, February 15. Foreign Office in note dated March 21 states:

As from the 1st April, 1917 the dangerous area will comprise all the waters except Danish and Netherland territorial waters lying to the southward and eastward of a line commencing three miles from the coast of Jutland on the parallel of latitude 56° N. and passing through the following positions: (1) latitude 56° N., longitude 6° E.; (2) latitude 54° 45′ N., longitude 4° 30′ E.; (3) latitude 53° 23′ N., longitude 5° 1′ E.; (4) latitude 53° 25′ N., longitude 5° 5½′ E., and thence to the eastward following the limit of Netherland territorial waters.

PAGE

INTERFERENCE WITH THE MAILS BY BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS

File No. 841.711/1902

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *February 28, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received 10.15 p. m.*]

1894. My despatch No. 5177, February 16, transmitting French Government's answer to representations made regarding the forwarding of shipping documents.[1] Foreign Office in its note expresses willingness to expedite without delay the dispatch of pouches marked "Shipping Documents" if the Embassy will give assurance that the United States Government will assure itself that such pouches intended for other than Allied countries only contain bills of lading, consular invoices, or other shipping documents. Does Department authorize me to reply that this proposal is acceptable?

SHARP

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[1] Not printed.

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File No. 851.711/224

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Sharp)

No. 1572 WASHINGTON, *March 7, 1917.*

SIR: Please endeavor to obtain from the Foreign Office replies in detail to the following inquiries which have been addressed to the Post Office Department:

Are the letters detained by the French authorities of whatever nature to be later on forwarded to the neutral countries to which they are addressed?

Is this retention meant a delivery to a prize court after the war?

Is this detention meant to indicate confiscation for assumed infractions of an edict not affecting neutrals in neutral trade?

I am [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
FRANK L. POLK

File No. 841.711/1929a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)[1]

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 10, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4526. Numerous complaints received from American commercial houses, and confirmed by Post Office Department, indicate that commercial letters, shipping documents, etc., dispatched from United States to Greece are being returned to senders.

Please bring to attention of Foreign Office, pointing out hardship resulting from such action, and request information concerning reasons therefor.

Cable reply. LANSING

File No. 841.711/1911

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Sharp)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 12, 1917, 4 p. m.*

2064. Your telegram 1894, February 28, 7 p. m., and despatch 5177, February 16.[2]

Inform Foreign Office that this Government is unable to give assurances that pouches marked "Shipping Documents" contain only bills of lading, consular invoices, etc. Post Office Department is guided by statements of senders that envelopes contain shipping documents when making up special pouches. British Government does not require guaranties. Arrangement solely to obviate disastrous delays in delivery of shipping documents to consignees,

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[1] The same, on the same date, to the Ambassador in France (No. 2060).
[2] Despatch not printed.

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especially where perishable goods are concerned. Special pouches also used in forwarding shipping papers to United States from Europe.

Matter is of great importance to American importers and exporters. Department desires, therefore, that you express to Foreign Office hope of this Government that French postal authorities will adopt same arrangement as British Government. You should scrupulously avoid in your representations, however, committing this Government to present policy of Entente powers of examining or detaining mail to and from the United States.

LANSING

File No. 841.711/1943

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *March 30, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received March 31, 12.10 a. m.*]

1967. Department's 2060, March 10. In a note received to-day from Foreign Office in reference to nondelivery and return of commercial letters sent from the United States to Greece, it is stated that as result of a series of grave acts contrary to neutrality committed by the Royal Government of Greece for the benefit of belligerent enemies and to the prejudice of the Government of the Republic and of its Allies, the latter found themselves compelled, under date of December 7 last, to take certain measures of defense, amongst others the closing and blockade of the territories under the authority of the said Royal Government. Although this measure, of which the *Journal Officiel* last December gave public notice, involves the seizure and stoppage of all such communications, it seemed possible in the interest of foreign private individuals not to seize their correspondence but order its return to the senders. This practice will come to an end as soon as the necessity for the measure taken shall have disappeared. While awaiting this result the Foreign Office expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will only see in the return of correspondence a manifestation of the constant solicitude of the French Government to restrain as much as possible the difficulties which a state of war unfortunately involves for citizens of countries foreign to the conflict.

SHARP

File No. 841.711/1975a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

No. 4916 WASHINGTON, *April 6, 1917.*

SIR: The Department has received numerous complaints from American citizens that remittances to persons in Germany, Austria-

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Hungary, and to neutral countries, have not reached their destinations, owing to their detention, as it is reported, by British authorities. Many of these complaints have been forwarded to you for investigation and report.

In the particular case mentioned in your despatch No. 5425, of December 13, 1916,[1] special attention is invited to the statement in the British *note verbale* enclosed therewith that "in these circumstances I regret that it is impossible to forward the packet to its destination as it clearly falls within the class of documents in regard to which both our Governments are, I think, agreed that their transmission by mail confers no immunity from the exercise of belligerent rights." As the Department does not understand exactly what is intended by the words "no immunity from the exercise of belligerent rights," full explanation of the British procedure regarding the detention of drafts, securities, etc., is requested—i. e., whether such drafts are to be returned to the senders; if not, whether they have been seized as contraband and are to be placed in prize court; or whether they are to be detained until the end of the war. In short, the Department desires that you report fully regarding the intended disposition by the British authorities of the detained securities in "the exercise of belligerent rights."

This information is requested for the use of the Department and the senders or owners in this country and not for the purpose of urging the transmittal of the articles to Germany or Austria-Hungary at the present time.

Adverting to this Government's note to Great Britain of May 24, 1916, that "money orders, checks, drafts, notes and other negotiable instruments" may be classed as merchandise,[2] you are directed, on appropriate occasion, to inform the British Government in any discussion of individual complaints of this character, that this Government reserves all rights in the premises to press claims for unjustified losses or delays that may have been caused to American citizens through the detention of such articles by British authorities.

Similar instructions have been sent to the Embassy at Paris.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 841.711/1984

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *April 23, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[Received April 23, 4 p. m.]

6065. Your 4526, March 10, 4 p. m. Foreign Office informs me "that correspondence from the United States addressed to those

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[1] Not printed.
[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 604.

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parts of Greece which are within the blockaded area has up to the present been returned in the General Post Office, London, in accordance with the wishes of the United States Post Office." It also states letter-mail service from the United Kingdom to Greece is about to be resumed.

PAGE

File No. 851.711/246

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

No. 5477 PARIS, *May 23, 1917.*
[*Received June 8.*]

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Department's instruction No. 1572 of the 7th of last March directing me to obtain from the Foreign Office replies in detail to certain inquiries which have been addressed to the Postmaster General, relative to the arrangements made by the French authorities with regard to detained mail matter.

Representations were made at the Foreign Office, to which a reply has been received, enclosed in copy and translation,[1] stating that such correspondence has been preserved, and that care has been taken in order that eventually it may be forwarded to its destination. With regard to letters seized on the sea, a distinction is made between those containing contraband of war and those which are considered dangerous to the interests of national defense. The first of these categories is immediately referred to the prize council, which does not have to await the end of the war in order to render its decision; and the second category is kept apart until a definite decision can be taken with regard to it.

The Foreign Office adds, however, that the right of detaining such correspondence is in accordance with belligerent rights, as defined in exchanges of views between the American and French Governments.

I have [etc.]

For the Ambassador:
ROBERT WOODS BLISS

File No. 841.711/2074

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

No. 5527 PARIS, *June 8, 1917.*
[*Received June 20.*]

SIR: Referring to the Department's telegraphic instruction No. 2064 of the 12th of last March, directing me to inform the Foreign

[1] Not printed.

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Office that the Government of the United States was unable to give the assurance that pouches marked "Shipping Documents" would contain only consular invoices, bills of lading, etc., and directing me to express to the Foreign Office the hope of the Government of the United States that the French postal authorities would adopt the same arrangement as that of the Government of Great Britain, which does not require guaranties, I have the honor to inform you that representations were made, as directed, and I am now in receipt of a reply from the Foreign Office, enclosed in copy and translation,[1] stating that the French Government, desiring to accede to the request formulated by the Federal Government, has decided that all correspondence marked "Shipping Documents," shall be examined by the French Military Commission immediately upon arrival and then forthwith dispatched to its destination.

The Foreign Office requests that it be informed with regard to the date upon which the arrangement in question can be put into operation, in order that the control commissions concerned may be notified in time for new arrangements to be made in the premises.

I am [etc.] W. G. SHARP

File No. 841.711/2090

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

No. 6435 LONDON, *June 20, 1917.*

[*Received July 6.*]

SIR: With reference to the Department's instruction No. 4916 of April 6, 1917, in regard to remittances from American citizens to persons in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and to neutral countries, which have not reached their destinations owing to their reported detention by British authorities, I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the information of the Department, a copy of a note, dated June 19, 1917, which I have received from the Foreign Office in reply to my representations in this connection.

I have [etc.] WALTER HINES PAGE

[Enclosure]

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Balfour) to the American Ambassador (Page)

No. 117596/X LONDON, *June 19, 1917.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: With reference to the note No. 3821 which your excellency was good enough to address to me on April 25 last, regarding remittances sent to persons in enemy countries and at present detained by His Majesty's authorities, I have the honour to

[1] Not printed.

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inform you that the meaning of the expression referred to in your excellency's note was that His Majesty's Government were entitled in the exercise of their belligerent rights to intercept documents of this nature destined for enemy countries and to place them in the prize court, where those which were of a contraband nature would be condemned and the remainder dealt with in accordance with the directions given by the court.

Although the number of documents, which have been intercepted, is so great that it has not yet been found possible in the majority of cases to bring the prize court proceedings to a conclusion, no claimant has yet availed himself of the right accorded by paragraph 5 of the order in council of 11th March 1915 to institute proceedings for the return of the remittances which he claims.

I propose, however, to communicate to your excellency in due course certain proposals which are at present being considered by His Majesty's Government for the ultimate disposal of all such documents and papers as those in question.

I have [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
EYRE A. CROWE

THE REMOVAL BY BRITISH NAVAL AUTHORITIES OF ENEMY RESERVISTS FROM AMERICAN SHIPS ON THE HIGH SEAS

File No. 841.622a/292a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 8, 1917, 3 p. m.*

4417. Over five weeks have elapsed since the presentation to the Foreign Office of Department's 4520, December 1, 1916,[1] on the *Ausable* and other cases, without any indication as to the attitude of the British Government. Is not the time now opportune to make the proposal of arbitration mentioned in my instruction? I dislike to believe that the British Government would hesitate to adjust cases so similar as these are to the *Trent* case.

LANSING

File No. 841.622a/294

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 23, 1917, 6 p. m.*

4476. Your 5730, February 21, 7 p. m.[2] I do not wish to enter into further prolonged discussion of *Ausable* case, etc. Before the

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 667–678.
[2] Not printed.

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British reply is received, I am anxious to obtain, as indicated in my mail despatch No. 4520, December 1, an intimation as to the attitude of the British Government in the matter. If there is no hope that the British Government will discontinue their practice on the representations made, I desire to make the arbitration proposal in my despatch No. 4520, before Mr. Balfour replies. Before making this proposal, however, telegraph me your views.

LANSING

File No. 341.622a/296

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 26, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 5.20 p. m.*]

5761. Your 4476, February 23, 6 p. m. I have gathered from my conversations and [*at?*] the Foreign Office on this matter that the British Government do not question or dispute the principle we contend for. But their argument I understand will turn on facts in each case. They contend that German military system differs radically from British or American system and that a German reservist is not parallel to an American militiaman. Every such reservist is part of armed forces of enemy, he has an assignment in a definite military unit, he is at call of military authority. Officer reservist's pay begins wherever officers are as soon as they are called. The reservist now detained in Great Britain regards himself I am told as in German army, therefore, the long British argument now in preparation will try to prove that case of reservists is wholly different in German army from reservists in any other army and that they are in fact part of trained and organized force of enemy.

As to continuance of detaining reservists it is increasingly improbable that more will be detained because of physical difficulty of travel, but only for this reason and not because the British Government are likely to change their views. I do not believe they will yield main contention in this respect. I await further instructions.

PAGE

File No. 341.622a/296

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 28, 1917, 10 a. m.*

4485. Your 5761, February 26. Please telegraph me your views as to advisability of presenting arbitration proposal now or waiting until after receipt of British note. The point of Department's con-

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tention in its mail instruction No. 4520, December 1, is that persons are not lawfully subject to seizure from American ships on the high seas regardless of whether they are in the military service of an enemy of Great Britain. Further discussion of the facts in each case, therefore, would seem to be beside the question involved, which appears to be an entirely proper one for arbitration.

LANSING

File No. 341.622a/300

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 5, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 12.30 p. m.*]

5793. Your 4485, February 28, 10 a. m. Since the British note is in preparation and is, I understand, nearly ready I should withhold proposal for arbitration till the note is received.

PAGE

File No. 341.622a/314

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 23, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4747. Your mail despatch No. 5931, March 9.[1] Department is advised that on February 3 last while proceeding from Montevideo to Boston, two neutral ports, American steamer *Allaguash* was stopped in longitude 35° 40′ W. and latitude 13° 32′ S. by the British cruiser *Amethyst*, and visited and searched by Captain Earl of the British cruiser, together with 20 armed men. All hatches were opened, tanks sounded, and ship's papers and cargo thoroughly examined, with the result that everything was found in proper order; however, two firemen, signed on before the American Consul at Montevideo on January 19 in place of two seamen who had mutinied and were paid off in Buenos Aires before the American Consul General, were removed from the *Allaguash* by the boarding party and taken on board the cruiser. These two men were named Paul Bottcher and Gustav Spengler and are reported to be of German nationality. The *Allaguash*, after having been detained for five hours, was permitted to proceed on her voyage. Department is advised that the captain protested against the seizure of the firemen because it affected the seaworthiness of the ship, but that the British officer treated the captain discourteously.

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[1] Not printed.

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Please present this case to the British Government formally for consideration in connection with Department's mail instruction No. 4520 of December 1, 1916, and request that it be added to the cases protested against in that communication.

Please take up with the British Government the matter of removal of Germans from American vessels, and, while reserving all rights, state to them that it is the expectation of this Government that, in view of the entry of the United States into the war, the further continuance of this practice will be contingent upon a mutual agreement allowing reciprocal action in this respect by the two Governments, who now have a common interest in this matter as cobelligerents.

LANSING

File No. 341.622a/316

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *May 31, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received 2.50 p. m.*]

6318. Your telegram 4747, May [*April*] 23, 4 p. m., last paragraph. British Government while equally reserving all such rights as they may possess are most willing that there should be reciprocal action between the two Governments and that United States warships should remove enemy subjects or agents from British ships if any such ships carrying persons of this description are encountered.

PAGE

File No. 341.622a/319

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State [1]

No. 6338 LONDON, *June 1, 1917.*
[*Received June 12.*]

SIR: With reference to the Department's telegram No. 4747 of April 23, 1917, regarding the removal of two German subjects from the American S. S. *Allaguash* by the British ship *Amethyst* on February 3 last, I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a note I have just received from the Foreign Office in reply to the representations I made in the premises, dealing with the question of the arrest of enemy subjects traveling on neutral merchant ships.

For the guidance of the Department, I venture to add that my memorandum of December 29 last, to which Mr. Balfour makes reference, was based upon the Department's instruction No. 4520 of December 1, 1916,[2] and that a copy of the Foreign Office note of the

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[1] Annotation on this paper: "June 21/17. The Secretary says that this should be filed without answer now. L. H. W[oolsey]."

[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 667.

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30th ultimo was transmitted to the Department under cover of my despatch No. 6328 of May 31,[1] the substance of it having been telegraphed in my 6318 of the 31st ultimo, 2 p. m.

I have [etc.] WALTER HINES PAGE

[Enclosure]

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Balfour) to the American Ambassador (Page)

LONDON, *May 31, 1917.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have the honour to inform your excellency that His Majesty's Government have given attentive consideration to the memorandum which you were good enough to communicate to me on the 29th December last in which were stated the views of the United States Government on the questions raised by the removal, effected by the British naval authorities, of certain persons, subjects of a country at war with the United Kingdom, from the United States steamers *Henry S.*, *Marcus L. Urann* and *Ausable.* In your note No. 3806 of the 25th ultimo, your excellency requested that the case of the removal of two German subjects from the United States steamer *Allaguash* by His Majesty's ship *Amethyst* on the 3d February last might be considered together with those just cited.

Having regard to the entry of the United States into the present war as a co-belligerent with Great Britain against the German Empire and to the arrangement proposed in your excellency's note No. 3807 of the 25th April and accepted in my note of the 30th instant, by which the warships of each of the two countries are free to arrest enemy subjects found travelling on merchant vessels flying the flag of the other, His Majesty's Government presume that your Government no longer desire that the persons removed from the ships above mentioned should forthwith be set at liberty. It appears to His Majesty's Government unnecessary in the circumstances to examine the contention of the United States Government that a reservist called, or liable to be called, to the colours of his national army is not to be classed among the combatant persons who might, according to the rule laid down in the ancient treaties quoted in your memorandum and to the provisions of Article 47 of the Declaration of London of 1909, be removed from a neutral ship by a belligerent without prize-court proceedings being taken against the carrying vessel, or the further contention that, if any persons may be so removed, it is only in cases where their destination is enemy territory. It will be sufficient merely to indicate the practical grounds on which His Majesty's Government feel that to accept the view of the United States Government that a belligerent must not interrupt the trans-

[1] Not printed.

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port of enemy persons, however clear and unconditional their military or naval character, by a neutral ship without bringing the latter before a prize court, is under the conditions of modern commerce contrary to the interests of all parties concerned.

Your excellency's memorandum sets out the facts in regard to the theory and past practice of the Governments of the United States and of this country in the matter. His Majesty's Government would be prepared to admit the proposition that during the greater part of the nineteenth century the practice of the two countries was not to remove enemy persons from neutral vessels on the high seas without placing such vessels in the prize court. The conditions of passenger traffic by sea have, however, greatly changed, and experience has, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, shown that a reconsideration of the matter may be in the interests both of belligerents and of neutrals. The treaties referred to in Viscount Grey's memorandum of the 15th July last,[1] and enumerated in your reply of the 29th December show that there is warrant in the old practice of many countries for the adoption of a different policy, and the proceedings of the London Naval Conference show that the reasons which press in this direction have secured recognition among the most important maritime states.

The practice followed by British warships during the present war of removing enemy subjects from neutral merchant ships on the high seas while allowing the vessels concerned to pursue their voyages, even if it is a modification of the practice previously followed by Great Britain, is a modification which His Majesty's Government have adopted largely out of regard for the interests of neutral shipping. To detain a vessel and to bring her before a prize court with a view to proceedings to ascertain whether she had been employed by the enemy for the transport of the enemy persons on board, and was liable to condemnation accordingly, would impose great inconvenience and heavy loss on the owner of the ship, on the fellow passengers of the enemy persons concerned, and on the owners of the cargo. A return to the older practice in those cases where no questions affecting the cargo are involved, and where His Majesty's Government have no wish to secure the condemnation of the vessel, would seem to be contrary to the interests of all parties and to be tantamount to ignoring altogether the conditions in which modern passenger traffic by sea is carried on.

In the great majority of cases it is probable that His Majesty's Government would have no wish to press for the condemnation of the ships by the prize court and it would not be their desire to detain the vessels for longer than the period necessary for the removal of

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 653–656.

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the enemy persons on board. In such circumstances they can not believe that any neutral government would prefer that their vessels should be detained and sent in for adjudication by a prize court, in order that the ship's owner in each instance might have an opportunity of establishing that the carriage of any noxious individual on board was quite unwitting on his part.

The practice at present being followed is so clearly to the general advantage that His Majesty's Government do not propose to modify it and send in the (neutral) vessel for adjudication before a prize court except in the case of a neutral country whose government may express a definite wish to that effect, and which may be prepared to come to some understanding that they will not look to His Majesty's Government to compensate the shipowners for the losses entailed.

I have [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
W. LANGLEY

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PART III

NEUTRAL DUTIES

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PART III

NEUTRAL DUTIES

THE PREVENTION OF RECRUITING WITHIN THE UNITED STATES: THE CASE OF ADDIS AND BLAIR[1]

File No. 763.72111R24/30

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Secretary of State

No. 43 WASHINGTON, *February 15, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honour by direction of Mr. Secretary Balfour, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to have recourse to your accustomed courtesy in order to bring the following facts to the knowledge of the competent authority of the United States Government.

On July 8, 1915, an indictment was found in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California against two British subjects alleging a violation of section 10 of the criminal code relative to enlisting for foreign service.

It will doubtless be within your recollection that the question at issue was the interpretation of the clause in the Neutrality Act as to "hiring and retaining" (section 2 of act of April 20, 1818). It appeared to be the view of the United States authorities that the clause while permitting the collection and despatch to Europe of subjects and citizens of governments which had compulsory military service forbade similar action on the part of British subjects in this country.

As soon as I was informed that the matter had been taken up judicially I applied for a ruling to your Department and was informed that the matter being *sub judice* the Department must await a regular legal decision. In order to obtain such a decision it was agreed that the facts in the case should be submitted to the court without reserve and by consent. I informed you in my note of July 28, 1915, that I had caused British subjects to be informed that all steps taken with a view to assisting British trained men to return to England must cease pending an authoritative decision. I also informed you that my Government, according to its invariable rule, proposed to take no further action till the judicial remedy is exhausted.[2]

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[1] See *Foreign Relations*, 1915, Supplement, pp. 763, 771, 773.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 767–769.

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I venture to bring these facts again to your courteous attention in order that it may not escape your notice that from the date above mentioned—July 28, 1915—till the present moment, this matter has remained undecided. It is unnecessary for me to point out that the fact that no decision has been taken, and no change made in the neutrality laws, has had the practical result of debarring British subjects from the right exercised by other nationals, of assisting other British subjects to return to England for service.

In the opinion of Mr. Secretary Balfour the time has now come when it is his duty to invite your attention to the fact that the delay in rendering the legal decision is such as to give a reasonable ground for diplomatic representation and I am accordingly instructed, with all respect, to submit the question, by this official channel, to the consideration of the United States Government.

I have [etc.] CECIL SPRING RICE

File No. 763.72111R24/32

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Spring Rice)

No. 4917 WASHINGTON, *April 6, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, in due course, of your note of February 15, 1917, wherein complaint was made as to alleged delay on the part of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in the matter of the trial of two British subjects indicted for a violation of section 10 of the criminal code relative to enlisting men for foreign service, i. e., the case of the *United States* vs. *Blair et al.*

A copy of your note was transmitted to the Attorney General of the United States, and I have now the honor to advise you of his reply, in substance as follows:

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is doubtless aware that a delay in the action of a United States court (if such delay exists, which is denied) affords no "ground for diplomatic representation." British subjects in the United States who violate its laws are entitled to no greater privileges with respect to the courts than American citizens, and the rights of American citizens with respect to action of Federal courts are confined to such rights as enure under Federal statutes and under the Constitution.

In the present case, the defendants were tried in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California. They were found guilty. The judge rendered a decision (contained in his charge to the jury) construing, adversely to their contention, the statute under which they were indicted. This decision settled the law upon this point, unless and until it should be overruled by a higher court on appeal. After the date of this decision, all persons in this coun-

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try, whether Americans or otherwise, were bound to obey the law as so laid down. Your excellency has stated that the decision "has had the practical result of debarring British subjects from the right exercised by other nationals, of assisting other British subjects to return to England for service," but it should be borne in mind that the facts relative to British subjects are such as to make them liable to the penalty prescribed if they violate the law of the United States. Similar facts with respect to subjects of other nations would make such subjects equally liable to the same penalty. The terms of the law make no discrimination between nationalities; and if it does not have the effect of preventing certain nationals of other countries from assisting other nationals of their own country to return for service, it is because the facts as to these nationals of other countries are not, or have not been, identical with the facts relative to nationals of Great Britain.

The statement made by your excellency, in your note of July 28, 1915, that you had "caused . . . British subjects to be informed that all steps taken with a view to assisting British trained men to return to England must cease pending an authoritative decision," is acknowledged as an instruction to your countrymen to obey the laws of the United States; and a decision of the District Court of the United States is (until changed by a decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, or of the Supreme Court) an "authoritative decision." The decision of the District Court in the present case simply affirms what has already been decided to be the law for many years prior by other district courts of the United States.

Furthermore, the Attorney General desires to point out that in fact there has been in the present case no unreasonable delay whatever, and, moreover, that it has been by reason of the various legal maneuvers of the defendants themselves that decision was not had by the court many months ago.

The indictments were filed July 8, 1915. Owing to defendants' demurrers, trial was not had for three months, viz., on October 18, 1915, and a verdict of guilty was returned October 30, 1915. After motion for a new trial by the defendants, sentence was imposed October 30, 1915. The defendants' appeal was not entered and record filed in the Circuit Court of Appeals until December 20, 1915. The defendants (plaintiff in error) did not file their brief until March 16, 1916. The case was argued March 27, 1916, and the Government was granted leave by the court to file its brief, which was filed September 27, 1916. The defendants filed a reply brief October 5, 1916. Decision was rendered in the case by the Circuit Court of Appeals, February 19, 1917, i. e., within four months after the final brief was filed by the defendants. In view of the size of the docket of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit,

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and the very large number of cases argued before that court, the decision was rendered in an unusually short space of time. The court's action was exceedingly expeditious, and contrasts, on this point, exceedingly favorably with the practice of other circuit courts of appeal.

The decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals was disappointing to this Government, owing to the fact that through breach of good faith on the part of the defendants, the court did not decide the substantive point of law presented in the case, but reversed the decision of the District Court on the ground that the method of presentation of the case, i. e., by stipulation of facts, was insufficient. This failure to obtain a final decision was due entirely to the action of the defendants themselves, of which this Government has just ground for complaint.

I have [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72111R24/75

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Secretary of State

No. 325 WASHINGTON, *September 26, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: With reference to previous correspondence on the subject of the so-called San Francisco recruiting case, I beg to enclose herewith applications for Executive clemency made by Dr. Thomas Addis and Mr. Ralph K. Blair recently convicted by the Federal Court of San Francisco for an infraction of the neutrality law of the United States on account of their activities in facilitating the passage to Great Britain of trained British soldiers.[1]

I would not request you to be so good as to transmit these applications to their high destination were I not personally convinced that there was no intention whatever on the part of Messrs. Addis and Blair to violate in any way the laws of the United States, that they are persons of high character actuated by no hope of gain and have acted throughout on patriotic motives. There is of course no question of moral turpitude.

Believe me [etc.] CECIL SPRING RICE

File No. 763.72111R24/76

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Spring Rice)

WASHINGTON, *November 27, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: Referring to your personal note No. 325, of September 26, 1917, in which, with reference to previous correspondence on the subject of the so-called San Francisco recruiting cases, you transmitted applications for Executive clemency made by Dr. Thomas Addis and Mr. Ralph K. Blair, convicted by the

[1] Not printed.

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Federal Court at San Francisco for an infraction of the neutrality laws of the United States on acount of their activities in facilitating the passage to Great Britain of trained British soldiers, I beg to enclose herewith warrants of pardon in these cases, just received from the Attorney General, with the request that, as his Department is not in possession of the full addresses of these gentlemen, you will be so good as to forward the warrants, together with the accompanying letters of transmittal,[1] to Doctor Addis and Mr. Blair.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72111R24/77

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Secretary of State

No. 607 WASHINGTON, *December 14, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your courteous letter of the 27th of November, in which you are good enough to transmit to me warrants of pardon received from the Attorney General granted to Dr. Thomas Addis and Mr. Ralph K. Blair, convicted by the Federal Court at San Francisco for an infraction of the neutrality laws of the United States, on account of their activities in facilitating the passage to Great Britain of trained British soldiers.

In accordance with your request I have not failed to transmit the warrants to their destination.

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter I venture to express the hope that, if there be no objection, an expression of my thanks may be conveyed to the President for his exercise of Executive clemency. I would also beg you, if this be in accordance with precedent, to express, on behalf of this Embassy, a warm acknowledgment of the courtesy and the conciliatory spirit with which this difficult and embarrassing subject has been handled by the Department of Justice, with whom, by and with the consent of the State Department, I have from time to time conferred.

I take this occasion of reviewing in summary form the events which led to the conviction of these gentlemen. When war broke out the problem which presented itself to my Government, in an urgent form, was the collection and transport from foreign countries of the great number of trained British soldiers whose services were required at home. German and Austrian consuls were allowed to make money advances for the return of German and Austrian trained men to their native countries. I had every reason to suppose that my own Government would be accorded equality of treatment. After taking legal advice from the best available authority I caused Messrs. Addis and Blair, who had volunteered

[1] Not printed.

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their services, to be informed that there was no objection to their assisting in the selection and despatch of trained British soldiers, subjects of Great Britain and resident in this country, who might desire to return home to place their services at the disposal of their Government, provided there was no binding contract to serve on arrival in England. The Department of Justice took a different view of the law and proceedings were instituted. I at once appealed to your Department, urging that it was not in conformity with equality of treatment, or international law, that British subjects should be discriminated against on the ground that compulsory military service was not enforced in Great Britain: I also drew attention to the fact that the United States was in a similar situation and that it was not to be expected that such a discrimination should be made against my country by the one great power which, like ourselves, was not a military nation.

You replied that the interpretation of the law was a matter for the courts to decide and that you could not discuss the matter until the legal remedy was exhausted. You were good enough to place me in communication with the Department of Justice with a view to securing a prompt decision. An agreement was accordingly made with a view to this object. Unfortunately the case broke down on a technical point and it became necessary to order a new trial. I was bound to acquiesce. But the defendants, who were anxious to place their services at the disposal of the British and United States Governments, now that the United States had entered into the war, thought it would be wiser to plead guilty at once and appeal for Executive clemency in view of the peculiar circumstances of the case. They pleaded guilty: and were condemned to pay a fine (without imprisonment). The fine was paid but they were under the disabilities of condemnation for infraction of the law. Their appeal for Executive clemency met with success. And as far as they are concerned the matter is at an end. The legal remedy is thus exhausted and I now have the honour to recommend to your consideration the diplomatic aspect of the case.

Firstly, as to the plea of guilty put up by Messrs. Addis and Blair. It was not in any way an admission of criminal intent and was intended as a mere admission of the facts, submitting them to the action of the courts. So far indeed was there no criminal intent that they gave proof of a very earnest desire to refrain from anything which would be in contravention of the laws of the United States. Their plea was put in entirely on their own responsibility and presumably with a view to avoiding further personal inconvenience and an indefinitely prolonged litigation. It was not done at the instance of His Majesty's Government, in whose eyes the intentions of Messrs. Addis and Blair were altogether innocent. But

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the courts of the United States have condemned them and have interpreted the law in the sense that the acts done by Messrs. Addis and Blair were illegal.

Secondly, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government the law as thus interpreted is not in conformity with the law of nations or with the equality of treatment which Great Britain has the right to claim, and I have therefore the honour to suggest for the consideration of your Government that if this view appears to them well founded, such amendments may be introduced into the existing neutrality laws as may be judged right and proper, and may establish equality of treatment for the future.

I have [etc.] CECIL SPRING RICE

File No. 763.72111R24/77

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Spring Rice)

No. 1947 WASHINGTON, *December 28, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note No. 607, of December 14, 1917, wherein, in acknowledgment of my note of November 27, 1917, transmitting warrants of pardon for Dr. Thomas Addis and Mr. Ralph K. Blair, convicted by the Federal Court at San Francisco for an infraction of the neutrality laws of the United States on account of their activities in facilitating the passage to Great Britain of trained British soldiers, you review the events which led to the conviction of these gentlemen and express the opinion of your Government that the law as interpreted in this case is not in conformity with the laws of nations or with the equality of treatment which Great Britain has the right to claim, suggesting that, if this view appears to this Government to be well founded, such amendments may be introduced into the existing neutrality laws as may be judged right and proper and may establish equality of treatment for the future.

In reply I have the honor to say that, pursuant to your request, the contents of your note have been communicated to the Attorney General for his information and consideration.

I have [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

TREATMENT OF ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS IN NEUTRAL PORTS—ATTITUDE OF EUROPEAN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES TOWARD AMERICAN ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS

File No. 763.72111/4353

The Secretary of the Treasury (McAdoo) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *December 21, 1916.*

SIR: I have the honor to refer to the instructions to the collectors of customs issued in accordance with your advice, whereby they have

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to make a report to this Department of the armament of every arriving merchant vessel of a belligerent nation when the armament of that particular vessel has not been previously reported on, and await authority to clear the vessel.

This Department has noticed that the large number of such reports received during the last six months are all substantially the same, and does not recall a case where clearance has been refused. It further appears that delay and expense are entailed upon many of the vessels by reason of having to obtain authorization from Washington for clearance.

Under these circumstances it seems desirable that some plan be devised whereby collectors may not in general be required to request specific authority for granting clearance to armed merchant vessels.

I suggest that this might be accomplished by giving collectors general instructions under which they will continue to report through this Department every arrival and departure of such vessels, but will not require special authorization for clearance unless their examination discloses something of an unusual character.

In this connection I inclose herewith for your information, a copy of a letter dated the 18th instant, from the collector of customs at Boston, requesting that instructions be issued authorizing him to clear any vessel where the conditions are exactly similar to those already reported to the Department in the case of other vessels, it being understood that the assurance of the consul that the vessel is armed for defense only will be received before clearance is issued.[1]

Attention is invited to the collector's statement that this authority is requested to obviate the necessity of telegraphing or telephoning to this Department in cases where vessels remain in port but a short time and where it is a serious inconvenience and loss to the steamship companies if clearance is delayed.

In view of the large numbers of vessels which are daily being reported upon, I shall be pleased if you will give this question your early consideration.

By direction of the Secretary.

Respectfully,

A. J. PETERS
Assistant Secretary

File No. 763.72111/4371b

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Sharp)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 27, 1916, 3 p. m.*

1902. Press reports that French Government is issuing commissions in the Navy to all commanders of French Line vessels trading

[1] Not printed.

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to New York. Please ascertain if this report is correct, whether these commissions are now in force, and whether this policy applies to other French lines.

It is also reported that these vessels will trade between Halifax and Bordeaux when arrangements to that end have been completed. Please ascertain discreetly if this latter report is correct.

Answer by cable. LANSING

File No. 763.72111/4371a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 27, 1916, 4 p. m.*

4216. Press reports that British steamships now plying between New York and Great Britain will soon transfer their western terminus to Halifax where large sums are being expended in the development of dock facilities and railroad terminals. Similar development is reported at St. John's and North Sydney.

Press also reports British nationalization of merchant ships by fitting them with 6-inch guns fore and aft and by protecting them with disguised cruisers along the lanes of trade.

Please ascertain discreetly the truth of these reports and report as soon as possible in detail, telegraphing brief summary.

LANSING

File No. 763.72111/4395

The Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Treasury (McAdoo)

WASHINGTON, *January 3, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 30, enclosing the report of the collector of customs at the port of Baltimore, concerning the French S. S. *L'Erdre*, which arrived at that port on December 27 with armament mounted on board.[1]

This Department has observed that the armed ships arriving at American ports are in many instances commanded by men of naval experience, and that the gun is served by naval gunners, members of the naval reserve of the respective governments, or "demobilized" members of the Navy. I should be grateful therefore if you would issue instructions to the various collectors of customs to add to their list of points now covered by their reports on armed vessels the additional point whether, in case such naval men form part of the

[1] Not printed.

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complement of the vessel, they are in the service or pay of the government of the vessel's nationality.

In the case of the French S. S. *L'Erdre*, you are informed that this Department perceives no objection to the clearance of the vessel so far as the armament is concerned, provided the gunners are not in the service or the pay of the French Government, and that the collector of customs has received from the French Consul General at Baltimore a formal assurance in writing that the gun will be used only for defensive purposes. If, however, the gunners are in the pay of the French Government, clearance should be withheld and the conditions of the service of these men on the *L'Erdre* reported to this Department for further consideration.

I have [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
WILLIAM PHILLIPS
Third Assistant Secretary

File No. 763.72111/4391

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *January 4, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received January 5, 8.30 a. m.*]

1785. Your 1902, December 27, 3 p. m. Am informed by Foreign Office and Ministry of Marine informally that commissions in the Navy have not been issued to merchant marine officers. The press reports may have been due to advancement in rank of such officers in the reserve of the Navy which have recently been made. Naval attaché in reports dated November 7 and December 23, 1916, has reported to his Department fully on such propositions. It is also stated that it is not the intention to send vessels regularly between Bordeaux and Halifax.

SHARP

File No. 763.72111/4410

The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Jusserand)

WASHINGTON, *January 6, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: It has been brought to this Department's attention that on November 8 last, the French S. S. *Mississippi* fired on a submarine in the English Channel prior to warning or attack by the submarine. This report is virtually confirmed by the affidavits of the first lieutenant, the second captain, and the second lieutenant of the vessel, which is now at the port of New York. The following statement from the affidavit of the second lieutenant is pertinent:

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THE ALLIED INSTRUCTION TO THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN LIBERIA

Legation of the United States of America,
Monrovia, Liberia, May 7, 1917.

Honorable C. D. B. King,
Secretary of State,
Monrovia.

SIR: We, the undersigned, have the honor to respectfully request that you arrange an audience for us and the captain of His Brittanic Majesty's Royal Navy with the President of the Republic of Liberia at the Executive Mansion on Tuesday, May 8, 1917, at 10.30 o'clock in the forenoon of said day, whereby we may advise the Liberian Government to perfect its decision to sever relations with Germany, in obedience to instructions so to do from our respective Governments, which have been cabled to us upon our requests following the conference to which we were bidden by you at the State Department April 20, 1917.

We desire also on the occasion of said audience to bring to the attention of the Liberian Government matters, which we deem to be a logical corollary to the severance of said relations, in the form of proposals, a copy of which is herewith enclosed for your advance consideration and examination.

With assurances [etc.]

James L. Curtis
American Minister Resident
E. Baret
French Chargé d'Affaires
M. Y. H. Parks
Acting British Consul-General

THE PROPOSALS OF THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES

At a conference held at the American Legation, May 6, 1917, at 4.30 p. m.

Present: French Chargé d'Affaires
Captain Armstrong, H. B. M. R. N.
Acting British Consul-General
American Minister Resident

The consensus prevailed that the following proposals should be broached to the Liberian Government as the advice of said conferees:

1. That the German Consul be notified that relations are severed between Liberia and Germany.
2. That simultaneously a thorough search be made of the homes and place of business of all German subjects resident here, and arms and ammunition of all description found therein be confiscated by Liberia.
3. That the British war vessel with its marines render such assistance as specifically requested by the Government of Liberia.
4. That all German subjects should be removed from Liberia.
5. That safe-conduct for the German Consul from Liberia to his home be requested from the Allied powers.
6. That the names of German subjects willing to leave Liberia as interned civilian non-combatants be secured by the Liberian Govern-

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ment and also the names of those unwilling to go under such an arrangement, in order to facilitate any further action that exigencies may suggest to Liberia.

7. A reasonable time be allowed German subjects to arrange their business affairs, to wit: not less than two weeks.

8. That a suitable patrol of the city be ordered by the Liberian Government during the search and disarming of German subjects.

(*a*) Signal officers from the battleship are permitted to land for the purpose of communicating with the ship in case of any resistance being offered by the Germans to the carrying into effect of the suggestions made in paragraph 2.

Proposal No. 4

When the representatives of the three Allied powers advised that German subjects residing in Liberia should be deported, the questions "whereto" and "by whom" arose. Liberia has no concern as to where the Germans are sent, whether to France, England, or anywhere else. Her sole and only business is to see, as best she can, that their deportation does not entail on her future troubles. What Liberia wants is *assurance* and the Germans may be sent anywhere.

Liberia has not forgotten 1913, when for four months three German warships were in her harbor making all sorts of demands on her for the trouble which they themselves had created in River Cess, at which time all the world was silent. Liberia contends, if it is desired that she take a step which will benefit the cause of the Allies, she is agreeable to taking that step if the Allies assure her that they will stand by her when demands will be made on her by Germany for having taken that step.

The Attitude of the Representatives of the Allied Powers

When the question "whereto" was put to the representatives of the Allied powers they did not answer. Subsequently they met Secretary King at the State Department and the French Chargé d' Affaires informed the Secretary that he had received instructions that the Germans should be sent to France and that the British Government concurred in this. Secretary King then inquired of the British Consul and of the American Minister Resident if they had also received similar instructions and they replied in the negative. Secretary King then informed the Allied representatives that as the Liberian Government had received a joint note from the three of them advising the removal of the Germans, and had in turn addressed a note in reply to them jointly, inquiring where the Germans were to be removed to, he could make no reply for the Government of Liberia until he had heard from all of them, or at least from a majority of them, but assuring the French Chargé d'Affaires that he would take note of what he had said as to his Government's instructions.

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What Happened on the Fifth of June

On the fifth of June, by appointment of the three representatives of the Allied powers, the Secretary of State met them. The French representative handed in his answer saying that his Government required the Germans to go to France, that is to say, all of mobilizable age (none are over 45), and that the ex-German Consul would be permitted to return to Germany via Holland or Scandinavia in a ship that would touch at an English port, in order that the right of search might be made, and that under no circumstance was he to touch French soil.

The British representative then read his, which stated that his Government had been advised that the French Government was making certain representations to the Liberian Government in reference to the Germans which they hoped would be complied with as speedily as possible.

The American Minister Resident, at this date, was still without instructions.

Liberia's Reply to the Allied Representatives

Having heard from a majority of the Governments, Liberia replied that she was prepared to comply with the demands or requirements of the Allies, but was of the opinion that such an act would be construed as one of hostility and therefore would be prepared to do so when the three Governments, the United States, Great Britain, and France, assured her that they will not severally or jointly make peace with Germany without safeguarding her vital interests against German aggression after the war; and secondly, that after all the Germans have left Liberia, that Great Britain and her Allies remove the restrictions placed on Liberian commerce.

I am instructed that the Secretary of State convoked them and read Liberia's decision to them jointly, and discussed it, and then gave each representative a copy, which they promised to submit to their respective Governments.

The State Department's July 23 to Consul General Lyon

The State Department's July 23 to Consul General Lyon completes the assurance which Liberia desired before attempting to carry out the proposals referred to. For the sake of record the Secretary's letter is herein incorporated:

Meanwhile, it may be of interest to you to know that the Department of State received a memorandum from the British Embassy here, dated July 14, stating that as soon as the German subjects in Liberia shall have been carried away and the Liberian Minister of Foreign Affairs shall have stated that the German firms are being closed. the restrictions which were placed on the trade with Liberia

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will be cancelled, and that the Department cabled to the American Minister at Monrovia on July 18 that it regarded this assurance adequate and that he may, therefore, advise the Liberian Government that the Government of the United States sees no objection to Liberia's taking the contemplated steps with regard to Germany.

I have [etc.] William Phillips
Assistant Secretary

WITH REFERENCE TO RECEIVER LANGE

It is Liberia's opinion that the decision to remove Germans should not include Receiver Lange and the German doctor for reasons. The removal of Mr. Lange would put the board into the hands and control of England and France, a condition which threatens to nullify the American side of the loan agreement. If Lange is removed, Worley should be given a proxy in order to retain the balance of power.

OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO LIBERIA

1. That the Allies assure Liberia that they will not severally or jointly make peace with Germany without safeguarding Liberia's vital interest against German aggression after the war.

2. Liberia is of the opinion that when the Germans are removed the next step will be a demand that the German cable property be handed over to England and France.

3. Liberia is unwilling that either England or France should assume control of the cable and wireless stations.

4. She is quite willing that the United States should take charge of these institutions rather than England or France.

5. In the event that the United States will not assume charge of these stations, then Liberia will take charge of them with the understanding that the United States will give its aid and assistance.

6. I am instructed to cable the Department's answer to the foregoing.

I have [etc.] ERNEST LYON

File No. 763.72/6631

The Secretary of State to the Liberian Consul General at Baltimore (Lyon)

WASHINGTON, *August 30, 1917.*

SIR: The Department acknowledges the receipt of your communication of the 26th instant regarding the severance of diplomatic relations between the Liberian Government and that of Germany.

I am [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
WILLIAM PHILLIPS
Assistant Secretary

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File No. 763.72/6899

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

No. 122 MONROVIA, *August 10, 1917.*
[*Received September 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to report for the further information of the Department in connection with the previously reported proposed convention, embracing the matters and things promised and undertaken by Liberia, Great Britain and France, *quid pro quo*, that the said convention was not proposed or suggested by the Liberian Government but by the Acting British Consul General, who represented that he was under instructions to insist upon the consummation of such a convention by and between the Government of Liberia on the one hand and the Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain on the other, and that the Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain were in complete accord on the matter.

In private conference between the representatives here of the latter Governments, and also in the conference with the Liberian Secretary of State, I declined to concur in the necessity or desirability for said convention and the Liberian Government was not insistent on any convention. However, to meet what the Liberian Government believed to be a condition precedent on the part of the British Government, a tentative draft of the proposed convention was made and submitted to the three foreign representatives concerned, which I promptly declined to sign or discuss until instructed in connection therewith.

I accordingly cabled the terms of said proposed convention to Department, and two days thereafter the British Consul General advised me of his receipt of instructions to delete all reference to the convention from the joint communication to be transmitted to the Liberian Government.

As Liberia considers the counsel of the Government of the United States both wise and disinterested, the subsequent bringing of the views of Department relative to the convention to its attention sufficed to effectually and finally dispose of the convention proposal and to write *finis* to the vexatious question of the deportation of the Germans and the corollaries thereto.

I have [etc.] JAMES L. CURTIS

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File No. 763.72/6870

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

No. 124 MONROVIA, *August 11, 1917.*
[*Received September 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith enclosed for the information of Department a copy of the Liberian Government's reply to the protest of the Imperial German Government, through the Spanish Consul, against the contemplated deportation of the Germans resident in Liberia, whereby the thread of the narrative begun in Legation's No. 120,[1] is woven into a completed story.

I have [etc.] JAMES L. CURTIS

[Enclosure]

The Liberian Secretary of State (King) to the Acting Spanish Consul (Hoenigsberg)

249/C. F. MONROVIA, *July 17, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 3d instant, in which you inform me that you have been instructed by your Government to say that the Imperial German Government, referring to the treaty of commerce between the Republic of Liberia and Germany, dated the 31st of October, 1867, and with respect to Article 2 thereof, insists that this treaty is not abolished by a simple rupture of diplomatic relations, and that in consequence liberty of sojourn as well as of commerce remains guaranteed to subjects of the two contracting parties. Therefore, deportation or internment of the German subjects in Liberia against their will, as well as the liquidation of their businesses is inadmissible; and in view of the foregoing, you are ordered by your Government to "energetically protest" against any arbitrary action contrary to the stipulations of said treaty of commerce, and to formally declare that the Imperial Government has to render Liberia responsible for any damage that might result therefrom.

The Liberian Government, after a very careful consideration and study of the view taken by the Imperial German Government of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, between Germany and Liberia, and the effects of the present rupture of relations between the two Governments upon the provisions of this treaty, as set forth in your said note, now begs to submit the following as its reply thereto:

1. While it is conceded by the Liberian Government that all subjects of the German Empire have the right under Article 2 of the

[1] Not printed; see telegram of July 6, *ante*, p. 471.

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treaty of 1867, between the North German Confederacy and the Republic of Liberia, to reside and carry on trade in Liberia, yet it does not admit that by said treaty Liberia divested herself of the right inherent in her, as a free, sovereign, and independent state, to close her doors at any time to any foreigner or group of foreigners who for social, political, or economic reasons, she may deem expedient to exclude from her territories.

Realizing this inherent right, the Legislature of Liberia at its session of 1915–16 enacted a law regulating the residence of aliens within the Republic. This law provides, *inter alia*, that—

> The President of Liberia is hereby invested with authority to deport or cause to be deported from the Republic, any alien permanently or temporarily residing therein, whose presence would by the authorities be deemed a menace to public security, or who is otherwise or in anywise undesirable as a resident within the borders of the Republic.

The validity and soundness of such legislation, on the part of the Legislature of Liberia, has never been questioned or contested by the Imperial German Government as an infringement upon the treaty rights of German subjects in Liberia; but, to the contrary, the German residents, with the knowledge and tacit approval of their Government, have most cheerfully and willingly complied with all of its conditions and provisions.

The right, therefore, of the Government of Liberia to expel from the Republic such foreigners whose presence are a menace to its security and political safety being thus tacitly admitted by the Imperial German Government, it only remains to show in what way would the continued presence of the Germans in Liberia be in any way a menace to the Republic's present safety and security, in order to justify their expulsion.

In the President's proclamation of June 28, 1917, copies of which were duly forwarded you, it is stated that the engagements growing out of the definite alignment of the Republic of Liberia with the Allied powers now at war with the German Empire render the continued residence of German subjects within the borders of the Republic a source of embarrassment to the Government of Liberia. This fact alone renders the Germans undesirable in Liberia, and, therefore, in the opinion of the Liberian Government, would justify their expulsion.

2. The Liberian Government regrets its inability to follow the Imperial German Government in its conclusions that Article 2 of the treaty of commerce between Liberia and Germany, concluded the 31st of October 1867, "is not abolished by a simple rupture of diplomatic relations."

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In the consideration of treaties and their binding effects it will be discovered that there are several circumstances under which a treaty may be modified and abrogated. As for an instance: "When a state of things which was the basis of the treaty, and one of its tacit conditions no longer exists." (See Moore's *International Law Digest*, volume 5, page 319, paragraph 720.)

. . . By reference to the treaty of 1867 between Liberia and Germany it will be discovered that said treaty is not only a treaty of commerce, as would appear from the observations made upon the same by the Imperial German Government, as set forth in your said note, but also a treaty of "amity."

The title and Article 1 of said treaty read as follows:

TITLE

"Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the Republic of Liberia and the North German Confederacy, concluded October 31st, 1867, ratified by the Senate December 20th, 1867, ratifications exchanged April 28th, 1868."

ARTICLE 1

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Republic of Liberia and the North German Confederacy, their subjects and citizens."

From the above-quoted title and article of said treaty, it can not but be apparent that the basis of the treaty was that of "amity" or friendship between the Republic of Liberia and the North German Confederacy, their subjects and citizens.

The announcement, by the Liberian Government in its note addressed to the then Acting Imperial German Consul at this capital on the 8th of May last, of the rupture of its relations with the Imperial German Government was not intended as a mere empty diplomatic statement, but as a solemn declaration on the part of the Liberian Government of the breach, by Germany, of that "amity" or friendship which, according to the terms of the treaty of 1867, should be the basis of the relations between the two Governments.

Therefore, it is the opinion of the Liberian Government that the rupture of that friendship, which was the basis of the treaty between Liberia and Germany, operates as a suspension of Article 2 of said treaty until the resumption of friendly relations between the two Governments.

Furthermore "If a treaty," says Mr. Taylor, an eminent authority on International Law, "is consistent at the outset with the right of self preservation it is an implied condition that it shall remain so. . . .

"Therefore, a treaty which was not intended to be a menace to the life or independence of a state at the time of its execution becomes voidable the moment subsequent events invest it with that character."

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Now, the progressive destruction of that system of rules which have for centuries given security to international relations; the denial to neutrals the right freely to travel the ocean highways of the earth; the repudiation, without just and legal causes, of international engagements, are all acts committed by Germany in the present world's war, which seriously menace the life and independence of Liberia, and therefore at once render voidable, on the part of the Liberian Government, the treaty of 1867 between Germany and Liberia.

As to the request of the Imperial German Government, made through your Government, that a safe-conduct for every German without distinction of age and sex who would be willing to leave Liberia for Spain, or any other neutral country, be procured by the Liberian Government, I beg also to say that in view of the position taken by the Liberian Government upon the treaty of 1867, as herein above indicated, it is not conceived that such obligations rest upon the Liberian Government, except in the case of the former Acting Imperial German Consul and the German Receiver of Customs.

With the continued assurances of my high esteem and profound respect,

I have [etc.] C. D. B. KING

File No. 763.72/6869

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

No. 128 MONROVIA, *August 14, 1917.*
[*Received September 14.*]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith for the information of the Department a copy of a joint note from the representatives of the Governments of France and Great Britain, dated July 21 and marked enclosure No. 1, whereby are conveyed to the Liberian Government the instructions of the foreign offices of said Governments anent the guaranties of said Governments as to the canceling of restrictions on Liberian trade and the protection of Liberia from German aggression, and subjoined thereto the acquiescence of the undersigned regarding the statement that said representatives were so instructed and the accord of the undersigned regarding the advisability of the deportation of the Germans.

A copy of the answer of the Liberian Government to said communication, dated August 13 and marked enclosure No. 2, is likewise enclosed herewith.

I have [etc.] JAMES L. CURTIS

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[Enclosure 1]

The French Chargé (Baret) and the Acting British Consul General (Parks) to the Liberian Secretary of State (King)

MONROVIA, *July 21, 1917.*

SIR: The undersigned representatives of the Government of France and the Government of His Britannic Majesty, duly accredited to the Government of Liberia, have the honor to reply to the note 194/D of the Liberian Government, dated June 6, 1917, as follows:

1. That His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic are not now prepared to consider the proposal of the Liberian Government that the treaty of peace should provide to free Liberia from German aggression after the war, but the representatives of the two above-mentioned Governments at Monrovia are now jointly instructed to make a communication to the Liberian Government, with their American colleague, to the effect that His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic and that of the United States are willing to jointly give to Liberia a firm assurance that they will defend her to the best of their power against such aggression.

2. That all necessary protection from the sea, which appears to be the only side on which Liberia can be attacked, will be given during the war by His Britannic Majesty's naval squadron at Sierra Leone.

The above two paragraphs refer to guaranties against molestation of Liberia during or after the war.

The deportation of Germans to France will be arranged at once by the French Admiralty in conjunction with the Liberian authorities upon the above guaranties being accepted by draft convention from the Liberian Government.

The danger of German firms in Liberia resuming business after the war will have been removed by the winding up of such firms, which we understand is now in progress, and by the deportation of the Germans.

The removal of restrictions on Liberian trade will follow, as these were imposed in order to destroy German trade.

Upon the acceptance of the above guaranties by the Liberian Government, it is hoped that we will be immediately notified, so that the Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic may summon a French warship to effect deportation before the German subjects become aware of the action of the Liberian Government in this regard.

With renewed assurances [etc.] E. BARET
M. Y. H. PARKS

I acquiesce in the foregoing, and am in accord with the advisability of deporting the Germans.

JAMES L. CURTIS

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[Enclosure 2]

The Liberian Secretary of State (King) to the American Minister (Curtis), the French Chargé (Baret), and the Acting British Consul General (Parks)

No. 274/D MONROVIA, *August 13, 1917.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your joint note addressed to the Liberian Government on the 21st of July of the current year, embodying the guaranties which the Governments of Great Britain and France, and that of the United States acquiescing, are willing to give to the Liberian Government with respect to the deportation to France of the German residents in Liberia of mobilizable age, and the protection of Liberia against German aggression during or after the war.

In reply I am directed by the President to say, that the said guaranties are, in his opinion, quite adequate, and are therefore acceptable to the Liberian Government, who have, accordingly, declared a state of war existing between Liberia and the German Empire, as from the 4th of August 1917, and taken the necessary steps for the deportation to France of all unofficial German subjects in Liberia of mobilizable age by the French cruiser *Desaix* now within the territorial waters of the Republic.

I am further instructed by the President to say, that should the establishment of a naval base in Liberia be found necessary, by His Britannic Majesty's Government, in order to afford the naval protection contemplated in paragraph two of your said note, permission for same will be immediately granted upon the understanding that such naval base thus established will be within the jurisdiction of Liberia and will be promptly discontinued upon the termination of the war.

Assuring you of my personal devotion to the common cause with which our respective countries are now identified, I beg to subscribe myself [etc.]

C. D. B. KING

File No. 763.72/7241

The Minister in Liberia (Curtis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MONROVIA, *October 12, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 8.55 p. m.*]

Have been informed that all the German women in Liberia embarked last night on board Spanish vessel under safe-conduct from British Consul General for Germany with the proviso that the vessel must call at Gibraltar for search of their effects before

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touching at any point in Spain. Former German Receiver, Customs, following example previously set by former German Consul, sailed on the aforementioned Spanish vessel in violation of the terms of the safe-conduct granted him.

CURTIS

BRITISH PROCLAMATIONS AND ORDERS IN COUNCIL AFFECTING NEUTRAL TRADE—THE DETENTION OF NEUTRAL SHIPS

File No. 763.72112/3263

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 1, 1917.*
[*Received 3 p. m.*]

Proclamation December 29 announces following as additional absolute contrabrand:

Oxalic acid and oxalates, formic acid and formates, phenates, metallic sulphites and thiosulphates, soda lime and bleaching powder, platinum, osmium, ruthenium, rhodium, palladium, iridium, and alloys and compounds of these metals, strontium salts and compounds thereof, sulphate of barium (barytes), bone black. Schedule 1, proclamation October 14, 1915,[1] amended as follows: for item 8, "ethyl alcohol; methyl alcohol," substitute "alcohols, including fusel oil and wood spirit, and their derivatives and preparations"; for item 35, "aluminium, alumina, and salts of aluminium," substitute "aluminium and its alloys, alumina and salts of aluminium"; for item 41, "wolframite, scheelite," substitute "tungsten ores"; Schedule 2, for item 5, "fuel, other than mineral oils," substitute "fuel, including charcoal, other than mineral oils."[2]

SKINNER

File No. 763.72112/3295

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 13, 1917.*
[*Received 10.30 a. m.*]

Retaliation order, March 11, 1915,[3] under which in effect blockade is maintained, amended because of doubts as to whether the term "enemy" in Articles 3 and 4 of said order includes any countries other than Germany. Present amendment provides as follows:

In Articles 3 and 4 of order of 11th March, 1915, terms "enemy destination" and "enemy origin" shall be deemed to apply and shall

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1915, Supplement, p. 175.
[2] A similar list was received from the Consul General at Paris, Jan. 3 (File No. 763.72112/3275).
[3] *Ibid.* p. 144.

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apply to goods destined for or originating in any enemy country, and the term "enemy property" shall be deemed to apply and shall apply to goods belonging to any person domiciled in any enemy country. Effect shall be given to this order in the application of order of 11th March, 1915, to goods which previous to the date of this order have been discharged at a British or Allied port being goods of destination or origin or property which was enemy, though not German, and all such goods shall be detained and dealt with in all respects as is provided in order of 11th March, 1915.

SKINNER

File No. 763.72112/3385

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 22, 1917.*
[*Received 10 a. m.*]

Order in council, March 11, 1915, modified by proclamation dated 16th, promulgated 21st [as] new order, after reciting that German memorandum declaring that after February 1 neutral ships will navigate certain zones at their risk and similar directions by other enemy powers are in flagrant contradiction with rules of international law and treaty obligations of enemy and, therefore, renders it necessary to adopt further measures to prevent commodities from reaching or leaving enemy countries, announces that from and after February 16:

1. A vessel which is encountered at sea on her way to or from a port in any neutral country afforded means of access to the enemy territory without calling at a port in British or Allied territory shall until the contrary is established be deemed to be carrying goods with an enemy destination or of enemy origin and shall be brought in for examination and if necessary for adjudication before the prize court.

2. Any vessel carrying goods with an enemy destination or of enemy origin shall be liable to capture and condemnation in respect of the carriage of such goods provided that in the case of any vessel which calls at an appointed British or Allied port for the examination of her cargo no sentence of condemnation shall be pronounced in respect only of the carriage of goods of enemy origin or destination and no such presumption as is laid down in Article J shall arise.

3. Goods which are found on the examination of any vessel to be goods of enemy origin or of enemy destination shall be liable to condemnation.

4. Nothing in this order shall be deemed to affect the liability of any vessel or goods to capture or condemnation independently of this order.

5. This order is supplemental to the orders in council of the 11th day of March, 1915, and the 10th day of January, 1917, for restricting the commerce of the enemy.

SKINNER

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File No. 763.72/3443

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

No. 5822 LONDON, *February 16, 1917.*

[*Received March 1.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith, for the information of the Department, three parliamentary white papers comprising (No. 4) "Reply to the German Peace Note, communicated by the French Government on behalf of the Allied Powers to the United States Ambassador in Paris, December 30, 1916;" (No. 5) "Reply of the Allied Governments to the Note communicated by the United States Ambassador on December 20, 1916;"[1] and (No. 6) "Report drawn up by the Committee on the Administration of the Order in Council of March 1916 (1916).

I have [etc.] WALTER HINES PAGE

[Enclosure]

Report drawn up by the Committee on the Administration of the Order in Council of March 1915, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the President of the Board of Trade, and presented to Parliament, February 1917

SIRS: The committee appointed to enquire whether any avoidable delay is caused by the methods hitherto adopted for dealing with ships and cargoes brought into British ports under the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, and to make such general recommendations as they might think fit for improving such methods, have completed their investigation and have now the honour to submit the following report:

1. NATURE AND SCOPE OF ENQUIRY

Neutral vessels are brought into British ports under the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, in order that the belligerent may be satisfied as to the character, ownership, destination, or origin of the cargo which they carry. Whether any delay caused by the methods employed in dealing with ships and cargoes so brought in is or is not avoidable must be determined by reference to the delay which is inseparable from the effective exercise of this right.

That its exercise must involve some delay is plain. This would be true even if the belligerent were to rely exclusively on the older practice of search at sea. But we are satisfied upon the evidence that the maintenance of this practice is neither possible, in view of the increased size of ships, nor, in view of the conduct of enemy submarines, desirable in the interests of neutral lives and property.

[1] Enclosures No. 4 and No. 5 not printed. See *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 124–125; also *ante*, pp. 6–8.

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Not only so, but to exercise the right solely by means of the older practice would be tantamount to a complete abandonment of the right itself. The documents carried on a ship no longer furnish conclusive, or necessarily even presumptive, evidence of the true character, ownership, or destination of the cargo. The great increase of facilities by which goods can be circuitously conveyed to or from an enemy country, and the existence of other and speedier means of communication between traders than the ship carrying the goods, afford almost infinite opportunity for concealment. The documents which would disclose the true nature of the transaction, the contracts, correspondence, and cables may pass independently. Unless, therefore, the neutral is provided with better credentials than the documents carried by the ship, the evidence of the real facts has to be sought for by the belligerent from sources outside the ship.

Some alteration, then, not of principle but of practice, became necessary; and the machinery for carrying into effect the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, is the modern equivalent of the older methods. In order to determine whether the delays resulting from the modern methods can be diminished or avoided, we have considered it our duty to investigate, point by point, the whole of this machinery, and have examined witnesses from all the departments concerned.

2. Methods Employed in Dealing with Ships and Cargoes under the Order in Council, March 11, 1915

(1) *Visit at Sea.*—All ships intercepted by the patrolling squadrons are visited, the time occupied in so doing being about three hours, except in heavy weather, when delay occurs till the weather moderates sufficiently to permit of boarding. On a decision being taken to send the ship in, she is despatched under an armed guard to the most convenient port, called a port of detention; in the case of ships going "northabout," for the most part to Kirkwall or Lerwick, but sometimes, if westward bound, to Stornoway, or very occasionally to Ardrossan. Ships going "southabout" are detained in the Downs or sent into Falmouth or Dartmouth.

(2) *Visit and Search at the Port of Detention.*—On arrival at a port of detention the ship is visited by the customs officers, who examine the manifest, bills of lading, and any other relevant documents which she may be carrying, and prepare a detailed analysis of her whole cargo. Ships detained in the Downs are visited and reported upon in the same way by the naval authorities.

The question whether cargo is to be discharged or released has to be determined by different authorities in the case of westward and eastward bound ships, and the procedure by which information

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as to their cargoes is transmitted also differs slightly. In the case of westward-bound ships, the analysis of the cargo is sent to the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and the Board of Customs. If the ship is proceeding southabout and the cargo comprises less than 25 items, the analysis is sent by telegram, and if more than 25 items, by train. If the ship is proceeding northabout, the analysis, whatever the number of items, is sent by telegram. In the case of eastward-bound ships the analysis is sent to the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, the Board of Customs, and the War Trade Intelligence Department, invariably by telegram.

3. War Trade Intelligence Department (Eastward-Bound Ships)

In the War Trade Intelligence Department every kind of information which can in any way assist in disclosing the real destination and ownership of cargoes, gathered from various sources, of which cables, wireless messages, confidential reports, and intercepted letters form part, has been indexed, collated, and focussed as it came to hand. A separate file or *dossier* is kept for individual ships and traders, while selected members of the staff make a special study of all facts relating to particular commodities or groups of commodities. The Department is thus ready to prepare a report embodying all information relevant to each item in the list as soon as it receives the detailed analysis of the cargo supplied by the customs officers, or, in the case of slower ships, the manifest forwarded independently by the British consul.

The time occupied in the preparation of this report varies, of course, with the number of separate items comprised in the cargo. Where the manifest has reached this country in advance of the ship, all the necessary work can be done before her arrival, and in such cases the report is made at once. When the first intimation of the nature of the cargo is contained in the customs cable, this is impossible. But as a general rule the organisation already indicated enables the War Trade Intelligence Department to furnish its report upon a customs cable received in the morning by 3 o'clock the same day. Even in exceptional cases a delay of 24 hours is rarely exceeded.

4. The Contraband Committee

The report by the War Trade Intelligence Department upon cargoes eastward bound is then put before the Contraband Committee, a committee composed of a representative of the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and the Board of Trade, and now presided over by Mr. Ernest Pollock, K. C., M. P. The work of this committee is

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both onerous and responsible, and its urgency necessitates daily sittings. Its functions are to consider promptly what is the real ownership or destination of the cargo, to place the goods in the prize court only if there is reasonable ground for concluding that they are of enemy ownership or destination, to detain them for further investigation in cases of doubt, and in all other cases to secure their release at the earliest possible moment, without the delay and formality of prize-court proceedings.

In the course of their enquiry, the Contraband Committee have to determine whether the cargo in question is covered by any of the agreements which have been made with traders or shipowners, collectively or individually.

These agreements vary much in scope, but all result in lessening the inconveniences arising from the exercise of belligerent rights. There are, for instance, undertakings from neutral shipowners or consignees, either general or relating to specific shipments, for the return of the goods to this country in consideration of the ship being allowed to proceed without discharging here; undertakings from traders that goods shall not reach or have not originated with the enemy; undertakings to comply with restrictive conditions in consideration of bunkering facilities; or, again, so-called rationing agreements, which assure free passage to such quantities of particular commodities as are *bona fide* required for the use of the neutral country to which they are consigned. These have recently been supplemented by a scheme of proposed bookings or letters of assurance, under which shipments can be submitted to and sanctioned in advance by the committee.

The advantages of these arrangements are twofold. They shorten and facilitate the labours of the Contraband Committee and, what is vastly more important, they secure for neutrals the speedy release of ship and cargo.

In cases not covered by any agreement, the committee, upon the evidence before them, and in the light of the experience they have gained in dealing with other cargoes, are generally in a position to determine at once whether the cargo is to be released or detained in whole or in part. But if the available evidence, while suggesting an enemy destination, is insufficient for them to act upon, they obtain through the Foreign Office, where their meetings take place, such further information as can be supplied by our diplomatic or consular services in the country to which the goods are ostensibly consigned. Unless any such further enquiries are necessary, the decisions of the Contraband Committee are arrived at forthwith, and the whole of each day's business is disposed of before the committee adjourns.

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5. Enemy Exports Committee (Westward-Bound Ships)

In the case of westward-bound ships, it is the origin rather than the destination of the cargo upon which, apart from questions of ownership, the seizure depends. The decision of this question rests with the Enemy Exports Committee. This committee sits every day at the Foreign Office. It is composed of representatives of the Foreign Office, Admiralty, and Board of Trade, and is presided over by the Right Honourable Commander Leverton Harris, R. N. V. R., M. P.[1]

The methods of this committee are substantially identical with those of the Contraband Committee, but its labours are much simplified by the fact that it has been found possible, by the use of certificates of origin and licences, to give free passage to the bulk of westbound traffic.

The best evidence, perhaps, of the advantages of such arrangements in abridging delay is that during the last six months this committee has ordered only some ten ships into port for discharge, while many ships have been allowed to proceed without their papers coming before the committee at all.

Even in cases where the ship's papers are laid before the committee for consideration, a delay is not necessarily involved. Westward-bound ships often, and liners almost invariably, call of their own accord at a United port. In such cases their papers are taken off in the Downs or at Kirkwall as the case may be, and, if in order, are transmitted to meet the ship at her port of call.

6. Admiralty Marshal's Department

If it is decided to release a ship, instructions are sent by telegram either to the Board of Customs, or to the naval authorities in the Downs, and she is allowed to proceed forthwith. If it is decided that cargo is to be seized, instructions to that effect are similarly given to the Admiralty Marshal as well as to the Board of Customs, particularising the items which are to be discharged. The Admiralty Marshal then telegraphs the necessary orders to the customs officers at the port at which the ship is lying, who, acting on behalf of the Marshal, make the formal affidavit of seizure.

It is to be noted that, at this stage and in all subsequent dealings with cargo which has been ordered to be discharged, the customs officers at the various ports act as agents for the Admiralty Marshal.

[1] Sir Alfred Bateman, K. C. M. G., succeeded Commander Leverton Harris as chairman in June, 1916.

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7. Committee for Diversion of Ships in War Time

Simultaneously with the instructions to his agents, the Admiralty Marshal gives the Admiralty Committee for the Diversion of Ships in War Time particulars of the ship and of the quantity and nature of the cargo to be discharged.

This committee, by a system of daily returns, keeps in touch with the conditions prevailing in the various ports, and assigns to the ship the most suitable port for her discharge. This decision involves many considerations. Regard must be had to the size and draught of the ship, to the facilities of the port for dealing with the particular cargo to be discharged, to the supply of labour, and to the accessibility of markets, particularly if the cargo is perishable. The materials for such a decision are all before the committee in their daily advices, and they have the additional advantage that their secretary is a member of the Port and Transit Committee which was created to enquire into "all the difficulties and congestion arising at ports in the United Kingdom and to regulate the work and traffic thereat." The report which this committee receives, disclosing fully the position at all ports in regard to berths, labour, &c., is, through the secretary, at the disposal of the Committee for the Diversion of Ships. The selection of a port, however, is not finally made until the port authority has been communicated with by telephone, and it has been definitely ascertained that the cargo can be dealt with. Thus the committee confirm the correctness of their own decision and the port authorities on their side are informed of all that it is material for them to know before the ship starts from the port of detention.

It has occasionally happened on Saturday afternoons or on Sundays that there has been no responsible person at the port of discharge to give the assurance that the ship could be dealt with if ordered there, and a ship has consequently remained at the port of detention until such assurance could be obtained. This appears to us to be a defect in practice rather than in method. Such occurrences have been infrequent and the remedy is obvious.

Subject to this exception and to the fact that application has sometimes to be made to many ports without success, the choice is made promptly. The name of the port is forthwith communicated to the Admiralty Marshal, who now has jurisdiction over the cargo, and by him to his agents.

8. Port of Discharge

A ship which has been required to discharge is taken under an armed guard to the designated port and there awaits her turn. How

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soon she can be dealt with depends upon the degree of congestion prevailing in the port and the supply of labour available. Undoubtedly these factors have not been such as to favour a speedy discharge; but we find that every available facility has been provided and, unless preferential treatment is to be accorded to diverted ships, quicker despatch is not feasible.

If the ship has no agent at the port to which she is ordered, she may be under the disadvantage that no arrangements can be made for discharge before her arrival. In practice vessels have lost, perhaps, a tide from this cause, but the delay is due rather to the ship than to the methods upon which we are reporting.

Having discharged the required items of her cargo, the ship has not to await a further reference to the committee or the Admiralty Marshal, but obtains her clearance forthwith.

Subsequent evidence may of course cast suspicion on further items of the cargo, but should their discharge involve the removal of the hatches a second time, the practice is to give the ship the benefit of the doubt.

9. Procurator-General's Department and Prize Court

We have traced the dealings with the suspect cargo down to the time of its discharge from the ship. In all subsequent proceedings the Procurator-General's Department and the prize court are alone concerned. The affidavit of seizure having already been made, the first step taken by the Procurator-General before preparing the case for trial is, in the interest of claimants, to give notice of the seizure to the consuls of those countries whose nationals are concerned.

The goods have been put into the prize court on the authority of the Contraband Committee or of the Enemy Export Committee. The necessity for prompt decision by these committees renders it imperative that they should act on evidence less formal and conclusive than that which is required in a court of law. While the materials before them may raise so strong a presumptive case against the goods as amply to justify a provisional detention, the preparation of the formal case and of the evidence to be put before the prize court necessarily involves a much more detailed and comprehensive enquiry. The Procurator-General, who is also the Treasury Solicitor, controls the whole of the prize-court work. The actual litigation is conducted by the law-courts branch of his Department, which is in touch both with the Contraband Committee and the War Trade Intelligence Department. A representative attends the meetings of the Contraband Committee, and a branch of the Department works in the War Trade Intelligence Department. This branch receives from the War Trade Intelligence Department its report to the Contra-

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band Committee, and, from the representative attending the Contraband Committee, a report of the grounds for the committee's decisions. Thus the Procurator-General's Department has easy access to the materials assembled in the War Trade Intelligence Department, and is in a position to carry the enquiry beyond the point at which it was presented to the Contraband Committee.

The cases to be presented are of great complexity; the essential documents have generally to be procured from other countries, often after much difficulty and delay, and since the possibility of fabrication can not be ignored, the genuineness of the documents when forthcoming may have to be tested by further investigation.

If, in the course of preparing the case, the Procurator-General is satisfied that he is not likely to succeed ultimately, the court will release the goods upon his application. We would point out that any undue delay can be controlled by an application, on the part of the claimant, to the court, and that such applications have been very few. On the other hand, applications by claimants for postponement of trial have been numerous.

With regard to the prize court itself, we find that it is well able to deal with all, and more than all, the cases ready for trial. Not only are there no arrears, but the court disposes of its business by sitting three or four days a week.

Summary

Such is the system now in use. Described in detail it may seem elaborate and complicated, but the situation which it has been framed to meet is many-sided. In practice it works smoothly. It originated in the fact that methods of search sanctioned by usage in the past are now impracticable, and that the evidence which, in the shape of documents carried on the ship, the neutral shipowner and trader were required to provide, has been robbed by changed conditions of much of its value. Other evidence, therefore, or guaranties must be forthcoming if the rights of the belligerent are to be preserved. The system has been so constructed as to furnish facilities by which, if he is disposed to avail himself of them, the neutral can provide such evidence or guaranties, and so be assured of the minimum disturbance of his trade.

The present system has been built up gradually as the need for it arose. On the outbreak of the war there was little more than the nucleus of an organisation for dealing even with prize. It was inadequate for this purpose owing to the altered conditions to which we have referred, and still more so for coping with the larger situation created by the order in council of the 11th March, 1915. For these reasons not only has the old organisation been expanded,

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but the new and supplemental machinery, which we have detailed, has been set up. So considerable has been the change that it would be truer to say that a new organisation had to be created to meet the new conditions than that an old and inappropriate one has been applied to work for which it was never intended. A ruling consideration throughout has been the desire to impose on neutral shipping as little inconvenience as is consistent with the interception of the enemy's sea-borne commerce, and it has been very apparent to us in the course of our investigations how steadily the officials concerned have kept this object in view.

It is quite clear that by the establishment of the Contraband and Enemy Export Committees many ships which would otherwise have to be brought into port for discharge are enabled, after a short delay, to proceed upon their course. The committees act as courts of preliminary enquiry, sift the available evidence, and at once release the vessel when the *prima facie* case is not sufficiently strong. In the absence of such committee, all vessels stopped and all goods brought in would have to be placed in the prize court by the Procurator-General and adjudicated upon by the court.

It is evident from the very nature of the work both of the War Trade Intelligence Department and of the Contraband and Enemy Export Committees, that it tends to become both more expeditious and more effective as their experience and stock of information increase. The time occupied in collating materials and considering them can not, in our opinion, be fairly described as delay, much less avoidable delay. We have no evidence that any increase in the staff of the War Trade Intelligence Department would be of substantial advantage. The work appears to be decentralised as far as it safely can be, having regard to the fact that it depends in a peculiar degree for its efficiency upon the accumulation of experience by individuals. As a matter of fact, the Department is able to supply material to the Contraband Committee as quickly as that committee can deal with it.

Similar considerations apply to the Contraband Committee, and it would, in our view, lose efficiency if it were to sit in two or more divisions.

While the work of the Enemy Export Committee is comparable to that of the Contraband Committee, the questions for its determination are so different that the two bodies could not advantageously be merged in one.

The materials for the decisions of the Enemy Exports Committee are derived from the same source as those of the War Intelligence Department, and are collated and indexed, on a similar system, but by a separate staff. There does appear, therefore, in this respect to be a certain amount of duplication of effort, though the informa-

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tion obtained by the War Intelligence Department covers a far wider field than that required by the Enemy Exports Committee. No delay, however, is imposed upon ships or cargoes by this overlapping, and we have therefore not considered how far, if at all, it can be avoided.

It was not to be expected that a system which has developed as the necessity arose should have worked smoothly and well from the beginning. Until it was complete, there were undoubtedly stages at which delay took place. Ships, for instance, were at first kept an undue time at Kirkwall or Lerwick awaiting the visit of the customs officers. This was due to the shortage of staff, and to the inexperience of the customs officers at that time in the new work required of them. Again, there appears to have been insufficient connection between the Contraband Committee and the Procurator-General's Department, and it would perhaps be true to say generally that there was some lack of co-ordination between the Departments, and that information did not pass freely from one to the other. But these defects were remedied at an early stage.

The congestion at the ports of discharge, which is a persistent source of delay, is consequent upon a state of war. So long as that congestion exists, its effects must be felt by ships brought in under the order in council, as by all others; but they are dealt with in their turn and given at least equal facilities.

Owing to the geographical position of such neutral countries as Holland and Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the task of discriminating between cargoes of enemy or of neutral destination must be beset with difficulties. The various agreements concluded have done much to lessen inconvenience and promote co-operation. As a result of these agreements vessels are detained, either on the high seas or at the port of detention, only for a time sufficient to establish their credentials; they are not called upon to discharge any cargo, and thus not only save their own time, but assist the discharge of other vessels by lessening the congestion at ports. It is, of course, for neutrals themselves to determine whether the restrictions imposed by these agreements are not more than counterbalanced by the advantages which they confer. However this may be, it is, in our opinion, plain that their more general acceptance would still further lessen the occasions of delay.

It is a matter for remark that although the existence and proceedings of this committee have been advertised in the press of this country and of neutral countries, no specific cases of delay have been brought before us by complainants. It may not be unfair to suggest that when complaints of delay have been made they arise rather from objections to the provisions of the order in council of the 11th

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March, 1915, than to the machinery by which those provisions are enforced.

We have been unable to discover that, consistently with the effective exercise of belligerent rights, there is any avoidable delay caused by the existing methods of dealing with ships and cargoes brought into port under the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, and we do not offer any suggestions for the improvements of those methods.

In conclusion, we should like to record our appreciation of the zeal and ability of our secretary, the Hon. S. O. Henn Collins, and our assistant-secretary, Sub-Lieutenant Sir F. Newnes, Bart., R. N. V. R.

PEEL, *Chairman*
KENNETH S. ANDERSON
B. A. COHEN
K. WALLACE ELMSLIE
ALMERIC PAGET

S. O. HENN COLLINS, *Secretary*
FRANK NEWNES, *Sub-Lieutenant, R. N. V. R.,*
Assistant Secretary

File No. 300.115/12206

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

LONDON, *April 11, 1917.*
[*Received April 26.*]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith, in duplicate, a return of shipping detentions at Kirkwall during the month of March, 1917.[1] The Department no doubt will be interested in observing the great falling off in the number of arrivals at Kirkwall during the last month which, undoubtedly, is due to the fact that Scandinavian shipping has remained, to a large extent, in home ports on account of the submarine peril.

I have [etc.] ROBERT P. SKINNER

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[1] This report which is not printed indicates that the number of detentions during March was 14 as compared with the following detentions of preceding months:

Jan., 1916	51	Aug., 1916	98
Feb	51	Sept	110
Mar	53	Oct	107
Apr	72	Nov	87
May	99	Dec	87
June	93	Jan., 1917	57
July	115	Feb	34

A later report showed only one detention during the month of April (File No 300.115/12471).

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BRITISH CONTROL OF NEUTRAL SHIPPING THROUGH BUNKERING AGREEMENTS AND BLACK LIST OF NEUTRAL SHIPS

File No. 763.72112/3267a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 28, 1916, 7 p. m.*

4224. Department has had several interviews with Crawford, of British Embassy, on subject of bunker agreement. Several cases have arisen recently where American steamship lines have been told that they could not charter or use ships of other neutral countries, which ships had signed bunker agreement, unless American company agreed to bind not only chartered ships but also all the ships owned by the American company. Careful examination of bunker agreement and statement of subordinate British official indicates an intention to secure control of all neutral shipping through so-called agreement. If the agreement were limited to the chartered ships which signed agreement, Department could understand position of British Government, but the attempt to control American ships not requiring British facilities is entirely unreasonable and can not possibly be permitted by this Government. Crawford states he has cabled in detail to his Government views of the Department. Investigate subject and report as promptly as possible any information you can gather.

LANSING

File No. 341.115C71/1

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1916, 4 p. m.*

4232. Colombian Maritime Co. (Ltd.), New York corporation, president of which states no belligerent capital of any description is employed in its business, complains its steamship *Balboa* placed on black list. British Consul General, New York, explains to company this action taken because vessel carried from Buenaventura to Canal Zone goods consigned to Schutte-Bunemann & Co., New York, which is understood to be on black list. President of company represents British Government have refused coaling privileges to other vessels desired to be chartered by company because of this blacklisting *Balboa;* that it is feared agents *Balboa*, as well as shippers who may ever have occasion use other means transportation, will discontinue patronage *Balboa*, through fear being blacklisted if patronage continued. It appears cargo which resulted in blacklisting was carried on initial trip in which *Balboa* entered into com-

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petition with Pacific Steam Navigation Co., British concern, which had previously enjoyed monopoly carrying business between Buenaventura and Canal Zone, and that consequently any disadvantage caused *Balboa* will occasion corresponding advantage to British concern. Bearing in mind neutral character commerce between South America and United States, attention British Government should be recalled to following statements in its note October 10,[1] which do not seem to be entirely consistent with action in this case: First. "Government United States can feel confident this system of prohibitions will not be carried further than is absolutely necessary." Second. "To allow it to interfere with what is really genuine neutral trade of country with which we desire closest commercial intercourse, would be contrary to British interests." Third. "Self-interest alone would render His Majesty's Government anxious not to place upon statutory list names of any firms which carry on genuine *bona fide* neutral trade." Mention may also be made of British Government's disavowal of intention "merely to foster their own trade at the expense of that of neutral countries."

Communicate with the Foreign Office in the sense of the foregoing, and say that since it is readily perceivable that the effect of the Trading with the Enemy Act, as apparently applied in this case, is inflicting great and undeserved injury on neutral citizens and commerce, and since this action of the British Government appears to be contrary to the British declarations and assurances regarding the black-list measures, this Government believes that, upon a reconsideration of the case, the *Balboa* will be removed from the black list.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3268

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 2, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received January 3, 8.15 a. m.*]

5404. Your 4224, December 28, 7 p. m., 4225, December 28, 8 p. m., 4232, December 29, 4 p. m.,[2] and other similar instructions.

Lord Robert Cecil promises earliest answer possible in each case.

Unofficially in the course of conversation he said he was trying to prepare also a comprehensive statement which would cover as many cases of this kind as possible and explain fully the position of his Government and the principle on which it is proceeding. He went on to say in this private conversation that the whole trouble was at

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, pp. 462–465.
[2] Telegram No. 4225 of Dec. 28 not printed.

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bottom a submarine trouble. European neutral shipping companies whose ships normally ply between England and continental countries are alarmed by German submarines and seek business on the American side of the Atlantic. These measures of bunker agreement and objections to chartering are meant to discourage such European neutral ships from deserting European waters.

I remarked that his purpose was obvious but that the trouble was with his methods. But I felt sure we should welcome such a comprehensive statement.

The foregoing gives the key to the British action, and they use bunker agreements and such like devices in their effort to justify their action. Their comprehensive statement, so far as I can see, can hardly be bomb proof.

I ventured to suggest that he can not charter and insure Scandinavian ships himself and thus in a practical way avoid this kind of trouble. I venture also to suggest to the Department as a purely practical measure the encouragement of American coal merchants to provide coal for American ships at some American West Indian port.

I shall insist on prompt answers to each of your instructions.

PAGE

File No. 341.115C71/3

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 17, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 2.30 p. m.*]

5488. Your 4232, December 29, 4 p. m. Foreign Office informs me steamship *Balboa* has been removed from black list.

PAGE

File No. 763.72112/3315

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 19, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received January 20, 9 a. m.*]

5500. Your 4224, December 29 [*28*], 7 p. m., and my 5412, January 3, 5 p. m.[1] Foreign Office replies to my written representations based on your above in note to be forwarded next pouch; substance follows.

One of the conditions of British bunker agreements with neutral shipowners is that such shipowners undertake not to surrender the

[1] Latter not printed.

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control of any of their vessels to a third party without the previous consent of British Government, given only if such third party subscribes to the same conditions. Since the large majority of neutral shipowners in all European countries have accepted these conditions, it is concluded that they are found in practice advantageous to such shipowners. Regarding American shipping firms British Government has done nothing more than to advise them of the actual conditions in bunker agreements with neutral European shipowners to be followed in cases where latter desire to charter their vessels to third parties. Since a very considerable number of American firms have voluntarily expressed their willingness to subscribe to these conditions it would appear that they are satisfied some positive advantage will accrue to them from their acceptance. British Government is, of course, desirous that American shipping firms should consult it as to the trade in which vessels in their service may be engaged in the light of the possibility that such ships may be employed to supply enemy commerce raiders as happened in 1914 on various occasions. The use of the word "control" however puts the entire question into a legal and controversial channel out of which British Government would prefer to keep it. It is hoped that British policy may be now more clearly understood in view of present discussion of the matter between State Department and British Embassy.

PAGE

File No. 763.72112/3344

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *January 30, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4364. Reported that committee representing Entente Allies formed at London to supervise and control chartering neutral steamships plying between Allied and neutral ports, and that rates acceptable to that committee must be agreed to as a condition precedent to obtaining bunker coal in England. Investigate, and if this or similar measure actually in effect or contemplated give briefly your opinion as to probable effect upon American shipping and ocean freight rates.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3345

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 2, 1917, 10 a. m.*

[*Received 2.50 p. m.*]

5577. Your 4364, January 30, 4 p. m. Am informed by competent private authority that committee referred to propose to fix charter

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rates and in certain cases indicate persons of Allied nationality whom they approve as charterers of neutral vessels. It is probable that type of cargo and voyage will also be stipulated. Neutrals may bid against the price set for Allied charterers and, provided they are willing to perform the stipulated service, will probably be able to obtain the ship in question, other things being equal. British coal will be given only where conditions set by committee are met by neutral charterer. It is hoped by these measures to concentrate any neutral tonnage coming into the market on services most needed by the Allies and to regulate the movement of freight by the reduction of ballast voyages.

It is hoped the plan will reduce ocean freights and apart from the effect of possible high neutral charter bids it will probably do so.

PAGE

ARRANGEMENTS WITH GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS OF GERMAN ORIGIN DETAINED IN THE NETHERLANDS

File No. 763.72112 3351a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 5, 1917, 9 p. m.*

4400. In view of urgent necessity in this country for various goods long awaiting shipment from Rotterdam and in view of changed shipping conditions and loss involved in further delay, it is considered an opportune moment to present newly, and independently of all former representations, an urgent request for prompt and favorable decision in general ruling upon all applications pending for American-owned goods now held in Rotterdam awaiting safe-sea assurance.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3430a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 20, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4566. Department's 4400, February 5, 9 p. m. The changes in international circumstances since the date of the telegram noted seem to suggest the expediency and desirability of definitely disposing of the question of goods of German and Austrian origin detained at neutral European ports by a general or blanket permit to cover all merchandise of American destination which arrived at such ports prior to June 1, 1916, without other qualification. Regardless of conditions of purchase the Department is unable to see how the re-

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lease of these goods can benefit the German sellers, but it is plain that their continued detention will, on the other hand, damage the interested American owners. Through the undertaking given by Great Britain, whereby uninterrupted shipment was allowed merchandise proven to have been bought and paid for prior to March 1, 1915, goods to the amount of some $14,000,000 were released. It is thought that the value of merchandise remaining is approximately $3,000,000, a considerable portion of which is detained because of expiration of time limitation imposed. There has always been a certain amount of controversy about the sufficiency of evidence which formed the basis of rejections of applications in a fair number of other cases and the Department has been compelled to meet much criticism from interested quarters because of its inability to influence the British authorities in making more liberal decisions. Aside from these considerations much of the merchandise involved is subject to deterioration and the owners will have to meet losses caused thereby in addition to heavy storage costs. The Department believes that the release of this merchandise at the present time will be productive of much good and it hopes that the British Government will let itself be influenced by the considerations specified, which you are instructed to emphasize in your further unofficial endeavors to make the general arrangement about which you were instructed on February 5.

LANSING

File No. 763.72112/3437

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

No. 5901 LONDON, *March 7, 1917.*
[*Received March 26.*]

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Department's telegraphic instructions No. 4400 of February 5, directing me to present to the British authorities an urgent request, independently of all previous representations, with a view to obtaining prompt action regarding a general ruling upon all applications now pending for American-owned merchandise detained in Rotterdam awaiting safe-sea assurance.

In accordance with the Department's instructions I submitted to the Foreign Office such a request as above outlined, and I now have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of the Department a copy of the note, dated the 5th instant, which I have received from the Foreign Office in response to my representations in the premises.

I have [etc.] WALTER HINES PAGE

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[Enclosure]

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Balfour) to the American Ambassador (Page)

No. 35125/C LONDON, *March 5, 1917.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have given careful consideration to the note which your excellency was good enough to address to me on the 12th ultimo (No. 2954) representing to me the desire of certain American firms to obtain permits from His Majesty's Government to enable them to ship from Rotterdam goods contracted for and purchased by them.

2. I have assumed that the goods in respect of which facilities are desired have originated in countries with which His Majesty's Government are at war, although your excellency's note does not contain any explicit statement to that effect, as in any other event His Majesty's Government would not presumably be expected to offer any special facilities.

3. Without certain further particulars in regard to the exact scope of the request now made by your Government, and in regard to the actual circumstances which have prompted it, His Majesty's Government find it difficult to formulate any definite reply to your excellency's enquiry.

4. The request, as His Majesty's Government understand it, is that they should make a general statement of the policy which they intend to follow in regard to goods of enemy origin destined for the United States of America and now awaiting opportunity of shipment, and there appears to be a suggestion that this policy should be framed with a view to allowing the shipment of all such goods. The motives for the request are stated to be the changed conditions which have lately come about in the shipping situation and the loss which further delay in the shipment of these goods would put upon the American firms concerned.

5. If the object of the communication which your excellency has made by instructions of your Government is in fact as suggested above, your excellency will doubtless understand that a question of considerable importance would be raised which would demand the most careful consideration on the part of His Majesty's Government, and before proceeding to examine the matter in detail they would be glad to be assured that they have rightly understood the intention of the United States Government.

6. I have the honour therefore to request that your excellency will be so good as to furnish me with an exact statement of the points in regard to which the United States Government desire that His Majesty's Government should give a general ruling or statement, and it would perhaps assist them in considering the matter in all its as-

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pects if an indication could be given of the manner in which the present shipping conditions are held to have affected the situation.

I have [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
VICTOR WELLESLEY

File No. 763.72112/3437

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 25, 1917, 5 p. m.*

4753. Your despatch No. 5901, March 7, 1917. Department believes that its cablegram No. 4566 of 4 p. m., March 20, 1917, adequately covers all points raised in Foreign Office note of March 5 transmitted with your despatch concerning proposal for release of German and Austrian goods.

LANSING

File No. 300.115/12452

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *May 21, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received May 21, 5.30 p. m.*]

6260. Department's 4832, May 14.[1] Foreign Office informs me to-day that, *re* goods in Rotterdam, it has accumulating evidence showing goods are still being ordered into Holland from Germany by American merchants with object of shipping after the war, this evidence coming from intercepted letter in case of Swiss Clock Company of New York, some of the goods referred to in it being still in Germany and have not been paid for.

The United States Government would doubtless refuse to support any application for shipment of such goods but your excellency will see from this instance that if any further facilities are to be granted for shipment of enemy's goods from Rotterdam to America the utmost care will have to be exercised to insure that only *bona fide* applications are granted and that orders of this kind will receive no consideration.

PAGE

File No. 300.115/12464

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Secretary of State

No. 146 WASHINGTON, *May 21, 1917.*
[*Received May 23.*]

SIR: I have the honour to inform you that His Majesty's Government have given instructions to His Majesty's Consul General at

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[1] Not printed.

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diplomatic and consular officers, and reported with greater particularity and care. In some instances it appears that the affidavits which naturalized citizens submit to overcome the presumption of expatriation are taken by diplomatic and consular officers and forwarded to the Department in a merely perfunctory way and without any real inquiry into the true facts and merits of the cases. Thus it sometimes happens that naturalized citizens who have brought upon themselves the presumption of expatriation by protracted foreign residence, and are not really residing abroad for any reasons which make it possible for them to overcome the presumption under the standing regulations, are allowed to evade the law by submitting affidavits in which the facts of their cases are concealed or misstated, while other persons similarly situated, who submit true statements as to the causes of their foreign residence, are cut off from the protection of this Government, under the statutory provision in question.

In endeavoring to ascertain whether the residence abroad of a naturalized citizen in his native land or elsewhere is of a permanent character it is pertinent to inquire whether he owns the house in which he is living or has leased it for a long term of years, or whether on the contrary he has rented it for a short term only or is merely boarding or visiting friends or relatives. It is also important to ascertain the nature of the occupation which the person concerned is pursuing abroad, with particular regard to the question whether such occupation appears to have the character of permanence.

When a naturalized citizen alleges that he is residing abroad to promote American trade and commerce an effort should be made to ascertain the real nature of the business in which he is engaged, and particularly whether the promotion of American trade and commerce is *principally* involved and forms the bulk of such business. The name and address of the American firm represented should be stated. In a case in which it is alleged that the firm represented is American, but the facts indicate that the firm's domicile is abroad, the proportion of its capital owned by Americans should be stated and the nature of the business carried on by the concern should be explained. In doubtful cases an inspection of the place of business and the books of the concern may be necessary.

Among the most common excuses for protracted foreign residence are health, education, and the necessity of taking care of aged parents. As to the first, a certificate of a reputable physician should always be required, but it is obviously impossible to place absolute confidence in such certificates. Persons having perfectly sound health are rare, and nearly every person can obtain a certificate of a physician stating that he suffers from ill health of some kind. The general physical appearance of the person in question should be

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given some consideration, but it is quite important, in this regard also, to ascertain the nature of his occupation, and whether it is of a character which a person living abroad principally because of ill health could reasonably be expected to follow. It is also obviously important to consider whether the climatic or other conditions of the place where the person resides are especially beneficial to those who suffer from his particular complaint, or whether residence in the United States would not be quite as beneficial.

With regard to the matter of education it may be observed that the presumption of expatriation may be overcome by a person who shows that he is residing abroad temporarily to avail himself of special advantages, offered by the place of his residence, for the particular studies which he is pursuing. It may occasionally happen that a parent may satisfactorily explain his own protracted foreign residence by showing that he is living abroad to enable a child to pursue special studies in music, art, or some other branch of culture which can not be pursued in the United States; but as a rule it is not sufficient for a parent to show that he is residing abroad to educate his children in the ordinary courses of study, which could be followed just as well in the United States. Generally speaking such a reason for foreign residence would seem to strengthen, rather than overcome, the presumption of expatriation, for it is undoubtedly expedient as a rule that children who are to reside in this country and perform the duties of American citizenship should be brought up in this country and given an American education.

The Department has sometimes held that persons have overcome the statutory presumption of expatriation by showing that it was necessary for them to reside abroad to take care of aged and infirm parents and that they intended to return to the United States to reside when such necessity ceased to exist. In these cases the Department has held that "an unforeseen and controlling exigency" had prevented an earlier return to this country. It is important in a case of this kind to ascertain whether the parents are so situated that they actually need the son's presence, whether the desire to care for them is the true, determining cause of the son's protracted foreign residence, and whether he entertains a definite intention to return to the United States as soon as he can properly do so. It is essential to ascertain the attendant facts and circumstances in order to distinguish *bona fide* cases of the kind mentioned from cases of persons who return to reside with their parents merely for the purpose of inheriting property, or succeeding to the farming or other business carried on by their parents. In these cases, as well as the other cases referred to above, it is important to ascertain whether

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the persons concerned, upon going abroad, disposed of or retained such property or business as they might have acquired in the United States; also to ascertain whether, on the one hand, they left their families in this country or, on the other, have taken their families with them abroad or have married and begun to raise families since going abroad. The relevance of such facts hardly needs explanation.

When a person alleges that he will return to the United States when the present war is over special care should be exercised to ascertain whether the actual difficulties of travel or other conditions arising from the war prevent a return to the United States, or whether the war is seized upon as a convenient excuse to prolong the foreign residence.

When an applicant for an American passport or consular registration certificate is of military age his case should be examined with special care, with a view to ascertaining whether he has a true intention of returning to the United States and is temporarily residing abroad for some reason which brings his case within the scope of the rules whereunder the presumption of expatriation may be overcome, or whether the contrary is true and he wishes to obtain American protection merely to enable him to escape performance of military service in the country of his residence.

Diplomatic and consular officers in reporting expatriation cases to the Department should not only take pains to see that the pertinent facts are fully and correctly set forth, but should also be careful to state as definitely as possible their opinions as to whether the evidence is sufficient, under the rules, to overcome the presumption of expatriation. Unless expatriation cases are reported as indicated above it is difficult for the Department to make satisfactory decisions.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

CONVICTION OF THE GERMAN CONSULS BOPP AND SCHACK FOR VIOLATIONS OF AMERICAN LAWS; REVOCATION OF THEIR EXEQUATURS; THEIR INTERNMENT AS ENEMY ALIENS

File No. 702.6211/325

The Assistant Attorney General (Warren) to the Counselor for the Department of State (Polk)

[Extract]

WASHINGTON, *January 11, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. POLK: I have just learned to-day by telegram from the United States attorney that the jury in the Bopp neutrality cases in San Francisco has found all five defendants guilty on both indictments—that is, guilty of conspiracy to prepare a military ex-

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pedition, and guilty of a conspiracy to restrain interstate and foreign trade by blowing up bridges and ships in violation of the Sherman Law. The five defendants were Consul General Bopp, the Vice Consul, Von Schack, the Attaché of the Consul, Von Brincken, the Consul General's spy, Charles C. Crowley, and another of his tools, Margaret Cornell. . . .

Yours very cordially,

CHARLES WARREN

File No. 702.6211/265

The German Ambassador (Bernstorff) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

J. No. B 473 WASHINGTON, *January 12, 1917.*
[*Received January 13.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: The Imperial Consul General Franz Bopp has been relieved by me from his office at San Francisco, Calif., until further orders. I have temporarily placed in charge of the office the Imperial Consul General Erich Zoepffel, now at Seattle, Wash. The Imperial Consul Emil Ohrt, formerly at Kobe, Japan, now detailed to the Consulate at Cincinnati, Ohio, will provisionally take charge of the Consulate in Mr. Zoepffel's place.

I have the honor to ask that Herr Zoepffel at San Francisco and Herr Ohrt at Seattle be provisionally authorized to discharge their consular duties.

Vice Consul von Schack, at San Francisco, has likewise been provisionally relieved from his office.

Accept [etc.] J. BERNSTORFF

File No. 702.6211/265b

The Secretary of State to the German Ambassador (Bernstorff)

No. 2291 WASHINGTON, *January 22, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: This Department is in receipt of information from the Department of Justice that Mr. Franz Bopp, Consul General of your Government at San Francisco, Calif., has been indicted and convicted in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California for violation of the criminal laws of the United States.

Under these circumstances, it is my regrettable duty to inform you that Mr. Franz Bopp has ceased to be *persona grata* in the office of Consul General of Germany at San Francisco.

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I have the honor, therefore, to enclose the formal revocation and annulment of the exequatur issued to him in that capacity.[1] The appropriate officers of this Government have this date been informed of this action and I shall be obliged if you will make it known to Mr. Bopp.

I shall be further obliged if, in communicating this information to your Government, you will be so good as to express the Department's regret at this occasion which makes its action necessary and to announce the pleasure with which the Department will receive a request from your Government for the recognition of a new consul general at San Francisco.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 702.6211/265

The Secretary of State to the German Ambassador (Bernstorff)

No. 2292 WASHINGTON, *January 22, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note No. B 473 of January 12 in regard to the disposition of Mr. Franz Bopp, formerly Consul General at San Francisco, Mr. Erich Zoepffel, lately at Seattle, Mr. Emil Ohrt, lately at Cincinnati, and Mr. Eckhard von Schack, lately at San Francisco. It is understood that Mr. von Schack, who was indicted and convicted, together with Consul General Franz Bopp and others, in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California for violation of the criminal laws of the United States, has not been recognized by this Government since July 13, 1914, when provisional recognition was accorded him as being in charge of the German Consulate General at San Francisco, during the absence of the Consul on leave for six months.

Owing to the new assignments of Mr. Zoepffel at San Francisco and Mr. Ohrt at Seattle, provisional recognition is hereby accorded them as being in charge of the consular offices of your Government in those cities pending the receipt of the commissions of formally appointed officers and the issuance of their exequaturs.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 702.6211/277

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

Department of German Interests I 3 WASHINGTON, *February 28, 1917.* [*Received March 1.*]

SIR: This Legation had not failed to cable to the Swiss Government a complete list of all persons included in the official suite of

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[1] Not printed.

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the former German Ambassador when he left this country. We had then added that, according to information given verbally by your Department to this Legation, German Consul General Bopp, Vice Consul von Schack, and Chancellor Kaufmann, all of whom located at San Francisco, were detained by the court and could not leave the United States. In reply to this, the German Government has addressed to the Swiss Legation at Berlin the following note, dated February 22:

As the Swiss Legation communicates, the American Government is retaining in San Francisco German Consul General Bopp, Vice Consul von Schack, and Chancellor Kaufmann because of legal proceedings against them. The German Government has only incomplete and unofficial news regarding these proceedings. It is not in a position to judge whether, against its firm conviction, these three officials are really guilty of offenses against American laws. The latter seems improbable inasmuch as they are three officials of the same office, and it is hardly to be presumed that three members of the same office would commit in common the offense of transgressing the limits of the competency attached to their official position and infringing upon the laws of the United States. It seems more logical to believe their alleged offense to be the result of an erroneous conception on the part of the prosecuting officials of certain official acts of the former. However, the German Government fully agrees with the United States Government that persons violating the laws of the country, whether private citizens or officials, have to be treated according to these laws and that they cannot be exempted from prosecution. On the other hand, the German Government believes that the American Government is not unaware of the difficulties existing at the present moment in adhering to and applying this principle. It is of the opinion that the best solution of these difficulties would be found in an agreement that in view of the breach of diplomatic relations and the attendant discontinuance of consular rights and immunities the prosecution of actions taken in an official capacity and which presumably exceeded their rights be stayed. Practically, this would mean that legal proceedings against the three German officials would be deferred until after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States. The German Foreign Office prays the Swiss Legation to inform the United States Government of this opinion and to invite the latter to ask the three officials whether they will declare that after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations they will place themselves at the disposal of the American courts for the completion of the case against them. In case the three officials agree to this declaration and the United States Government accordingly agrees to free departure from the United States of the three men, the German Government hereby expressly assures that it will oblige the three officials to place themselves at the disposal of the courts of San Francisco after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. Should the United States Government hesitate to allow the three officials free return to Ger-

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many, then the German Government proposes to approach a neutral government, perhaps the Spanish or the Swiss, to receive the three men during the suspension of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The neutral government in question would then be asked by the German Government also to oblige the three officials to return to the United States after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations.

I have the honor to inform your excellency of the above according to instructions received from my Government.

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 702.6211/277

The Acting Secretary of State to the Swiss Minister (Ritter)

No. 396 WASHINGTON, *March 3, 1917.*

SIR: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your note of February 28, transmitting the proposal of the Imperial German Government that Messrs. Bopp, von Schack, and Kaufmann be allowed freely to leave this country on the understanding that they will, upon the resumption of diplomatic relations, return to the United States and place themselves under the jurisdiction of the courts to stand trial on the charges which have been made against them.

I note the intimation in the German Government's communication that under existing circumstances the Government of the United States would experience difficulty in affording a fair trial to these German officials. I can not allow this unwarranted assumption to pass without comment.

Not only is there no ground for the doubts expressed on this score, but the German Government must have been able to observe for itself that in the treatment accorded Count von Bernstorff and to German officials and subjects generally the American Government and people have shown the most scrupulous regard for their obligations of protection and courtesy. In view of your opportunities for observing German subjects and interests in this country, I need hardly assure you that nothing has occurred to warrant any doubt as to the ability or willingness of the courts of this country to administer justice with their usual fairness.

I can not see that any reasons exist which would warrant this Government in acceding to the rather unusual request of the Imperial German Government and will be much obliged if you will so inform it.

Accept [etc.] FRANK L. POLK

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File No. 763.72111/5685

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests XI 20

MEMORANDUM

The Minister of Switzerland, representing German interests in the United States, presents his compliments to the Secretary of State, and has the honor to communicate to his excellency text of a cable message received from the Swiss Foreign Office:

According to information [received] new proceedings to be instituted against German Consul General Bopp and Vice Consul Schack, interned Fort McDowell, for alleged violation American neutrality. Imperial Office requests confirmation and eventually counts of charges brought against these two officers. If bail can prevent imprisonment pending trial it is to be charged to German fund.[1]

The Minister begs leave to inquire the details regarding the present state of the judicial processes in which former Consul General Bopp and former Vice Consul von Schack are involved, in order that he may duly inform his Government regarding the same.

In the event that the Government of the United States is disposed to release these men on bail, pending the trial of the indictments found against them, the Minister has the honor to inform his excellency that the Legation will arrange the necessary bail as security for their due appearance in court.

WASHINGTON, *October 17, 1917.*

File No. 763.72111/6716

The Attorney General (Gregory) to the Secretary of State[2]

WASHINGTON, *October 25, 1917.*

SIR: The Department is in receipt of your letter of October 19, 1917,[3] transmitting a memorandum from the Swiss Minister relative to the cases of former German Consul General Bopp and former German Vice Consul von Schack.

In reply to the request for details regarding the present state of the judicial processes in which Consul General Bopp and Vice Consul von Schack are involved, I desire to say as follows:

Bopp and Von Schack were indicted for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and for violation of Section 13 of the Federal Penal Code, relative to military enterprises and expeditions within

[1] Original text in French.
[2] Copy transmitted to Swiss Legation Oct. 31, 1917.
[3] Not printed.

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the United States. They were tried by a jury in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, were found guilty, and were duly sentenced to terms of imprisonment and fines. They took an appeal in the cases and were admitted to bail pending appeal. While the appeal was pending, a state of war was declared with Germany, and under the President's proclamation of April 6, 1917, relative to alien enemies, Bopp and Von Schack were arrested and interned.

During such internment another and separate indictment was found against Bopp and Von Schack by the grand jury for violation of Section 13 of the Federal criminal laws, relative to military enterprises or expeditions, connected with the *Maverick*, the *Annie Larsen*, and the so-called Hindu plots. This indictment related to an entirely different crime from that for which Bopp and Von Schack had been already tried and convicted. They will be put upon trial on the latest indictment sometime during November, 1917.

I desire to say that in no event will this Department assent to the release of these men on bail pending the trial on the indictment, inasmuch as they are now interned alien enemies.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General:
CHARLES WARREN
Assistant Attorney General

THE RETURN OF DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS FROM THEIR POSTS UPON THE SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THEIR COUNTRIES

Return of the American Ambassador from Germany

File No. 124.62/20a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Germany (Gerard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 1 p. m.*

3860. The President will address Congress to-day at 2 o'clock and at the same hour passports will be handed to Count Bernstorff and the members of his suite. You may request the German Government to deliver passports to you and your staff, and you will leave Germany as soon as practicable. You and Grew to return to the United States; Wilson is assigned to Switzerland; Kirk to The Hague; Scotten and Osborne to London.

Refer to Department's 2944 of April 28, 1916,[1] and request the Spanish Ambassador to be so good as to care for American diplomatic and consular interests in Germany. The Department has telegraphed to Madrid making this formal request of the Spanish Government.

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 249.

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Refer to Department's 2962 of May 1, 1916, and act accordingly.[1] Department has informed London that you will entrust British interests to Netherland Minister; has informed Tokyo that you will entrust Japanese interests to the Spanish Government; has informed the Serbian Government that the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin will care for Serbian interests; and until the Department has received information from the Roumanian Government you may also entrust Roumanian interests to the Spanish Embassy.

Follow Department's 2944 regarding books, vouchers, and accounts relating to expenditures out of funds belonging to British, Japanese, and Serbian Governments. Follow also same procedure with regard to Roumanian funds.

Destroy special green and green ciphers, and deliver other ciphers to Spanish Ambassador.

Your 4971, January 31.[1] You may lease Embassy for another year, beginning July 1.

Advise all American citizens to leave Germany at once. All Embassy special assistants should accompany you and Grew to the United States.

Direct consular officers, including agents, to place consulates and archives in custody of representatives of Spain and proceed with American clerks, including war-relief clerks and George Vaze, to United States where they will be given leave of absence in Department's discretion; except Quarton and Gray who should report to Consul General at Rotterdam, and Reilly to Consul General, Stockholm, and Harter to Consul General, Copenhagen for duty.

Expenses of transportation of families and of storage of household and personal effects or rent of residence where storage not possible or lease of residence not terminable will be paid from time to time upon receipt of accounts and vouchers. Codes, cipher messages or translations, seals and accounts, including all accounts, vouchers, and papers relating to expenses of representing foreign interests and for individual relief, should be delivered to Embassy for transmission to Department.

Rent of offices to March 31 should be paid. Also pay salaries of clerks and employees who are not American citizens to March 31 when services of foreign subjects will terminate. Take receipts covering full period of each payment. Embassy should deliver to Spanish Ambassador list of future payments to be made for rent and similar obligatory expenses of Embassy and consulates after March 31 with blanks and instructions covering such payments. Discontinue all expenses not obligatory.

All money on hand belonging to United States in excess of payments herein authorized should be deposited with Embassy and re-

[1] Not printed.

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ceipt taken. Embassy should deliver to Spanish Ambassador amount sufficient to meet expenses of Embassy and consulates for six months taking receipts therefor. Remainder should be converted into New York exchange to be brought to Washington. Funds held on account of foreign governments for relief and other purposes should be delivered to diplomatic representatives selected by those governments to take charge of their interests taking and forwarding to Department receipts in triplicate for exact amount so delivered.

Commissions of vice consuls of German nationality will be canceled and Foreign Office should be so notified before leaving.

LANSING

File No. 124.62/21

The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERLIN, *February 5, 1917.*
[*Received February 6, 3.55 p. m.*]

5002. Foreign Office informs me that I and my staff will not be permitted to leave Germany until definite information is received regarding arrangements made for departure of Count Bernstorff and his staff from the United States. Please answer urgently with full details also as to consuls. Foreign Office will send cable to Bernstorff in cipher which censor at Sayville has and hopes it will be delivered. We are not allowed to telegraph to our consuls until we hear your dispositions what [*as to*] German consuls then on [*return*]. Reports here German ships and crews have been seized, and Foreign Office says prisoners on *Yarrowdale* will not be released until news comes that these reports are not true.

GERARD

File No. 701.6211/413a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 6, 1917, 6 p. m.*

222. For paraphrase and transmission through Foreign Office to Spanish Ambassador at Berlin.

Your 5002, February 5. United States Government surprised at attitude of German Government. Complete arrangements have been made for departure of Count and Countess Bernstorff, the Embassy staff, and all German consuls in the United States, with their families, as stated in my 213, February 5.[1] All, about 200 in number, will sail on *Frederik VIII*, February 13. In view of complete arrangements in detail for departure of Ambassador and consuls with their fami-

[1] *Post*, p. 591.

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lies, and extension of every courtesy, consideration, and protection to them in the United States, United States Government expect the German Government will place no obstacle in the way of arrangements for departure, and for actual departure of American Ambassador and consuls, with their families and staffs.

Before Count Bernstorff was given his passports, German steamer *Liebenfels* was sunk in Charleston harbor, forming obstruction to navigation. At about the same time German vessels at Honolulu, Pensacola, and elsewhere were disabled by crews, and became a possible danger to shipping. On account of these incidents, resulting in destruction of property, violation of the laws, and danger to navigation, United States authorities inspected the German refugee ships as a necessary measure looking to protection of life and property. To the same end United States courts having custody of the *Appam* and *Odenwald* took special precautions for their safety, and the naval authorities having charge of the interned vessels in the United States threw an armed guard about them for their protection and placed the crew and officers in barracks. These acts can not be regarded otherwise than as consistent with the protection of life and property in the United States, of Americans as well as of German subjects. None of the vessels and crews in the United States have been seized, as reported to Ambassador Gerard by German Government. The German Government, therefore, has absolutely no ground on this account to withhold release of Americans on *Yarrowdale*. The United States Government expects that no further obstacle will be interposed to their immediate release.

LANSING

File No. 124.62/40

The Ambassador formerly in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *February 12, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[*Received February 13, 7 p. m.*]

515. Arrived here last night, 120 Americans in all. Our train treated with great courtesy at Swiss frontier by Swiss Government who sent officers to meet us, etc. Before leaving Berlin had half hour talk with the Chancellor; also Zimmermann. Think Germans absolutely taken by surprise by breaking of relations. On Sunday morning after break, Reichstag member Stresemann, who always has been bitter against America, was addressing meeting of his party and telling in detail why America would do nothing and as he concluded a man got up and read from noon paper that America had

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broken relations. Many prominent Germans told me that Zimmermann more responsible for reckless submarine warfare than anyone; that Emperor thought matter over for three days and finally decided. Ludendorff and Zimmermann are the ones responsible. The Chancellor only wants to hold on to his office. After I demanded passports Count Montgelas of Foreign Office called on me and asked me to telegraph you to get authority to sign treaty which follows paraphrased:[1]

Agreement between Germany and the United States of America concerning the treatment of each other's citizens and their private property after the severance of diplomatic relations.

ARTICLE 1. After severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States of America and in the event of the outbreak of war between the two powers the citizens of either party and their private property in the territory of the other party shall be treated according to Article 23 of the treaty of Amity and Commerce between Prussia and the United States of 11th July, 1799, with the following explanatory and supplementary clauses.

ARTICLE 2. German merchants in the United States and American merchants in Germany shall, so far as the treatment of their persons and their property is concerned, be held in every respect on a par with the other persons mentioned in Article 23. Accordingly they shall, even after the period provided for in Article 23 has elapsed, be entitled to remain and continue their profession in the country of their residence. Merchants as well as the other persons mentioned in Article 23 may be excluded from fortified places or other places of military importance.

ARTICLE 3. Germans in the United States and Americans in Germany shall be free to leave the country of their residence within the times and by the routes that shall be assigned to them by the proper authorities. The persons departing shall be entitled to take along their personal private property including moneys, valuables, and bank accounts excepting such property the exportation of which is prohibited according to general provisions.

ARTICLE 4. The protection of Germans in the United States and of Americans in Germany and of their property shall be guaranteed in accordance with the laws existing in the countries of either party. They shall be under no other restrictions concerning the enjoyment of their private rights and the legitimate enforcement of their rights than neutral residents, they may accordingly not be transferred to concentration camps nor shall their private property be subject to sequestration or liquidation or other compulsory alienation except in cases that under the existing laws apply also to neutrals. As a general rule, German property in the United States and American property in Germany shall not be subject to sequestration or liquidation or other compulsory alienation under other conditions than neutral property.

[1] Correspondence with the Swiss Minister at Washington, representing German interests, concerning this proposed treaty, printed in *Foreign Relations*, 1918, Supplement 2.

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ARTICLE 5. Patent rights or other protected rights held by Germans in the United States of America [or by Americans] in Germany shall not be declared void, nor shall the exercise of such rights be impeded nor shall such rights be transferred to others without the consent of the person entitled thereto, provided that regulations made exclusively in the interest of the state shall apply.

ARTICLE 6. Contracts made between Germans and Americans, either before or after the severance of diplomatic relations, also obligations of all kinds between Germans and Americans shall not be declared canceled, void, or in suspension except under provision applicable to neutrals. Likewise the citizens of either party shall not be impeded in fulfilling their liabilities arising from such obligations either by injunctions or by other provision unless these apply also to neutrals.

ARTICLE 7. The provision of the 6th Hague convention, the treatment of enemy merchant ships at outbreak of hostilities, shall apply to the merchant vessels of either party and their cargo.

The aforesaid ships may not be forced to leave port unless at the same time they be given a pass recognized as binding by all enemy sea powers to a home port or a port of an allied country or to another port of the country in which the ship happens to be.

ARTICLE 8. The regulations of chapter three of the 11th Hague convention relative certain restrictions in the exercise of the right of capture in maritime war shall apply to the captains, officers, and members of the crews of merchant ships specified in Article 7 and of such merchant ships that may be captured in the course of a possible war.

ARTICLE 9. This agreement shall apply also to the colonies and other foreign possessions of either party.

Berlin, February 1917.

He said that if it was not signed that Americans would probably not be permitted to leave Germany and that newspaper correspondents would also be held. I said in the first place, I would not telegraph unless I could do so in cipher and give my own views. Secondly, that anyway relations were broken and, thirdly, that I would do nothing while I was a prisoner, but that once in Switzerland I might consider cabling but I thought it useless as the German propositions to let their ships out in case of war and keeping America from using German patents, even if needed for war purposes, were absolutely ridiculous. I further said that if Americans were not permitted to leave that it was an act of war. He said that the prisoners of war from the *Yarrowdale* would not be released as German ships had been confiscated in America, and that I could not leave until they knew what had happened to Bernstorff. I said I do not have to disprove these rumors. You have to prove their truth, and I repeat that if you hold Americans here it is an act of war. He then left and I have heard nothing further of matter. Our telephone was cut off, we were not permitted to receive mail or tele-

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grams or to telegraph your instructions to consuls. After some days these regulations were modified. Consuls now are to assemble at Munich and leave. Others already in Berlin will leave with second train of Americans. I shall proceed with staff ordered to America, correspondents, and Americans to Paris, then Spain. Treaty presented by Montgelas follows. I suggest that no such treaty be signed. Few real Americans in Germany and fear of losing ships and property may be restraining force. Please obtain through Spanish Ambassador assurance that our passports from German Government cover passage from Spain to America, otherwise German submarine might take us off outside Spanish waters in case of war.

GERARD

File No. 124.62/45a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 26, 1917, 11 a. m.*

285. When Mr. Gerard decides definitely the date of his sailing for the United States, you should request the Spanish Government to be so kind as to instruct the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin to communicate that fact to the German Government for its information.

POLK

Return of the German Ambassador from the United States

File No. 701.6211/406a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 5, 1917, 1 p. m.*

213. Please communicate following to Foreign Office for transmission to Spanish Ambassador at Berlin.

German Government should be advised that the Government of the United States has arranged for Count and Countess Bernstorff, the Embassy staff and all the German consuls in the United States to embark on the Scandinavian Line steamer *Frederik VIII;* that permits will be secured from the French and British Governments for the safe-conduct of the party from New York to Christiania; that the examination of the ship by the British authorities will take place at Halifax in order to avoid her passage through danger zone. Every courtesy, consideration, and protection is being extended to Count Bernstorff, the Embassy staff, and all the German consuls in the United States.

LANSING

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File No. 701.6211/406b

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)[1]

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 5, 1917, 5 p. m.*

4396. Arrangements are being made for Count and Countess Bernstorff, their household servants, members of the Embassy staff, and all of the German consuls in the United States accompanied by their families, a party of about 200 in all, to leave on the Scandinavian Line steamship *Frederik VIII* which will sail from New York for Christiania in one week. It has been suggested that the examination of the ship by the British authorities might be made at Halifax and so avoid passage through the danger zone. Please take up the matter immediately with Foreign Office and request safe-conduct for Count Bernstorff and his party.

LANSING

File No. 701.6211/411a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)[2]

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 7, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4410. Department's 4396, 5 p. m. Inasmuch as Department is anxious that *Frederik VIII* should sail on February 13, it is important that assurances of safe-conduct be obtained immediately The Scandinavian Line, in addition, desires assurances that no objection will be raised to the *Frederik VIII* carrying other passengers, mails, and cargo, as usual.

LANSING

File No. 701.6211/408

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *February 7, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received 6.30 p. m.]

1854. My 1853.[3] Foreign Office informs me that it will accord safe-conduct to German Ambassador and party.

SHARP

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[1] The same, on the same date, to the Ambassador in France (No. 2000).
[2] The same, on the same date, with reference to Department's 2000, to the Ambassador in France (No. 2003).
[3] Not printed.

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File No. 701.6211/413

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 8, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4418. The British Ambassador has received telegram from his Government saying that safe-conduct will be granted for Bernstorff and his party, and that *Frederik VIII* will be examined at Halifax if it is especially desired. Please inform Foreign Office that in the circumstances the Department would be grateful if the British authorities would carry out their examination at Halifax and not at Kirkwall.

LANSING

File No. 701.6211/410

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 8, 1917, 6 p. m.*

[Received 8.15 p. m.]

5643. I have just received the following note from the Foreign Office:

MEMORANDUM

His Majesty's Government are fully prepared to grant to the late German Ambassador at Washington and the officials in his train a safe-conduct so far as the action of British authorities is concerned. They are not, however, aware of any reason of justice or courtesy why they should take any steps to save the party from dangers caused by the illegal actions of the German Government and why they should alter their general policy with this object. Very great importance is attached to the rule that ships should call at Kirkwall, but if the United States Government seriously wish that Count Bernstorff's ship should not call there, His Majesty's Government will be prepared out of deference to their wishes to waive the rule in this case. In such event special arrangements would be made to search the ship and the passengers at Halifax.

Instructions in the above sense have been sent to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

Foreign Office, February 8, 1917.

PAGE

File No. 701.6211/411

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 9, 1917, 9 a. m.*

[Received 10.30 a. m.]

5645. Your 4410 February 7, 3 [4] p. m. The right of search is reserved, but there is no objection to steamer carrying other passengers, cargo, and mail as usual.

PAGE

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File No. 701.6211/413

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *February 9, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 6.30 p. m.]

1862. Your 2003. Foreign Office replies that the French Government has no objection to the embarking on the *Frederik VIII* of German passengers other than those belonging to the German Embassy or consulates, adding that this decision has been communicated to London.

SHARP

File No. 701.6211/432

The Secretary of State to the Swiss Minister (Ritter)

No. 460 WASHINGTON, *April 30, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of April 20, 1917, in which you give the text of a communication received by your Government from the Imperial German Foreign Office, regarding the treatment to which Count von Bernstorff and his party were represented to have been subjected by officials at Halifax, Nova Scotia.[1]

In reply I have the honor to state that after their departure from the territorial waters of the United States, Count von Bernstorff and his party were travelling under safe-conducts granted by the British and French Governments, and that consequently any complaint by the German Government arising from the treatment of those persons after such departure should be made to the British and French Governments and not to the Government of the United States.

I should be glad if the above statement could be communicated to the German Government.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

Return of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador Designate from the United States

File No. 701.6311/276

The Austro-Hungarian Chargé (Zwiedinek) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 9, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to notify your excellency that the I.[mperial] and R.[oyal] Embassy has received from the I.[mperial] and R.[oyal] Minister of Foreign Affairs telegraphic advice that in

[1] Not printed.

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consequence of the resolution of Congress to the effect that the United States of America is at war with Germany the relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States of America have come to an end.

His excellency the Ambassador, Count Tarnowski, has been instructed to return to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with the personnel of the Embassy and consulates and to turn over the protection of Austrian and Hungarian subjects to the Royal Swedish Legation here. Count Tarnowski was also advised that the American Ambassador at Vienna had declared to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the name of the American Government that it assumes every guaranty for their safe return.

I have therefore the honor to beg your excellency kindly to procure a safe-conduct for the Ambassador and the persons traveling with him.

Accept [etc.] ZWIEDINEK

File No. 701.6311/276

The Secretary of State to the Austro-Hungarian Chargé (Zwiedinek)

WASHINGTON, *April 9, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this day's date by which, under instructions of your Government, you notify me that, in consequence of the resolution of the Congress of the United States declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, the relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary have come to an end, and that Count Tarnowski has been instructed to return to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with the personnel of the Embassy and consulates and to turn over the protection of Austrian and Hungarian subjects in the United States to the Royal Swedish Legation at this capital.

In response to your request, I have the honor to hand to you a passport for yourself and suite and another for the Ambassador designate, Count Tarnowski.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 701.6311/279a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)[1]

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 10, 1917, 5 p. m.*

4667. In view of severance of relations with Austria-Hungary, necessary to arrange immediate departure of Austro-Hungarian Embassy and consular officers, numbering altogether approximately 125;

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[1] The same, on the same date, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Ambassador in France (No. 2140).

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desirable that they leave not later than April 25. The German diplomatic and consular officers returning from China, now *en route*, numbering about 30, will arrive New York in time to join Austro-Hungarian party. Only two available boats: *Stockholm*, Swedish-American Line, now at Halifax, east bound, which could return to New York; *Rijndam*, Holland-America Line, now at New York, loaded, awaiting owners' orders. Please take up with British authorities our desire to have the two parties leave United States as soon as possible on one of these two boats, and ask their cooperation to that end and granting safe-conducts.

LANSING

File No. 124.63/23

The Chargé in Austria-Hungary (Grew) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *April 11, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received April 13, 8.15 a. m.*]

1829. Minister of Foreign Affairs has requested me to inform the Department that the Austro-Hungarian Government will place special train at disposal of Embassy staff on departure 7th [*14th*] instant and will send a Foreign Office official to accompany staff to Austro-Swiss frontier, and he has asked me to request our Government in reciprocity to send an official of the Department of State to accompany Count Tarnowski as far as Halifax in order to obviate any possible difficulties there. I have told the Minister that in my opinion it would not be possible for the Department to send an American official farther than to the port of departure in American territory and that the principle of reciprocity would thereby be fulfilled, but that if he would permit me communicate in code I would transmit a request on the Minister's behalf that the Department ask the British Ambassador in Washington to take such steps as would obviate any unnecessary difficulties for Count Tarnowski and his official party at the hands of the Canadian authorities. Count Czernin's request to me is prompted by reports received here to the effect that Count Bernstorff's official party were subjected to unnecessary hardship during their examination at Halifax. I report the foregoing without comment for such action as the Department may consider proper.

GREW

File No. 701.6311/289a

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Spring Rice)

No. 1541 WASHINGTON, *April 19, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a note from the Swedish Minister at this Capital, representing Austro-

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Hungarian interests in the United States,[1] in which, with reference to the intended departure of Count Tarnowski and the late Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, Baron Zwiedinek, and the persons of their suite, he requests information on the following points:

1. Will there be any restrictions as to the personal goods and effects, particularly jewels and other valuables, they carry?
2. Will there be any restrictions as to money, and, if so, how large an amount may each person carry?
3. May photographs and personal documents (certificates of birth, diplomas, etc.) be carried?
4. May official documents (in plain language) be carried?

Referring to the statement orally made by you to the Assistant Secretary of State that your Embassy had been authorized to grant to the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic and consular officers a safe-conduct so worded as to concede freedom to these officers to pass to their destination, but containing no statement which would in any way conflict with the rights of the British Government to search members of the party and their effects, I beg to say that while this Government, of course, is in thorough accord with the British Government's views in this respect, still, at the same time, in view of the very great courtesy which has been extended by the Austro-Hungarian Government to American diplomatic and consular officers leaving Austria, I venture to express the hope that the Austro-Hungarian party may be permitted to pass with the least possible delay and will be shown every possible consideration.

I shall be very glad to be advised whether your Embassy will issue such instructions as will enable the members of the party to carry a reasonable amount of money and of the other articles mentioned in the Minister's inquiries.[2]

I have [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 701.6311/281

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *April 20, 1917, noon.*
[*Received 2.40 p. m.*]

2031. Your 2166, April 16, 4 p. m.[1] Foreign Office has just verbally given me assurances that safe-conduct will be accorded to the steamer on which Austro-Hungarian diplomats and consuls and German consuls from China embark. SHARP

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[1] Not printed.
[2] No record of answer.

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File No. 701.6311/289

The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *May 7, 1917.*
[*Received May 9.*]

SIR: At the request of his excellency, Count Tarnowski, I beg to express to your excellency his sincerest thanks for the facilities and great courtesy accorded him and his party by the American authorities at the departure from this country.

Count Tarnowski also asked that his Government be telegraphically apprised of the courtesies accorded him and his party by the American authorities, and that I have done with much pleasure.

With renewed assurances [etc.] W. A. F. EKENGREN

Return of the American Ambassador from Turkey

File No. 763.72/5428

The Chargé in Turkey (Tarler) to the Secretary of State

No. 912 CONSTANTINOPLE, *April 23, 1917.*
[*Received June 20.*]

SIR: Through the courtesy of the Swedish Minister, I have the honor to transmit herewith copy and translation of a note from the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated April 20, 1917, informing the Embassy that in view of the state of war existing between the United States and the German Empire, as the ally of the latter country the Ottoman Government was obliged to break off diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States, beginning from April 20.

This note was delivered to the Embassy at 1.15 p. m. on April 20 by Chevki Bey, director of the *cabinet particulier* of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In delivering this note he asked that Mrs. Elkus be informed that the Ambassador would, of course, remain here as long as might be necessary, and also asked if she had any special wishes to communicate to the Minister. All details as to the departure of the Embassy staff and other questions were left until the following day.

For a week prior to the rupture such a move on the part of the Sublime Porte was known to be imminent, and on Monday, the 16th instant, one of the Ottoman Ministers stated that the Cabinet was being " forced " to break relations, and that he feared the communication of this decision to the Embassy was merely a matter of time. Later the Embassy heard that this communication might be put off

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until after the departure of the Grand Vizier for Berlin on April 21, and as late as the 19th a more reassuring report was also heard, but these proved to be without foundation.

Since the rupture of relations with Austria-Hungary no cipher telegrams from the Department have reached this Embassy, so that it has been necessary to arrange for another channel of communication with the Department. I trust that it has received the several telegrams forwarded in this way, informing it as to the progress of the illness of Mr. Elkus, the imminence of a break in relations, and asking which members of the staff should be left here, etc.

As the Department has been informed, the Swedish Minister here has not yet received instructions from his Government about taking over American interests, so that a final transfer of these interests to his protection has not yet been possible. Mr. d'Anckarsvärd has, however, been very courteous in assisting the Embassy in the present circumstances, and American interests will be definitely turned over to him as soon as he shall have received the instructions from his Government which are foreshadowed by those of the Department.

The attitude of the Foreign Office and of the civil authorities has, since Friday, been of a most courteous nature. There has been absolutely no interference with the normal activities of the Embassy, which in most respects have followed their usual course. There has been no excitement of any sort at the Embassy or at the Consulate General. On Saturday, the 21st, I had an informal interview with the acting Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, and took up with him the numerous questions arising out of the new situation.

In the first place, it was necessary to make arrangements as to the departure of the Embassy staff, as the Department will observe that in the enclosed note no mention is made of the passports of the Ambassador and his staff being at their disposal. The Acting Undersecretary, Moukhtar Bey, stated that the question of the departure of the staff with or before the departure of the Ambassador had not yet been considered. I left with him two lists of the Embassy and consular personnel; the first containing the names of the Ambassador and the permanent Embassy staff, who would depart with him or remain here to assist the Swedish Minister with American interests; and the second comprising the names of the extra attachés of the Embassy, together with the military attaché and Commander Morton as naval attaché, and the entire consular staff here, who might all leave at once. An early decision in this matter and all possible facilities in connection with the departure were promised. The Dutch and Swedish Ministers also saw the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the same day and urged upon him that the whole official staff should remain here until the Ambassador was able to travel.

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I also requested Moukhtar Bey to take up with the Minister and the other departments concerned the question of the journey to Constantinople of all the consuls; of the departure of American citizens from Constantinople and elsewhere in Turkey, informing him that there are now about 75 Americans in this city ready to leave, and that there are approximately 175 other Americans connected with American missionary institutions in the interior who might want to leave soon. As the Austro-Hungarian Government has given a period of but four weeks from April 9 for the passage of Americans across that country into Switzerland, Moukhtar Bey was requested to arrange as soon as possible for the Americans now here to leave for Switzerland. A list of the Americans who have completed all formalities for departure except obtaining the final police permit is herewith enclosed.[1]

With respect to the status of American institutions and schools, Moukhtar Bey stated that he understood unofficially that they were not to be disturbed, although he could then give no official assurances in this connection. I have the honor to confirm my telegram, No. 2640 of even date,[1] informing the Department that Djavid Bey, as Acting Minister of the Interior, had sent circular telegraphic instructions to the provincial authorities, instructing them that the rupture of diplomatic relations was not a declaration of war, that American citizens and institutions should be treated by the authorities as heretofore, without however having any official relations with the American consuls.

In spite of the foregoing, on the evening of April 21 two companies of soldiers appeared at the College for Girls in Arnaoud-Keuy and at Robert College, declaring that they had instructions to occupy the buildings for hospital purposes. These soldiers and the officers in command of them are reported to have been civil to the Americans at the two schools. It is further reported that they had previously applied to the local police for assistance in occupying the premises, and that the police told them that they (the police) had instructions from their superiors not to disturb the two American institutions in question. In any event, after an appeal to one of the Ministers, and verbal representations on the part of the Swedish Minister to the Foreign Office, these soldiers left Robert College at about noon on the 22d, and Arnaoud-Keuy later on the same day. The Embassy hears, however, that the military authorities plan to occupy the two colleges after their scholastic year is terminated about May 15.

There has as yet been no move to disturb the Bible House in Stamboul, but the Embassy has not received any information as to what

[1] Not printed.

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is taking place in the interior, where the local authorities, in spite of instructions, may not have distinguished between a break in relations and a state of war. It seems only too probable that the most these institutions can hope for is to finish their school year unmolested.

I have also the honor to transmit herewith copy and translation of the Sublime Porte's *note verbale* concerning the departure or internment of the U. S. S. *Scorpion*. Commander Morton has made a full report to the Navy Department explaining his motives in not trying to leave Constantinople, and this report will probably be taken out by the Ambassador. Beyond the removal of the guns and ammunition, the ship has so far not been disturbed nor been obliged to leave its former moorings, and the guard of 14 men stationed near the Embassy since the internment of the ship has likewise remained there without interference. In this matter also the attitude of the Turkish authorities has been most courteous.

The transfer of the various interests hitherto in the care of this Embassy and of the consulates in Turkey is being gradually carried out. In conformity with the instructions of the Department, Italian and Montenegrin interests have been delivered to the Spanish Legation; British, French, and Russian interests to the Dutch Legation; and Belgian and Serbian interests together with our own to the Swedish Legation.

In the provinces the distribution of all these interests will be very difficult, as there are at present very few neutral career consular officers, and many of the honorary Dutch and Swedish consuls are either German or Austrian subjects. In Jerusalem there is a Spanish career consul, in Beirut and Smyrna there are Dutch career officials, and in Smyrna the Swedish consul is a Dutch subject. In Brusa our interests can be turned over to a career Hellenic vice consul, while in Mersina there is an honorary Spanish consul. In Aleppo it is difficult to make any arrangements, as the only neutral government represented there is Holland, whose interests are in charge of an Austrian subject. In Harput it will be necessary to close the office entirely, as there are no neutral consuls anywhere in that region. At Samsun it is possible that some other neutral government may name Mr. Peter, who is a Swiss citizen, as its consular representative.

The general instructions for the consuls contained in the Department's cipher telegraphic instruction of March 31[1] were forwarded by mail to the various consuls on April 3, and it is probable that they have been received at Smyrna, Mersina, and Aleppo. A brief summary of the essential portions of these telegraphic instructions has also been telegraphed to the consuls at Beirut, Jerusalem, and Harput. The portion of these instructions relating to the work of

[1] *Ante*, p. 191.

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the Embassy is being followed, but some matters can not be finally closed up until the departure of the Ambassador, and it will be necessary to retain part of the Embassy employees until that time.

The accounts of the Embassy are being closed to-day, and sufficient funds have been procured during the past two days to supply the needs of the various interests for at least a month, until the respective Legations here can arrange for funds through their governments. The Embassy is informed that funds can best be obtained in large sums by opening credits in Holland. The Dutch Legation, which is in charge of the three interests requiring the largest amounts of money, will thus find its task facilitated.

Mr. Peet plans to continue the various soup kitchens and other charitable enterprises which are carried on with American funds at least until the departure of Mr. Elkus, and I have requested the authorities to permit this. Any stoppage in relief and charitable funds from the United States will be sorely felt by many classes and elements in this country.

The illness of the Ambassador began on Wednesday, April 11, and the crisis is taking place to-day and will probably not be definitely passed until the 25th instant. His physicians have been Dr. Bertram V. D. Post, of Robert College, and Dr. Zlozitsky, a German specialist in typhus now stationed here. Various other physicians have also been called into consultation. His care has been of the very best, as several American and Canadian trained nurses were available. His illness has caused deep sorrow here, and there have been a great many manifestations of this feeling in all quarters, as he and Mrs. Elkus have gained the high respect and friendship of all classes. The attending physicians state that Mr. Elkus will not be able to travel before May 25 at the earliest.

The Foreign Office unofficially informs the Embassy that Ottoman interests in the United States, France, Greece, and Roumania will be entrusted to the Spanish representatives in those countries, and that Sweden has been requested to assume the protection of Ottoman interests in Great Britain and Dominions. I was informed also by Moukhtar Bey that the Ottoman Chargé d'Affaires at Washington had been instructed to request passports for himself and all the Ottoman consular officers in the United States. At least a month must elapse before all of the American consular officials in Turkey can reach this city, so that it is probable that they will be able to leave with the Ambassador.

From the foregoing report the Department will note that so far the general attitude manifested towards American interests in this city by the Ottoman authorities has been courteous and all that could be expected in the circumstances. The main question pending at the

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present time is the granting of final permission for the unofficial Americans to leave for Switzerland within the period fixed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, and a definite decision in this matter is promised for the 26th instant. If this decision is favorable, those who wish to go will be able to get away in time. If unfavorable, there may be a possibility of securing an extension of time from the Austro-Hungarian authorities to enable these nonofficial Americans to go out at the same time with the Ambassador. In any event, the decision of the Ottoman authorities in this matter will indicate their real attitude.

I have [etc.] G. CORNELL TARLER

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs (Nessimi) to the American Ambassador (Elkus)

No. 95995/172 *April 20, 1917.*

MR. AMBASSADOR: The Embassy of the United States of America having informed the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs by its *note verbale* of April 8, 1917, No. 2422, that its Government is in a state of war with the German Empire, I have the honor to inform your excellency that the Imperial Ottoman Government, ally of this Empire, is obliged to break its diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States of America beginning from to-day.

Please accept [etc.] AHMED NESSIMI

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy

NOTE VERBALE

Gl. No. 9546
Sl. No. 156 *April 10, 1917.*

The Embassy of the United States of America, by its *note verbale* dated April 8, 1917, No. 2422, having communicated to the Sublime Porte the proclamation by the President of the Republic of a state of war between the American Government and the Imperial German Government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the honor to bring the following to its knowledge:

The Embassy of the Republic is not unaware that every power which respects its duties of neutrality must forbid to the ships of war of belligerents to remain in its ports or roads or in its territorial waters during more than 24 hours; that such power is required to notify them to leave within this period; that if they do not leave the port where they are, the said power has the right to take the

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measures which it may judge necessary to render the ships in question unable to go to sea during the war; that, moreover, it must detain the officers and the crew who may be subjected to the restrictive measures of which the imposition may appear necessary to it, while at the same time leaving on board the men required for the care of the said ships.

Such is the system which is followed in international law and which has also been sanctioned by Articles 12, 13, and 24 of the Hague convention of 1907 concerning the rights and duties of neutral powers in case of maritime war.

Consequently, the Imperial Ministry has the honor to request the Embassy of the United States to be good enough to invite the ship of war *Scorpion* to leave the port of the capital and the Ottoman territorial waters within the aforementioned period of one day, beginning with the receipt of the present communication.

The required notification in this connection has been made directly by the Imperial Ministry of Marine to the commander of the said ship.

File No. 763.72/5598

The Ambassador formerly in Turkey (Elkus) to the Secretary of State

PARIS, *June 10, 1917.*
[*Received June 28.*]

SIR: I had the honor to inform you by my telegram of June 4[1] that on the 2d instant I arrived in Switzerland with the following members of the staff of the American Embassy at Constantinople: Mr. Tarler, Mr. Milmore, Mr. Schmavonian, Mr. Leavitt and family, Mr. Montgomery and family, Mr. Engert, and Mr. Edelman of Damascus. Mr. Heck and his family and Mr. Wirth remained at Constantinople, attached to the Swedish Legation there.

As you have already been informed, I was taken ill on the 11th of April last. On that day, I had called on Djavid Bey, the Turkish Minister of Finance, who frankly stated to me that the German pressure on the Sublime Porte to sever diplomatic relations with the United States was becoming stronger every day. From his statements I arrived at the conclusion that the break was not far off. When it was understood that I had contracted typhus, there was a general expression of sympathy on the part of the higher Ottoman circles. H. I. M. the Sultan sent an aide-de-camp to the Embassy with a kind message to Mrs. Elkus. The Grand Vizier,

[1] Not printed.

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The Minister of War, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs sent representatives to inquire after me. Senators and many other dignitaries personally called at the Embassy for the same purpose.

In the afternoon of Friday, the 20th of April, a note was received at the Embassy, dated the same day, and announcing the rupture of diplomatic relations. Very strong pressure must have been brought on the Turks to have written and sent a note on a Friday, unless it was done so, deliberately, to give that impression. The note, a copy of which was sent to you, mentioned nothing as to holding passports at my disposal, and the Turkish ministers stated that there could be no question of departure until I had completely recovered.

The day following the break, Talaat Pasha left for Germany. In his absence, Djavid Bey acted as Minister of the Interior. The Embassy was later informed that on the 21st of April he sent telegraphic instructions to the provincial authorities telling them that a rupture of diplomatic relations was not a state of war and therefore that American citizens, as well as American institutions, should be treated exactly as before the break, with the only difference that the said provincial authorities would have no official relations with the American consuls. These instructions have had a favorable effect, and I believe that American citizens and institutions in Turkey have had as good a treatment as one might expect under the circumstances. I can cite the example of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut which was ordered to be closed by the Governor General immediately upon his learning of the break, but which was afterwards reopened and allowed to continue its classes until the end of the academic year. The Grand Vizier and other ministers have stated that, according to a decision of the Council of Ministers, American institutions will not be interfered with so long as an actual state of war does not exist between Turkey and the United States.

The Turkish ministers showed courtesy and consideration until the last day. Between the break and the date of our departure, Djavid Bey received Mr. Schmavonian several times at his private residence, and during these interviews current Embassy matters were discussed. The Grand Vizier also received him several times at the Sublime Porte. Talaat Pasha expressed great regret at our departure, stating that both Mrs. Elkus and I had gained popularity in Constantinople. He was very cordial to Mr. Schmavonian, complimented him for the work he had done in connection with the Embassy, and extended all facilities for his departure with me. After the break, which came on April 20, 1917, Mr. Tarler, in conformity with the diplomatic rules, was in charge of the Embassy work. The Swedish Legation took official charge of American interests in Tur-

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key on the 26th of April. In appreciation of the work done by Mr. d'Anckarsvärd, the Swedish Minister, and his staff, I wrote him a letter, a copy of which will be sent to the Department. But the heavy burden of the work after April 20 came on Mr. Tarler and the other members of the Embassy staff. While I appreciate the work of every one in his branch and the *esprit de corps* shown by all, I am gratified to inform the Department that, after my recovery, I heard a general expression of appreciation for Mr. Tarler's work and indefatigable efforts during those critical days. Mr. Tarler's work, I respectfully submit, deserves some recognition from the Department.

Between Constantinople and Berne, the Turkish, Bulgarian, and Austrian authorities showed every mark of courtesy and facilitated my journey. At Constantinople, on the day of our departure, Djavid Bey called at the Embassy, the Grand Vizier sent a representative to the station to wish us farewell, while a representative from the Foreign Office accompanied us as far as the frontier. Neither my baggage nor that of the Embassy staff was examined anywhere. I brought with me two pouches containing despatches and mail.

Mr. Peet, who is now in Switzerland, estimates that there remain in Turkey-in-Asia about 20 Americans who desire to leave, and there are about 10 such in Constantinople. The Swedish Minister in Constantinople is trying to arrange through the Austro-Hungarian Embassy there to obtain from the Austro-Hungarian Government a further delay for American citizens to pass through Austria. As regards the remaining American consular officers in Turkey, they will proceed to Switzerland after they arrive at Constantinople. Mr. Nathan with his wife and child arrived at Constantinople on May 29, the day of my departure, at noon, too late to leave with me.

I have [etc.] ABRAM I. ELKUS

Return of German Diplomatic and Consular Officers from Brazil, Bolivia, and Siam [1]

File No. 701.6232/3

The Chargé in Brazil (Benson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *April 12, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received 7.15 p. m.]

Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs requests of the Government of the United States of America that Pauli, former German Minister to Brazil, accompanied by suite and consuls with families,

[1] Papers relating to the return of diplomatic officers from other countries, involving similar procedure, not printed.

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traveling on Brazilian steamer *Rio de Janeiro* to Germany meet with no impediment whatsoever during their voyage. Probable date of sailing April 18.

BENSON

File No. 701.6232/3

The Secretary of State to the Chargé in Brazil (Benson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 14, 1917, 7 p. m.*

Your April 12, 1 p. m. Instructions have been issued to American naval forces not to molest former German Minister to Brazil and his suite during the course of their voyage. Please cable probable route to be followed by steamer in order that more specific instructions may be given to naval forces to avoid possibility of misunderstanding.

LANSING

File No. 701.6232/8

The Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

BUENOS AIRES, *June 1, 1917, 11 a. m.*

[Received 1.10 p. m.]

My May 12. 11 a. m.[1] The British Minister informs me under instructions from his Government he has granted a safe-conduct to Pauli [2] to proceed to Germany via the United States on Dutch vessel *Frisia* sailing from here June 4. . . . If he asks for safe-conduct to New York, shall I give it?

STIMSON

File No. 701.6232/8

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Stimson)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 2, 1917, 7 p. m.*

Your June 2 [*1*], 11 a. m. You may issue following safe-conduct to former German Minister.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT BUENOS AIRES

To all to whom these presents shall come greeting.

Know Ye, that the bearer hereof,_____ (here insert name and title and names of persons accompanying him), is about to enter the United States at the port of New York.

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[1] Not printed.

[2] He had, meanwhile, proceeded by train from Rio de Janeiro to Buenos Aires.

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These are therefore to request all officers of the United States or of any State thereof whom it may concern to permit _____ to pass freely without let or molestation, and to extend to _____ friendly aid and protection, in case of need.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Embassy of the United States at Buenos Aires, the _____ day of _____ in the year nineteen hundred seventeen and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred forty-first.

Issued under the authority of the Secretary of State.

The right of search is reserved by this Government.

LANSING

File No. 701.6232/10

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 5, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 2.50 p. m.*]

Department's telegram June 4, 5 p. m.[1] Does conduct for Minister Pauli and his suite, issued by Ambassador Stimson, cover members of the party who will embark at Rio de Janeiro, and if they are not covered am I authorized to issue them safe-conduct?

If safe-conduct has not already been issued to Von Sanden, late German Minister to Bolivia, am I authorized to grant it?

Suggestion that members of official party should not be allowed to land at any Brazilian port already conveyed to Brazilian Government.

MORGAN

File No. 701.6232/10

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *June 6, 1917, 1 p. m.*

Your June 5, 11 a. m. Ambassador at Buenos Aires has issued safe-conduct to following: Pauli and Danner, valet; Willdolt, attaché; Grunon, chancellor; Munzenthaler, Consul General; Steinfiegel and Pfaff, consuls; Markmann, secretary and wife.

You may issue following safe-conduct to balance of official party embarking at Rio de Janeiro. Also similar safe-conduct may be issued to late German Minister to Bolivia.

[Here follows form of safe-conduct printed in telegram of June 2 to the Ambassador in Argentine, above.]

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[1] Not printed.

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The right of search is reserved by the United States authorities.

Please inform Department for what reason *Frisia* is touching at New York *en route* to Halifax and how long she is expected to stay New York.

LANSING

File No. 701.6232/12

The Ambassador in Brazil (Morgan) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 12, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received June 12, 5 p. m.*]

Royal Dutch S. S. *Frisia* sailed from Rio de Janeiro June 9 with Ministers Pauli and Von Sanden and official party. Brazilian authorities detained and guarded vessel in the bay which had already been searched by British cruiser *Glasgow* between Montevideo and Santos.

Frisia will touch at Bahia and Pernambuco, where also Brazilian authorities will take precautions, and will arrive New York about June 27 for the purpose of discharging passengers and cargo.

MORGAN

File No. 701.6292/5

The Chargé in Siam (Arnold) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BANGKOK, *August 5, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received August 6, 5.15 a. m.*]

Minister for Foreign Affairs requests me to ascertain if my Government would have any objection to the German and Austrian chargés d'affaires passing through the Panama Canal. They intend returning to Europe on the Danish steamer *Fionia*, leaving here at the end of this month for Copenhagen via Panama Canal. British Government has refused to allow them to go through Suez Canal. Minister for Foreign Affairs asked me to state that he would be glad if objections were made as it would compel chargés d'affaires to take Danish boat *Falstand*, leaving Siam about the middle of this month for London via Cape of Good Hope, to which they objected they would be going into the danger zone.

ARNOLD

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File No. 701.6292/5

The Secretary of State to the Chargé in Siam (Arnold)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *August 8, 1917, 4 p. m.*

Your August 5, 1 p. m. Please state to Minister for Foreign Affairs that this Government regrets that it can not permit German and Austrian chargés to take ship through Panama Canal.

LANSING

REPRESENTATION OF GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THEY HAVE SEVERED RELATIONS; PROTECTION OF THEIR INTERESTS AND NATIONALS

Representation of the United States in Germany by Spain

File No. 124.62/17a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard) [1]

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 1 p. m.*

209. German Ambassador here, together with his staff, will be handed passport at 2 p. m. to-day. Immediately inform Spanish Government of this Government's desire that American interests in Germany may be cared for by the Spanish Embassy at Berlin and request instructions be telegraphed there immediately.

LANSING

File No. 124.62/18

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *February 4, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[Received February 5, 7.20 a. m.]

327. Department's telegram 209, February 3, 1 p. m. Spain accedes gratefully to Department's request therein expressed and has accordingly telegraphed Spanish Ambassador in Berlin.

WILLARD

File No. 703.5262/b

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 5, 1917, 5 p. m.*

215. Department's 210, February 4, 5 p. m. [2 p. m.].[2] Please state to Foreign Office that Department understands that many Spanish

[1] See also telegram of Feb. 3 (No. 3860) to the Ambassador in Germany, *ante*, p. 585.

[2] *Post*, p. 618.

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consular officers in Germany and Austria-Hungary are German or Austro-Hungarian subjects, or of German or Austro-Hungarian extraction. It is desired by this Government that the interests of this Government shall be entrusted only to those officers who are Spanish subjects by birth.

Please inquire of Foreign Office whether it would appoint, at the expense of this Government, if necessary, consular officers of the latter character to care for American interests in Germany and in case of a break also in Austria-Hungary.

LANSING

File No. 124.62/39

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *February 13, 1917, 10 p. m.*
[*Received February 13, 7 p. m.*]

350. Foreign Office informs me Spanish Ambassador, Berlin officially took charge American interests February 6, but that owing to presence of American Ambassador and staff he only actually took charge and opened special office for American interests February 12. Spanish Ambassador states that Ambassador Gerard and Grew asked him to employ Vice Consul Von Versen to assist in connection with American interests. Versen is American citizen but German by birth and Spanish Ambassador asks to be informed as soon as possible whether Department would wish him to be employed under the circumstances.[1]

WILLARD

File No. 703.5262/7

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *March 10, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 6.20 p. m.*]

403. Department's 215, February 5, 5 p. m. Foreign Office states that it has given attention to Department's wishes and communicated them to Spanish Ambassador, Berlin. The latter states that with this object in view he has centralized, at the Embassy and with the consuls of career, American interests, also with the Vice Consul at Düsseldorff who is a Spanish subject, granting the honorary consuls only limited authority for giving assistance when authorized and

[1] Assent to his employment temporarily given in telegram of Feb. 16 (No. 259) to the Ambassador. Same file number; not printed.

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transmitting money. Spanish Ambassador also directed the military delegates who visit prison camps and who reside in chief German cities to get into touch with the American consuls and take charge of the archives, leaving protection of Americans in Munich to another Spanish subject who has been appointed consular agent there.

Minister of Foreign Affairs states that from the beginning, considering the difficulties, he has taken all necessary steps to satisfy the Department's wishes and is now completing the necessary Spanish personnel at the Embassy in Berlin, and that he hopes within a short time to obtain results satisfactory to American Government.

WILLARD

Representation of Germany in the United States and the Philippines by Switzerland; in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Panama Canal Zone by Spanish Consuls

File No. 705.6254/–

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *February 6, 1917.*
[*Received February 7.*]

SIR: I am instructed by wire to notify the Cabinet of Washington that my Government assumes the representation of the German interests in the United States.

I have the honor to bring the above to the knowledge of your excellency, adding that according to the instructions of my Government—and if your excellency sees no objection of any kind—I take charge of the German interests in this country. I have, furthermore, to-day already instructed the Swiss consulates in New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco, Seattle, St. Paul, Denver, and Manila to take charge of the German consulates.

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 705.6254/–

The Secretary of State to the Swiss Minister (Ritter)

No. 342 WASHINGTON, *February 9, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of February 6, 1917, informing me that by instructions of your Government you have assumed charge of German interests in the United States and asking whether there is any objection thereto on the part of this Government.

In reply, I have the honor to inform you that this Government sees no objection to your assuming charge of the interests named,

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nor to the Swiss consular officers taking over the German consulates in the cities listed in your note.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 705.6252/–

The Spanish Ambassador (Riaño) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *February 20, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to inform your excellency that I have just received a telegram from the Minister of State directing me to announce to your excellency that, on the request of the Government of Germany and in the absence of Swiss consular officers at Honolulu and in Porto Rico, the consuls of Spain in the said islands are instructed to take charge of the protection of German interests.

I avail [etc.] JUAN RIAÑO

File No. 705.6259/–

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *April 6, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to advise you of the receipt of a cablegram from my Government, according to which—

The Government of Denmark has offered the German Government to take care of the German archives on the Danish West Indies, recently ceded to the United States.

Our Government adds that it agrees with the foregoing, inasmuch as there is no Swiss consulate on the said islands.

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 705.6254/11

Memorandum of the Acting Chief of the Division of Western European Affairs of the Department of State (Sterling)

[Extract]

June 20, 1917.

In a conversation with Dr. Hübscher of the Swiss Legation, he was informed that all former German consular secretaries (commissioned officers) at present attached to the Swiss Legation or Swiss consulates must either depart from the United States or resign their present positions. . . .

The German clerks who had been taken over by the Swiss Legation and Swiss consulates from the former German Embassy and

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German consulates would also be required to leave the United States or resign their positions, with the exception of those who are American citizens or British subjects. . . .

Dr. Hübscher was also advised that in the future no Germans should be employed at the Swiss Legation or consulates.

F.[REDERICK] A. S.[TERLING]

File No. 703.5262/19

The Chargé d'Affaires in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *June 30, 1917, 4 p. m.*
[*Received July 1, 2 a. m.*]

1026. Spanish Minister informs me that German Government will withdraw permission for Americans to work at Spanish Embassy, Berlin, if German employees at Swiss Legation, Washington, are dismissed, and expresses hope that this situation may not arise as the departure of the few Americans now at the Embassy would impair efficiency of its work.

LANGHORNE

File No. 703.5262/19

The Secretary of State to the Chargé d'Affaires in the Netherlands (Langhorne)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *July 3, 1917, 4 p. m.*

585. Your 1026. Please inform Spanish Minister that the Department has no alternative than to request the Swiss Legation here to dispense with the services of the former German Embassy employees.

LANSING

File No. 705.6254/16

The Swiss Minister (Sulzer) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests I b 15 WASHINGTON, *October 30, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that, according to a decision reached by the Spanish Embassy and the Swiss Legation, the Swiss Consulate at San Francisco took charge of German interests in the Hawaiian Islands on October 23, 1917, as the Spanish consul at Honolulu wished to leave for some time, and no suitable person could be found with whom these interests could be entrusted.

Accept [etc.] HANS SULZER

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File No. 705.6254/17

The Swiss Minister (Sulzer) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests IV 14

MEMORANDUM

The Minister of Switzerland, representing German interests in the United States, presents his compliments to the Secretary of State, and has the honor to enclose copy of a letter transmitted to this Legation by the Consulate of Switzerland in New York, with reference to obtaining a license under the Trading with the Enemy Act in order to continue to occupy certain premises at 11 Broadway, New York City, the lease for which was originally concluded by the German Government with the Broadway Realty Co.[1]

The Minister begs leave to direct his excellency's attention to the statement in this communication that the Swiss Consulate is occupying these premises as agent for the German Government. It is the opinion of this Legation that the Swiss Consulate can in no event be required to apply for license under the above-mentioned act, in view of the fact that the representation of German interests in the United States was undertaken by this Legation with the express consent and agreement of the Government of the United States, a fact which, in itself, is a due and sufficient authorization for these consuls to administer the affairs of German subjects in the United States.

The Minister, therefore, would appreciate it if instructions to this effect would be issued to the proper authorities of the Government of the United States, and that in the particular case here submitted, his excellency would kindly undertake to correct the erroneous statement of the functions of the Swiss consulates in the United States.

WASHINGTON, *October 31, 1917.*

File No. 705.6254/17

The Secretary of State to the War Trade Board

WASHINGTON, *November 27, 1917.*

GENTLEMEN: The Department encloses herewith, for consideration, a copy of a memorandum from the Legation of Switzerland, dated October 31, 1917, together with copies of enclosures received therewith,[1] in relation to a demand made by the lessors that the Swiss Consul in New York obtain a license, under the Trading with the Enemy Act, in order to continue to occupy certain premises at

[1] Not printed.

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No. 11 Broadway, the lease on which was originally concluded by the German Government with the Broadway Realty Co.

The Department does not concur in the opinion expressed by Masten and Nichols, counsel for the lessors, that the premises in question are occupied by the Swiss Consul " as agent for the German Government," and that he, therefore, should secure a license to continue to occupy them.

Upon the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, this Government on February 6, 1917, consented to the Swiss Government assuming charge, through the Swiss Minister, of German interests in this country, and to it taking over, through the Swiss consular officers, the German consulates in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco, Seattle, St. Paul, Denver, and Manila. It is the opinion of the Department that the Swiss consular officers took charge of the German consulates as representatives of the Swiss Government and that they did not thereby become " officers," " officials," or " agents " of the German Government within the meaning of the Trading with the Enemy Act, and that this act, reasonably construed, ought not to be held to apply to them.

The Department requests, therefore, that the War Trade Board take such steps as it may deem best to secure the Swiss Consul from interference as by issuing a license to the lessors in the event that it is considered necessary for them to have one.

I am [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:
WILLIAM PHILLIPS
Assistant Secretary

File No. 705.6254/18

The Swiss Minister (Sulzer) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests IV 14

MEMORANDUM

The Minister of Switzerland, representing German interests in the United States, presents his compliments to the Secretary of State, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his excellency's memorandum of November 30, 1917, with reference to the lease of certain premises at No. 11 Broadway, New York City.[1] The Minister notes that his excellency has communicated the memorandum of

[1] Not printed.

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the Legation of October 31, 1917, to the War Trade Board, with a view to having such steps taken as may be necessary to secure the Swiss Consulate at New York City from interference with his charge of the German Consulate there.

The Minister begs leave to advise his excellency that owing to the fact that the Broadway Realty Co. had given notification that unless a license was obtained before November 5 possession of the premises would be terminated by them, it was deemed advisable that a new lease with this company should be entered into in the name of the Swiss Consul.

The Minister avails himself of this occasion to express to his excellency his appreciation of the action taken by the Department of State.

WASHINGTON, *December 4, 1917.*

[*Received December 6.*]

File No. 701.6211/449

The Swiss Minister (Sulzer) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests L d 7

MEMORANDUM

The Minister of Switzerland, representing German interests in the United States, presents his compliments to the Secretary of State, and has the honor to inform his excellency that an agreement has been reached between the Swiss Minister and the Spanish Ambassador of this city to the effect that the Spanish Vice Consul at Panama, who is in charge of German interests in the Republic of Panama, has also assumed protection of German interests in the Canal Zone, provided that this arrangement meets with the approval of the Governments of the United States, Switzerland, Spain, and Germany.

The Minister begs leave to add that these Governments have already been advised by cable. An answer has, however, not yet been received.

WASHINGTON, *April 25, 1918.*

[*Received April 27.*]

File No. 701.6211/450

The Secretary of State to the Swiss Chargé (Hübscher)

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of Switzerland, in charge of German interests in the United States, and referring to the memorandum of the

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Swiss Legation dated April 25, 1918, has the honor to say that the proposal made that the Spanish Vice Consul at Panama, in charge of German interests in the Republic of Panama, shall also be allowed to assume protection of German interests in the Canal Zone is agreeable to the Government of the United States.

WASHINGTON, *August 24, 1918.*

Representation of the United States in Austria-Hungary by Spain

File No. 124.63/12a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 4, 1917, 2 p. m.*

210. Inquire of Spanish Government whether they would take charge of the interests of this Government in Austria-Hungary in the event of severance of relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States.

LANSING

File No. 124.63/13

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *February 5, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[Received 7 p. m.]

328. Department's telegram 210, February 4, 2 p. m. Minister for Foreign Affairs says that Spain will take charge of American interests in Austria-Hungary in event of severance of diplomatic relations.

WILLARD

File No. 704.0063/1b

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 9, 1917, 11.30 a. m.*

1646. Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires here has to-day requested his passports. In accordance with previous instructions, transfer American, British, and Japanese interests to Spanish Ambassador; Roumanian, French, and Italian interests to Swiss Minister.

LANSING

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File No. 703.5263

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 9, 1917, 4 p. m.*

396. Your 328, February 5, 1 p. m. The Austro-Hungarian Government has severed relations with the United States to-day, and Embassy at Vienna instructed by Department to turn over American interests in Austria-Hungary to Spanish Ambassador there. Also instructed to turn over British and Japanese interests to Spanish Ambassador in accordance with arrangements which are understood to have been made between governments concerned.

Please inform Foreign Office.

LANSING

File No. 703.5263/3

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *April 11, 1917, 10 a. m.*

[*Received 6.30 p. m.*]

469. Department's 396, April 9, 4 p. m. Instructions have been given and Spanish Embassy, Vienna, has actually taken charge American interests Austria-Hungary. Similar instructions sent by Foreign Office in regard to British and Japanese interests.

WILLARD

Representation of Austria-Hungary in the United States by Sweden, in the Philippines by Switzerland

File No. 705.6358/1

The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *April 10, 1917.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I herewith have the honor to bring to your excellency's knowledge that I have to-day been instructed by my Government to assume charge of the Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States, and that I have accordingly taken over these interests.

With renewed assurances [etc.] W. A. F. EKENGREN

File No. 705.6358/1

The Secretary of State to the Swedish Minister (Ekengren)

WASHINGTON, *April 23, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of April 10, 1917, in which you state that you had been instructed on

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that day by your Government to assume charge of the Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States and that you have accordingly taken over those interests.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 705.6352/–

The Spanish Ambassador (Riaño) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *May 26, 1917.*

Mr. SECRETARY: I have the honor to inform your excellency that I have just received a telegram from the Minister of State by which he instructs me to notify your excellency that at the request of the Austro-Hungarian Government the Consul of Spain at Honolulu, where Sweden has no representative, has been instructed to take charge of the protection of Austro-Hungarian interests in that island.

I avail myself [etc.] JUAN RIAÑO

File No. 705.6354

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests Doss 1 b 13

MEMORANDUM

The Minister of Switzerland, representing German interests in the United States, presents his compliments to the Secretary of State, and has the honor to inform his excellency that, at the request of the Government of Sweden, the Swiss Government has agreed to assume the representation of Austro-Hungarian interests in the Philippine Islands, and that this Legation has duly notified the Swiss Consul in Manila to this effect.

WASHINGTON, *June 4, 1917.*

[*Received June 5.*]

File No. 705.6358/8

The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State

Department of Austro-
Hungarian Interests

The Minister of Sweden, representing Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States, presents his compliments to his excellency the Secretary of State and has the honor to inform him that Austro-

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Hungarian interests in the Hawaiian Islands, which until recently have been in charge of the Spanish Consul at Honolulu who has left, have been transferred to the Royal Swedish Consulate at San Francisco, Calif.

The Minister of Sweden, therefore, begs to request his excellency the Secretary of State to kindly inform the competent authorities of the new jurisdiction of the Swedish Consulate in San Francisco.

WASHINGTON, *October 29, 1917.*

[*Received October 31.*]

Representation of Turkey in the United States by Spain [1]

File No. 705.6752/–

The Spanish Ambassador (Riaño) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *April 27, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to advise your excellency that, under instructions received from His Majesty's Government, I have on this day taken charge of the interests of Turkey in the United States.

I avail myself [etc.] JUAN RIAÑO

File No. 705.6752/–

The Secretary of State to the Spanish Ambassador (Riaño)

WASHINGTON, *May 1, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of April 27, 1917, in which you state that you have on that date taken charge of the interests of Turkey in the United States.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

Transfer to Other Neutral Governments of the Representation of Belligerent Governments in Enemy Countries by the United States upon the Severance of Relations with the Countries Concerned

[No attempt is made at a comprehensive publication of papers dealing with this subject, for the same reasons that most of the correspondence dealing with the taking over of particular interests in the various countries was omitted from previous volumes. (See the note in *Foreign Relations*, 1914, Supplement, p. 731.)

The correspondence which follows, concerning only the transfers effected upon the severance of relations with Germany, is typical of

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[1] Representation of the United States in Turkey by Sweden is referred to *ante*, pp. 599, 605.

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the procedure in other cases. Details connected with the transfer of consular representation and of funds, the closing of accounts, the final reports, etc., are omitted. Correspondence relating to the transfer of interests represented in Austria-Hungary is included in the section dealing with representation of the United States in Austria-Hungary by Spain. See *ante*, page 618.]

File No. 701.4162/5a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 2 p. m.*

4385. German Ambassador here, together with his staff, will be handed passport at 2 p. m. to-day. In accordance with the desire of the British Government expressed last April, the American Ambassador at Berlin has been instructed to turn over British interests in Germany to Dutch Minister there.

LANSING

File No. 704.6200/17a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)[1]

[Circular Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 5 p. m.*

Department's 4385, February 3, 2 p. m. Suspend all activities on behalf of Germany until further instructions from Department or information is received from other sources indicating which country will be entrusted with German interests.

LANSING

File No. 704.6241/29

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 7, 1917.*
[Received 5 p. m.]

5627. At the formal request of the Swiss Minister I have to-day turned over to him the care of the German interests in this country pursuant to last clause of your telegraphic circular instruction of February 3, 5 p. m.

PAGE

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[1] The same, with appropriate references, to the diplomatic representatives in France, Greece, Japan, Portugal, Roumania, Morocco, Russia, and Egypt.

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File No. 704.6200/21a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)[1]

[Circular Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 7, 1917, 8 p. m.*

German Foreign Office has informally stated to Gerard that Germany has entrusted her interests in the United States and in all belligerent countries to Switzerland, except in Russia where German interests have been turned over to Sweden. You may act accordingly.

LANSING

File No. 704.6200/41a

The Secretary of State to the Swiss Minister (Ritter)

No. 346 WASHINGTON, *February 13, 1917.*

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that telegrams have been received from the consular representatives of this Government at numerous cities abroad reporting that there are no Swiss consuls at those places to whom German interests can be turned over. For example, I am advised that there are no Swiss consular officers at Barbados, Cairo, Martinique, Hongkong, Azores, Lourenço Marques, and Port of Spain.

I should be greatly pleased if you will ascertain by telegraph the wishes of the German Government as to what disposition it desires to have made of its interests at such places where there are no Swiss consular officers.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 763.72114/2511b

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 8, 1917, 4 p. m.*

1587. Please convey informally to the Foreign Office the substance of the following: As the Austro-Hungarian Government is aware, the care of its interests in Russia was taken over by the American Embassy at Petrograd about the same time as those of Germany. Because of the physical conditions under which both civilian and military prisoners of war have been kept in Russia, it was found essential in the interests of efficiency to handle Austro-Hungarian

[1] The same to the diplomatic representatives in France, Greece, Japan, Portugal, Roumania, Morocco, Russia, and Egypt.

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and German relief work through a single organization. The relief committees in the different camps are composed of both Austro-Hungarian and German subjects; joint schools, hospitals, etc., managed by both nationalities, have been established and in many other respects which will be apparent to the Foreign Office the administration of Austro-Hungarian and German interests has become almost inseparable. In the course of the last two years and a half the Embassy at Petrograd has built up a large organization which in order to meet existing conditions has handled Austro-Hungarian and German relief matters as a single subject, except as regards the actual receipt, distribution, and accounting of funds.

Since the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany, German interests in Russia have been turned over to the Swedish Minister at Petrograd. The American Embassy in its endeavors to carry on the separate administration of Austro-Hungarian relief has already encountered serious practical difficulties and it is feared that unless the interests of both Austria-Hungary and Germany are placed in the same hands the interests of the subjects of both will suffer. In view of the facts outlined above, which will doubtless go far to render ineffective the work of the American Embassy in caring for Austro-Hungarian interests, the Department will be pleased to receive information as to whether the Austro-Hungarian Government desires that the Embassy continue its representation as at present.

Please make it very clear that the question is now raised solely in the interests of Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war. It is felt that this Government would be lacking in friendliness if it failed frankly to point out the disadvantages under which it will now have to carry on its work on behalf of Austro-Hungarian subjects in Russia. The Department is confident that the Austro-Hungarian Government will understand the spirit in which this communication is made, which is applicable to the situation in Russia only.

LANSING

File No. 704.6200/63

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

Department of German Interests I 4 h

WASHINGTON, *March 14, 1917.*
[*Received March 16.*]

SIR: In your note of February 13, 1917, your excellency informed me that telegrams had been received by your Department from the American consular representatives at numerous cities abroad reporting that there are no Swiss consuls at those places to whom German interests can be turned over. This Legation was informed verbally by your Department that this applies principally to Apia, Saigon, Harbin, Singapore, Gibraltar, Tahiti, the Azores, British Guiana, and Madagascar. I immediately cabled my Government to ascertain

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to whom German interests in these places could be turned over. I am now advised that in the Azores the Spanish consuls are entrusted with German interests, the Spanish Government having taken over charge of German interests in Portugal, and that at Gibraltar the Spanish Consul has also taken charge. Concerning the other places, my Government states, the question is still under consideration.

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 763.72114/2512

The Ambassador in Austria-Hungary (Penfield) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VIENNA, *March 20, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received March 22, 3 a. m.*]

1770. Department's 1587, March 8, regarding care of Austro-Hungarian interests in Russia. Following is translation of *aide-mémoire* from Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated March 18, replying to Embassy's *aide-mémoire* of March 10 in which Department's communication was informally conveyed to the Minister:

In the very esteemed *aide-mémoire* No. 12114 of the 10th instant the Embassy of the United States of America was pleased to allude to the fact that the protection, not only of the Austro-Hungarian citizens detained in Russia partly as prisoners of war and partly as civilian internes, but also of the German subjects under the same circumstances with which the American Embassy in Petrograd was hitherto charged had been organized and effected in accordance with a well-thought-out and combined system, but that this manner of working had naturally become impossible from the moment the protection of German interests in Russia had devolved on Sweden.

This new situation has now given rise to some practical difficulties and the American Government, therefore, thinks it necessary to take the question into consideration as to whether it would not be in the interest of the Austrian and Hungarian citizens concerned if their protection were now again to be placed in the same hands as that of the Germans.

The Imperial and Royal Government is able fully to appreciate the idea prompting this step of the Washington Cabinet and sees therein a renewed proof of the profound seriousness and scrupulous conscientiousness with which the American Government undertakes its duty as a protective power. But this very recognition, strengthened and increased hereby, inspires the Imperial and Royal Government with the sincere wish that the United States Government may see its way to continuing its eminently humanitarian activity in Russia, thus procuring the Imperial and Royal Government the satisfactory assurance it so highly esteems that the care of the interests here at stake, whereby the fate of individuals is so vitally affected, will remain in the same tried and trustworthy hands as hitherto.

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If, therefore, as the Imperial and Royal Government believes it may confidently hope the United States Government should find itself disposed to continue the protection of the Austrian and Hungarian citizens in Russia in spite of the practical difficulties it has pointed out, which moreover the American functionaries concerned will doubtless be able to overcome by means of their eminent and intimate knowledge of the conditions in question, this will certainly constitute yet a further claim to the gratitude which the Imperial and Royal Government owes to the very meritorious activity the American Government has so generously displayed since the beginning of the war for the good of the Austrians and Hungarians that are suffering the tribulations of captivity.

Vienna, March 18, 1917.

PENFIELD

File No. 763.72114/2441

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 23, 1917, 4 p. m.*

1278. Your 1047, February 18, 5 p. m.[1] On March 8, Department through Embassy, Vienna, telegraphed full explanation to Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office of the difficulties you encounter in carrying on work of caring for Austro-Hungarian interests when not handled in connection with those of Germany, and requested an expression of its desires. In reply, dated March 18, Foreign Office earnestly asks that in view of Embassy's most effective protection of Austro-Hungarian subjects in the past you continue in that protection.

Department, though fully appreciating your position, can pursue no other course at present than to instruct you to proceed with Austro-Hungarian relief work. If you find the difficulties insuperable for effective care of interests please report.

LANSING

File No. 704.6241/31

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *April 13, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received 7.30 p. m.*]

5993. The Swiss Minister has requested me to turn over to him the archives of the former German division of this Embassy, covering the period from the outbreak of war to our severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, on the ground that it would facilitate his work in representing German interests.

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[1] Not printed.

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As these archives, some of which are confidential, are the only record of my stewardship of German interests and contain receipts for the expenditure of German Government funds which if lost could not be replaced, I am strongly averse from parting with them even temporarily and, therefore, earnestly beg you will instruct me to inform the Swiss Minister I am unable to accede to his request.

The foregoing also applies to files of former Austro-Hungarian division of this Embassy for which I understand the Swedish Minister may apply to me.

PAGE

File No. 704.6241/31

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *April 17, 1917, 3 p. m.*

4703. Your 5993, April 13, 6 p. m. Inform Swiss Minister that the Department can not authorize you to turn over to him the Embassy archives of the former German division as this Government must necessarily keep a complete record of its past activities on behalf of Germany. You may, however, for his assistance furnish him with copies of correspondence concerning German interests received since the severance of relations and allow him so far as seems desirable to consult the Embassy's German files. If deemed advisable you may also offer the temporary services of clerks whom you formerly employed in the German division. This instruction applies equally to the transfer of Austro-Hungarian interests.

LANSING

File No. 704.6200/79

The Department of State to the Swiss Legation

MEMORANDUM

At various times the Department of State has requested the Swiss Minister, representing German interests in the United States, to be so good as to ascertain from the German Government what disposition should be made of German interests in certain places, where before the severance of relations between the United States and Germany they were entrusted to American consular officers. Through the good offices of the Swiss Legation it has been made possible in most cases to give appropriate instruction to the American representatives, but information is still lacking concerning the transference of German interests in the following places: Harbin, Barbados, Martinique, Trinidad, Apia, Tahiti, British Guiana, Madagascar, Mombasa, Kingston, and Valetta.

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The Department of State, therefore, must again have recourse to the kindness of the Swiss Legation and ask that the matter be brought to the attention of the German Government by telegraph with the request that the German Government immediately give notice of its desires in the premises. This Government can assume no responsibility in the care of German interests and property since February 3, 1917.

WASHINGTON, *July 17, 1917.*

File No. 704.6200/80

The Swiss Chargé (Hübscher) to the Secretary of State

Department of German
Interests I d Allg. 3

MEMORANDUM

The Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland *ad interim*, representing German interests, presents his compliments to the Secretary of State, and, referring to his excellency's memorandum of July 17, 1917, has the honor to inform his excellency that the Legation has been advised by the Swiss Foreign Office that the German Government has not yet found a neutral power to whom German interests can be confided at Harbin, Barbados, Trinidad, Tahiti, British Guiana, and Jamaica. The Legation is further advised that at Mombasa and Singapore the German interests will be represented by the Netherlands; at Lourenço Marques by Spain, and at Madagascar by Sweden. The German interests in Apia and New Zealand will be represented by the Swiss Consulate at Auckland, and at Queenstown in Tasmania by the Swiss Consulate in Melbourne. Finally, the Legation is informed that there having been no German consulate in Martinique, there will be no necessity for transfer of the representation of interests.

WASHINGTON, *August 14, 1917.*

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER AND RELIEF WORKERS FROM BELGIUM—TRANSFER OF THE RELIEF WORK TO NETHERLAND SUBJECTS

File No. 855.48/488

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *February 1, 1917.*
[*Received 8.15 a. m.*]

38. I have the honor to request that the following communication be transmitted to the President:

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Dear Mr. President: The German Government of Occupation in Belgium has just communicated to me the tenor of a communication made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Imperial German Government to the American Ambassador at Berlin stating that the Central powers have declared a blockade of the English, French, and Italian coasts. Thus far the ships of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, transporting food to the Belgian people and the inhabitants of the north of France, have been compelled to touch at an English port in order to permit the British Government to satisfy itself that these ships were not transporting contraband of war. If this measure is maintained, that is to say, if in future the ships of the commission are compelled to touch at an English port, the inevitable consequence will be the suppression of the relief to this people already so sorely tried. Therefore, I respectfully beg you to intervene with the British Government in order if possible that it may take no measure that will have the effect of breaking down the relief. This great humanitarian work, which has always enjoyed your high patronage, has had the effect thus far of saving from ruin and distress more than seven millions of Belgian civilians, and more than three millions of French who otherwise would have perished. The maintenance of the relief is all the more necessary and urgent because in the midst of the severest winter that this country has known for years the deplorable situation of the poor is aggravated to point that must excite the pity of every human heart. Any interruption, even [if it] were momentary, in the provisioning of the country would menace with famine ten millions of human beings already deep in misery. I beg you, therefore, in the names of all these suffering ones to effect if possible some arrangement by which the ships of the commission can continue to bear their saving cargoes of [food to] these people. I am assured by the German authorities that the Imperial German Government has no intention of interfering with the humanitarian works of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. The situation could be saved if the control exercised heretofore in English ports were exercised instead either at the port of embarkation or at the port of debarkation in Holland. A communication similar to this is being sent by his excellency the Spanish Minister to his Catholic Majesty and by the Dutch Chargé to Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands. In the autumn of 1914 I had the honor to despatch a telegram to you, and in your great heart you found a way to succor the civil population of this land and Northern France, and it is the hope of all those who at great sacrifice have now for more than two years devoted themselves to that great work that your great influence may be exercised to secure its continuance.

WHITLOCK

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File No. 855.48/440a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 4 p. m.*

4386. Belgian relief. Department would be glad if you would express to the British Government the strong feeling of this country and of the Government that the relief of the Belgian and occupied French population must in any event continue; for this country will wish to show no less interest in this great work of humanity than has been shown during the last two years by the British and French Governments. Should it become impossible for the Americans to remain in Belgium and in control, Hoover considers it very desirable that the work of relief should be taken over by the Dutch Government, a transfer which could probably be best negotiated by the Belgian Government and the American Minister at The Hague. We have telegraphed Whitlock asking him to remain at his post and asking him to secure from the German authorities for members of relief the treatment of diplomatic and consular staff. Mr. Hoover desires you convey following message to Poland and Kellogg:

I think it extremely desirable for all members in Belgium to remain at their posts, even after departure of diplomatic and consular staff if Germans will guarantee their freedom to depart if situation becomes entirely untenable. Wish you to take Mr. Page's advice in all matters and to consult freely with Belgian and British Governments, particularly on following questions. First. Change if any in sailing directions of ships afloat, such change if any to be issued by British Admiralty. Second. Whether and by what route ships at present in Rotterdam and Atlantic ports should sail. If new British mine field does not interfere represent to British Government strongly desirability of taking route outside war zone. At the same time ask Spanish Ambassador if he will communicate through Brussels and Berlin that as British mine field and necessity to bunker in United Kingdom and conditions of charter and insurance renders Falmouth channel route the only practicable passage the Germans should agree at once to respect relief ships on this route and issue passes to this end, and that all departures are held up meantime. Remit us all the money you can lay hands on at once.

LANSING

File No. 124.55/2a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 3, 1917, 5 p. m.*

248. For your information. German Ambassador accompanied by his staff has to-day been handed his passports. Ambassador Gerard and his staff have been instructed to leave Berlin at once, and similar instructions have been sent to all the consuls in the German Empire.

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Inasmuch as you are accredited to the Belgian Government, the Department believes that you should remain in Brussels unless the German authorities express the desire to have you leave Belgium, in which case you should turn Legation and archives over to Spanish representative and take up your residence near the Belgian Government at Havre.

In the event of your leaving Belgium, you should instruct the consuls at Antwerp, Brussels, Liège, and Ghent to place consulates and archives in custody of representative of Spain and proceed with American clerks to the United States where they will be given leave of absence in Department's discretion, except Nasmith who should report to Consul at Amsterdam for duty.

Expenses of transportation of families and of storage of household and personal effects or rent of residence where storage not possible or lease of residence not terminable will be paid from time to time upon receipt of accounts and vouchers. Codes, cipher messages, or translations, seals and accounts, including all accounts, vouchers and papers relating to expenses of representing foreign interests and for individual relief should be delivered to Legation for transmission to the Department.

Rent of offices to March 31 should be paid. Also in the event of consuls leaving, pay salaries of clerks and employees who are not American citizens to March 31, when services of foreign subjects will terminate. Take receipts covering full period of each payment. Legation should deliver to Spanish Minister list of future payments to be made for rent and similar obligatory expenses of Legation and consulates after March 31 with blanks and instructions covering such payments. Discontinue all expenses not obligatory.

In the event of consuls leaving, all money on hand belonging to United States in excess of payments herein authorized should be deposited with Legation and receipt taken. Legation should deliver to Spanish Minister amount sufficient to meet expenses of Legation and consulates for 6 months, taking receipts therefor. Remainder should be taken to Havre. Funds held on account of foreign governments for relief and other purposes should be delivered to diplomatic representatives selected by those governments to take charge of their interests, taking and forwarding to Department receipts in triplicate for exact amount so delivered.

Mr. Hoover is very anxious that members of the relief commission remain at their stations, but it seems to the Department and to him that you should obtain an undertaking from the German authorities that members of the commission should be considered as members of your staff in the event of the withdrawal of Americans from Belgium.

LANSING

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File No. 855.48/440

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 3, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received February 4, 4.30 a. m.*]

5590. Commission for Relief in Belgium requests that I send the following urgent message, and asks that its substance may at once be transmitted to Hoover.

We consider necessary that no vessels start from American ports until definite understanding reached between German and British Governments. Shipments from this Kingdom likewise held. Please ask that German Government continue present protection between English ports and Rotterdam and overseas; otherwise shipments originating England, amounting over one fifth our [supplies], will be cut off and not replaceable, also ships arriving and cargoes now here will be excluded. This will break down *ravitaillement*. Impossible to communicate with and warn ships soon to arrive. It is necessary that ships coal United Kingdom. The German prohibited area with the new British mine field practically excludes vessels from approaching Holland. Dutch frontier now open and Gregory advised to ship all Dutch and commission products possible into Belgium and northern France. On the request of Lord Eustace Percy we have asked Gregory to assure people that in event of difficulties between Germany and the United States the work will be continued under the Dutch, Spanish, and Danish Ministers.

Percy says the Treasury is still discussing with Belgian Government details of the loan. Hopes matter will be settled soon. French and German Governments agree to all our recommendations except Treasury as above. Percy has advised Treasury that loan must be settled at once or increased subsidy granted. Believe possible thus to secure temporary relief.

Mr. Page intends to discuss matter with Mr. Balfour.

PAGE

File No. 855.48/438

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 4, 1917, 5 p. m.*

249. Your 38, 1st. Department is informed that British and German mine fields combined effectually shut off approaches to Holland to North Sea route; in consequence neutral owners and insurers Belgian relief ships refuse take this risk, and, therefore, German proposal wholly impracticable. Germans have indicated to this Government they can respect Atlantic seaboard ships *en route* to Falmouth and have indicated to Netherland Government that they can respect

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ships *en route* Flushing to British coast. There is, therefore, absolutely no reason why they should not extend this respect to Belgian relief ships between Falmouth and Thames. Furthermore, great majority of ships must touch at United Kingdom ports in order to coal. German proposal absolutely infeasible and unworkable, and entire responsibility for the starvation of the Belgians and French people rests squarely on their shoulders unless they are prepared to respect the flag of mercy of the Belgian relief hitherto. Please represent the situation strongly to German authorities.

LANSING

File No. 855.48/492

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Assistant Secretary of State (Phillips)

WASHINGTON, *February 6, 1917.*
[*Received February 7.*]

MY DEAR MR. PHILLIPS: I have received a cablegram from the Foreign Office stating that provided only that Germany will allow Belgian relief ships to come to Rotterdam, His Majesty's Government will see that relief work goes on and have no doubt that they will be able to make arrangements with the Spanish or Dutch Governments to safeguard it.

Would you kindly inform those interested of the above.

Believe me [etc.] CECIL SPRING RICE

File No. 855.48/444

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 6, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received February 7, 2 a. m.*]

5612. Following confidential for Hoover:

British Government agrees commission vessels to leave Rotterdam without touching United Kingdom and to send *Samland* northern [route] and without touching United Kingdom, but afterwards canceled; because, although Germans have altered danger zone and now state vessels may approach channel five miles wide between German zone and British mine fields which Foreign Office advises is blocked by Dutch field, both Dutch and British Admiralties consider it hazardous; therefore outgoing vessels Rotterdam held. British authorities have not yet agreed incoming boats to proceed direct without touching United Kingdom; awaiting German reply to commission's new request through Von Stumm and Merry del Val for

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safe-conduct through channel and from United Kingdom to Rotterdam; confident they will do everything we find necessary.

In reply to former request through German and American Legations at The Hague, Berlin answers February 4:

Relief ships now Rotterdam can not coal at Barry Dock, England; all ships now in England must leave February 4; all British ships sailing to-day or in future can not navigate in danger zone, but must take route indicated by German navy. Commission steamers can no longer come here; only Dutch paddle steamers can travel between Holland and England. Germans then specify that paddle ships must follow line between Flushing and Southwold.

There are seven loaded steamers, British ports, 24,000 tons; eight steamers approaching British ports which can not be communicated with, loaded, 48,000 tons; two ships of which no reports between the United Kingdom and Rotterdam, loaded with 11,000 tons; seven vessels outbound in Rotterdam, 29,000 tons. *Leopold II* left Barry February 1 for Sandy Hook; *Liège* left Barry February 2 for Sandy Hook. In addition in ballast in the United Kingdom outbound three vessels, 18,000 tons, and on the high seas *en route* to loading ports under our protection we have four boats of 18,000 tons, also three ships in American ports 11,000 tons. Your Washington No. 1 just received and forwarded Whitlock. German officers in Brussels leaving to-day for conference at Berlin regarding status of commission. Poland and Kellogg.

PAGE

File No. 855.48/447

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 9, 1917, 6 p. m.*
[*Received 8.15 p. m.*]

5652. Your 4386, February 3, 4 p. m. Instruction in first paragraph promptly followed. The future of the commission is under constant discussion between commissioners here, Spanish Ambassador, myself, and British Government and German Government through Spanish Ambassador and his Government. There is hope that working arrangement may be restored if we keep out of war. In case Americans are forced to leave Belgium the most probable course of events will be as follows: the Hoover Commission will be liquidated, the British, French, and Belgian Governments will provide for future work. We shall advise with them as far as they desire and permit. The Spanish Ambassador will expect, under direction of his Government, to remain on the reorganized commission and to help

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constitute it. He has so informed the British Government and me. His view is that if Americans are forced off the commission, the commission will still exist in spite of liquidation and consist of him and his Spanish associates together with other diplomatic patrons and members except me. The real reconstruction of the commission it seems to me must rest upon the three governments most directly concerned, namely British, French, and Belgian who will then take up question of reorganization with the Spanish Ambassador and other diplomatic members.

PAGE

File No. 855.48/449

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

February 10, 1917, 5 p. m.
[Received 11.15 p. m.]

5662. Following for Hoover from relief commission:

British Government has agreed that commission ships, in or out bound, need not touch at United Kingdom ports but, for your confidential information, must touch at British ports elsewhere, as Halifax, or Bermuda, or West African Coast. Merry del Val, through Spanish Ambassador, Berlin, and our Rotterdam office through German Legation, The Hague, and Brussels office, and British Foreign Office through King of Spain, are asking German Government, on basis concession British Government, that boats not required touch United Kingdom, to modify German regulations as follows:

1. All relief vessels from overseas or Rotterdam subsequent to February 1 which do not touch at United Kingdom ports shall be furnished safe-conduct passes by German authorities and when protected with commission signs and marks shall be allowed to approach or leave Rotterdam by either north or south routes through German danger zones and overseas without molestation by German authorities.

2. Relief steamers now in United Kingdom and steamers which cleared overseas ports before February 2 which may arrive later furnished safe-conduct passes and unmolested to Rotterdam or overseas.

3. All vessels No. 2 allowed touch United Kingdom ports unmolested.

4. All relief ships carrying United Kingdom purchases protected between Rotterdam and United Kingdom, both directions.

5. German Government to arrange for coal for relief ships, Rotterdam.

PAGE

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File No. 855.48/450

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *February 10, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 11.45 p. m.*]

1867. Through the courtesy of the Danish Minister here I have today seen and taken affidavit of B. E. A. Moller, Danish citizen, only survivor of Danish steamer *Lars Kruse*, who stated under oath that the vessel was carrying a cargo of corn for the Committee for Relief in Belgium from Buenos Aires to Rotterdam. Vessel bore customary distinguishing marks and was unarmed. At 12.10 a. m., February 4, from 20 to 30 miles northeast of Ouessant, while deponent was asleep, violent explosion occurred, steamer sinking in three minutes. Officers and crew consisted of 18 men. Those who did not go down with steamer clung to overturned lifeboat but gradually succumbed to cold and exposure. About 8.30 a. m., he saw a steamer and a submarine. Signaled to latter which saw him but made for steamer which was subsequently sunk between 12 and 1 o'clock. At 2 p. m., he was taken on board submarine which was of German nationality, but he saw no number. At 4.30 he was put into lifeboat of latter steamer and was rescued by French torpedo boat. Weather at time of explosion calm, fair, ground swell, bright moonlight. A submarine could have easily operated under existing conditions. Explosion occurred well astern at hatch No. 4, and deponent does not believe that it could have been caused by a floating mine, but being asleep at the time is unable to say whether explosion was caused by torpedo or mine. Captain of German submarine asked deponent name of the steamer to which he belonged and whether it had been torpedoed or destroyed by mine. There were no Americans on board the *Lars Kruse*.

Moller, who is 38 years of age and has been following the sea for 18 years, made favorable impression on me for his honesty and intelligence.

Affidavit will be forwarded by mail.

SHARP

File No. 855.48/453

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 12, 1917.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

5673. Director Gregory at Brussels informs Commission for Relief in Belgium that Von der Lancken, Civil Governor of Belgium, has reported to him that the German Government will no longer per-

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mit American members of commission to exercise functions in Belgium and Northern France. Hoover and his American associates can, in my judgment, pursue only one course, namely: inform the German Government immediately that every American retires, get all American members out of Belgium and France in whatever way their exit can best be managed by Gregory, with whom Poland is conferring by telegraph, and close the commission's business immediately in Belgium and France and liquidate it as soon as possible. We shall have to leave to the decision of the British, French, and German Governments the work for the future. Americans can now retire with clean record and make dignified exit without parley, leaving the onus on the German Government.

I regard it as of the very highest importance that Hoover announce retirement under German order, emphatically and immediately. Further discussion may lose the present tactical advantage.

I await Department's instruction to me to retire as patron of commission which I hope will be given.

Please inform Hoover of the contents of this and your instructions to me. PAGE

File No. 855.48/454

The British Ambassador (Spring Rice) to the Secretary of State

No. 39 WASHINGTON, *February 13, 1917.*
[*Received February 14.*]

SIR: I have received instructions from His Majesty's Government to inform you, with reference to your telegrams to the United States Ambassador at London and to Mr. Hoover's telegrams to the Belgian Relief Commission and to the Foreign Office that:

1. His Majesty's Government fully agree that the Belgian relief must continue, and they cordially welcome the statement that the United States will wish to show continued interest in it even in the event of the withdrawal of American citizens.
2. His Majesty's Government will give favourable consideration to any German proposal as to the routing of relief ships so far as it may be found, on examination by the British naval authorities, to be feasible.

I have [etc.] CECIL SPRING RICE

File No. 855.48/483

The Netherland Minister (Van Rappard) to the Secretary of State

CONFIRMATION

The Netherland Minister presents his compliments to his excellency the Secretary of State and begs leave to bring to the latter's

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notice that in case the American citizens now engaged in the relief work in Belgium would be compelled by the circumstances to leave that country, the Netherland Government would be glad to form a committee of Dutch subjects who would work under its patronage and take over, either alone or in concerted action with other neutrals, the duties till now performed by the American commission.

WASHINGTON, *14 February 1917.*

File No. 855.48/456

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *February 13, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received February 14, 9.20 a. m.*]

526. Department's 249 [*248*] to Brussels. Mr. Whitlock has directed me to report regarding situation in Brussels. Lancken went to Berlin, February 5, for conference regarding commission for relief and during his absence Von Bissing sent representative to request Mr. Whitlock to stay in order to insure commission's continuance. In view of Department's telegram 249 [*248?*] Mr. Whitlock assented, provided conditions were made acceptable. On February 8 Lancken returned to Brussels and on the evening of February 9 informally told Mr. Whitlock that it was the authorities' desire that the relief continue, and invited him to stay "honorary chairman." However, his prerogatives as Minister have been suspended. He can not have a pouch or use a cipher. He is no longer addressed officially and he was requested to lower the flag at once. Lancken also informed Mr. Whitlock that the relief commission would have to be cut down to five or six controlling members and that the privilege of traveling in automobiles would be suspended. He also refused to [consider them as Legation] members in case of war, in so far as applies to members, even though the United States Government agreed to guarantee in writing the safe-conduct of the remaining German citizens [in case enemy aliens?] were interned in America. Mr. Whitlock requested that the above statement be embodied in a formal note to the Spanish Minister, to which Lancken acceded. I left Brussels on the morning of February 11 and at that time the Spanish Minister had received only a rough draft, which was very vague and in no way specified the privileges which would be accorded those members who stayed.

In view of the above facts, Mr. Whitlock respectfully and urgently requests the opinion of the Department as to what course he should pursue. He is willing to make any personal sacrifice, provided in the Department's opinion this would help insure the continuance of

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the relief. The only means [of] communication being through the secret use of Spanish Minister's pouch in Brussels, Mr. Whitlock suggests that the Department's reply be sent by cable to the Legation at The Hague for transmission in this way. Mr. Whitlock would also be grateful for instructions as to [whom] British, Serbian, Japanese, Danish and Liechtenstein interests should be transferred.

Herter [1]

STOVALL

File No. 855.48/457

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *February 14, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 2 p. m.*]

716. Whitlock sends following message by courier:

Negotiations regarding the relief, the status of Commission for Relief in Belgium, and my position are proceeding. I hope to send a report by next courier. Will the Department in the meantime take no final action in regard to Herter's telegram sent from Berne?

LANGHORNE

File No. 124.55/4a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 15, 1917, 5 p. m.*

253. Department has been informed that the German authorities in Belgium have refused to recognize your diplomatic standing and have deprived you of the freedom of communication with this Government, and that you have been requested to lower the American flag over the Legation. Furthermore, this Government learns that the German authorities have ordered the reduction of the personnel of the American relief commission to five or six members stationed in Brussels, without freedom of movement.

While the German authorities express a willingness for you yourself and a few of the relief staff to remain in Brussels, it must be obvious that your position is untenable, and that the relief commission in these circumstances can not execute the responsibilities which rest upon them in guardianship and administration of the food supplies.

Confronted by this situation you are instructed to inform the German authorities that this Government and the relief commission,

[1] C. A. Herter, formerly attached to the Legation in Belgium.

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which have shown such devotion to the relief of the Belgians during the last two years are prepared to continue this same neutral and humanitarian service, but that such service can only be continued by a continuance of former privileges of yourself and the relief commission. Failing immediate action on the part of the German authorities, you and all of the Americans in the relief work are to withdraw at once from German occupied territory. In these circumstances you are instructed to make it clear to the German authorities that the sole responsibility for the withdrawal and for the consequent interruptions of supplies rests upon them alone.

The Department desires you to assure the Belgians and the French people within the occupied territory that this Government and the relief commission will leave no stone unturned to secure the reestablishment of the relief in the hands of some other neutral organization, if the German authorities will provide facilities of administration and freedom of relief ships from attack.

LANSING

File No. 124.55/6

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *February 16, 1917.*
[*Received February 21, 12 p. m.*]

40. The news of the rupture in our diplomatic relations with the German Government was known here through Reuter and Wolff despatches on Sunday, February 4. The Department's telegram No. 248 of Saturday, February 3 did not reach me until Wednesday, February 7. In the meantime, Lancken was in Berlin and I was awaiting instructions. The announcement of the rupture had created a panic among the Belgians who feared that the Legation would leave Brussels and the work of the commission come to an end. Incidentally, Bissing sent a staff officer to tell me that he hoped that a press report from Washington stating that I might remain in Brussels was true. I had incessant appeals, official and otherwise, from Belgians to continue the relief work. They would view the immediate departure of the Americans with despair and American pride would be touched were the splendid work of the commission now to fail. My feeling that the humanitarian work was paramount to other considerations was strengthened by the receipt of Department's telegram No. 249 of February 4, changing the instructions as originally written and envisaging the continuance of the relief. It has been this consideration, the fate of the (seven?) millions of people whose lives hang on the American relief work, that I have

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tried to keep before me in the continuous and difficult negotiations of the last fortnight. Lancken on his return from Berlin told me that the German authorities hoped that the relief work would be continued, and that while the privileges of the American delegates would be curtailed, they were anxious that the directors of the commission remain in charge and made the suggestion that I remain, not in a diplomatic capacity, but to assist in relief work. The American delegates were to be gradually withdrawn and replaced by delegates of other nationalities. My duty would have been simple and obvious had the relief work not been involved. I told Lancken that I should remain provisionally to see if the future of the commission could be assured, provided my Government approved, and provided also that the German authorities assure me the consideration due in such cases, when and whenever I might decide to leave Belgium. The proposal to replace gradually the American delegates by those of other nationalities was the plan repeatedly considered by Hoover as proper to this very emergency, and Gregory had already begun to adjust the work to this basis when Hoover's despatch No. 135, February 12, ordering the immediate withdrawal of all Americans in the commission,[1] was received. This despatch produced its sensation and at a conference, at which the German authorities, the patron minister, the Comité National, and the commission were represented, it was stated on behalf of the Germans that the American delegates might continue to exercise their functions as in the old time, though certain substitutions would be necessary on the [military] front. Gregory thereupon agreed provisionally to remain and to continue the work and so advised Hoover in his telegram of the 14th. I am of the opinion, and Gregory agrees with me, that in the interests of the relief this tentative plan should be approved. The American delegates can continue, as long as the present situation remains unchanged, to work in Belgium. But the position of the Americans here will grow more and more delicate and should the present state of things degenerate into war, become wholly impossible. It would be folly to indulge in any illusions on this score and I, therefore, suggest that Hoover take immediate steps to meet all possible eventualities and that as rapidly as it can be done without impairing the efficiency of the commission the American delegates be replaced by others. Gregory says that in any event he will not remain longer than April.

In the meantime my own situation is anomalous, embarrassing, and of course untenable. The Germans, while showing me personal courtesy, no longer consent to my having the services of the courier, or to my use of the cipher, and only in certain exceptional cases will

[1] Not printed.

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they accept and forward telegrams *en clair*. For a week after we heard of the break in relations I kept the flag on the Legation. Lancken remarked one day after, in the course of a conversation, that this was not correct. He said nothing beyond making this observation, but inasmuch as according to the protocol he was right, I felt that it was better to avoid any complicating incident, if possible, and so had the flag down the following day.

Thus in relation to the Germans I seem to have no diplomatic character but to have become a distinguished personality, the degree of whose distinction depends on their uncertain and whimsical mood. Nevertheless, I have felt that I should delay my departure at least until the changes in the personnel of the commission are effected and the American delegates have left or until the continuance of the relief work, so far as it lies within my power to contribute to that end, is in some other way assured. I have the official assurance of the authorities that I may depart at any time with all the consideration due to ministerial rank. I am giving the representation of American interests to the Spanish Minister, as well as Japanese, Serbian, Danish, and Liechtenstein interests heretofore committed to my care. He will not however raise his flag on the Legation until I go, and the Legation staff will continue to do the work. According to an official note delivered to me by the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires, the British Government has asked the Netherland Government at The Hague to assume the protection of British interests here. I am therefore turning over the protection of British interests to the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires.

I am making arrangements for the immediate departure of the consuls, their families and personnel, and for such Americans as desire to leave Belgium. Other than those engaged in the relief work there are about 75 Americans left in Belgium. Missionary establishments have their houses and interests here and prefer to remain.

WHITLOCK

File No. 855.48/463

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *February 21, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received February 23, 2.35 p. m.*]

43. Department's February 15, 5 p. m., received to-day through Spanish Minister. Since February 15, German authorities have agreed to restore to commission delegates, including those in northern France, all their privileges, and the commission has received a despatch from Hoover instructing it to remain. Provided that these

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assurances are carried out, Gregory is entirely satisfied with situation as regards commission; all delegates are anxious to remain and carry out work if satisfactory. Crux of the difficulty is divergence of opinion between the English and German Governments concerning route for ships. If ships can not come the relief obviously can not go on. Under the circumstances I assume that that portion of Department's instruction under acknowledgment which relates to commission is now inapplicable. As regards my own position, while I am shown every personal courtesy, the Germans will hardly yield the point of diplomatic recognition. The German concessions concerning the commission seem, therefore, only to render my own position still more difficult. Both German and British Governments are trying to throw, one on the other, the responsibility of failure to continue relief work and the Germans at least would be glad of an excuse to place the blame on the American [Government?]. Inasmuch as a solution is momentarily expected I shall, in the absence of contrary instructions, delay my departure for a few days, feeling that if the relief work must fail it would be better from the American point of view were it to come to an end because of the inability of the German and British Governments to agree or because of curtailment of commission privileges at hands of Germany rather than on a point of diplomatic privilege.

WHITLOCK

File No. 855.48/468

The Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (Hoover) to the Acting Secretary of State

[Telegram]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 24, 1917.*
[*Received 5.30 p. m.*]

We this morning received word from London that British Government had issued safe-conduct to ships around northern route, and we anticipate that master, steamer *Olaf Kyrre* will receive his pass immediately. We have requested British Ambassador, Washington to expedite matter.

HERBERT HOOVER

File No. 855.48/467

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 24, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received 3.10 p. m.*]

5748. The Commission for Relief in Belgium ask me to send the following to the Department with the request that it also be conveyed to Hoover:

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There are now in United Kingdom ports 14 commission vessels, containing 58,000 tons foodstuffs, which are detained here by German threats. That statement by the Germans that commission had opportunity to change their destination and that vessels had ample time to proceed Rotterdam via northern route is untrue. An informal suggestion has been made by the German Legation, The Hague, to commission that it may be possible to arrange to dispatch vessels now held in United Kingdom direct to Rotterdam. Some cargoes are already deteriorating. British Foreign Office, commission, and Poland believe that if no positive assurance of safe-conduct is obtained from Germans by March 3 further delay will be useless and all vessels should be sent to Rotterdam direct across channel, protected with full markings but without safe-conduct pass. Would the Department inform German Government that if any of these ships are torpedoed by German submarines the United States Government will hold German Government responsible for interfering with food supplies to Belgium and northern France, which were imported under their safe-conduct?

PAGE

File No. 124.55/7

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *February 25, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[*Received 10 p. m.*]

732. Representatives, Belgian Relief Commission, inform me that they have received in strict confidence from the American Legation at Brussels the following message, which Mr. Whitlock desires to have transmitted to the Department of State:

I have been waiting in the hope that the details in conjunction with the shipping might be arranged so that the relief work might be continued. I now feel that I have waited as long as I should, and in accordance with the Department's instructions am saying to the German authorities that if my full diplomatic privileges are not restored immediately, I shall leave. I have communicated to the German authorities the Department's instruction of the 15th, which however is not wholly applicable to the present conditions in so far as it relates to the relief commission. Whitlock

LANGHORNE

File No. 124.55/6

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 26, 1917, 5 p. m.*

256. Your No. 40, February 16, and undated message transmitted by Langhorne on 25th. Department desires to be informed whether

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agreement provides for withdrawal of whole relief staff on the same terms as Legation in case of necessity. If, as it seems, you are being treated with consideration, and if your voice in relief matters has same respect from German authorities as other ministers, Department thinks it desirable for you to remain for the present.

Hoover and his colleagues outside of Belgium are of the opinion that staff of mixed neutrals forming part of Commission for Relief in Belgium could not successfully carry on the relief, although it would no doubt be more agreeable to Germans and some Belgians. They, therefore, hold the view strongly that in the ultimate interests of the Belgians any change of staff made in Belgium should involve its complete change to a single nationality appointed by and under the direct patronage of some particular government; and they hold that because of intrinsically more influential position of Netherland Government, the possibility of Dutch supplies, and the high esteem of the Dutch people held in America, thus securing moral and charitable support here, and the ability of the Netherland Government to furnish civil servants to undertake the work, that such a course should be pursued. Hoover has been informed that this course has been approved by the British Government in case the Americans must retire, and consequently that the British are committed to continue the support of the relief. It was to force this issue that Hoover gave his former direction, and he believes this course is in the best interest of the Belgian and French people, although it may cause a few days stoppage of imports from Holland if the change should become necessary, which in any event does not arise for the present. In case withdrawal of American staff from Belgium and its replacement by Dutch, Hoover proposes to carry on outside operations until satisfactory arrangements are effected to relieve him and his colleagues.

POLK

File No. 124.55/8

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *February 26, 1917, 6 p. m.*

257. To be considered in connection with Department's telegram of to-day regarding Belgian relief:

You and the consuls should postpone your departure from Belgium until you are officially assured by German authorities that all Americans who wish to leave Belgium may do so without hindrance. You should advise all Americans to leave and facilitate their departure. This of course does not apply to members of relief commission until further instructions.

POLK

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File No. 855.48/472

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *February 27, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[Received 4.30 p. m.]

5767. From commission for your information and for Hoover:

British Government has warned Germans through Spanish Ambassador that unless German safe-conduct be granted to relief ships held in United Kingdom ports so that they may go to Rotterdam by March 2 the British Government will unload them and sell cargo to individuals or Government. The British argue that Germans by denying safe-conduct relieve commission of responsibility for delivering cargoes. This loss of 58,000 tons of food will be serious. Commission can do nothing but protest. Is that worth while?

PAGE

File No. 124.55/8

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *February 26, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[Received February 28, 9.35 p. m.]

44. I had an interview with Lancken Saturday, having previously acquainted him with the conditions set forth in the Department's February 15. In view of Hoover's instructions to the commission to remain, we no longer discussed that point but confined our remarks to my position. Lancken assured me again of their great desire to have me remain for the benefit of the relief, stating that he considered my presence and my personal influence with the different national elements involved of the utmost necessity. He was disposed to accord me all the privileges of a practical nature that I have formerly enjoyed, but on the question of the form of diplomatic recognition he said that they could not yield in principle because the United States had notified Germany of its desire to have no further diplomatic relations with it. As to the flag he preferred that I should not fly it on the Legation, because he said that as they were probably on the eve of great military movements the city is full of troops and he feared that some irresponsible soldier might provoke an incident that would aggravate the situation. As to the courier he proposed an arrangement that would permit me free correspondence, but insisted that my courier go out with that of the Spanish Legation. I told him that this was a privilege I already enjoyed and that the concession did not seem very large. He then asked me to wait until to-day when he would send me a letter. I have just received the

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letter which addressed me personally and assiduously avoiding any reference to a recognition of my diplomatic quality, is merely a polite repetition of his desire and of the desire of the Governor General to have me remain. Under the circumstances, I am informing the Germans that I shall withdraw at once from the occupied territory. It may require some days for them to obtain the passports, which must come from Berlin, and to prepare a train, difficult to arrange at times. Kellogg is on his way from London.

WHITLOCK

File No. 124.55/8

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 1, 1917, 5 p. m.*

261. Department's 256, February 26, 5 p. m., and your 44, February 26, 7 p. m. Department wishes to avoid giving appearance that either Legation or commission is withdrawing voluntarily from Belgium. Inasmuch as all former privileges to members of relief commission have apparently been restored, you should not leave until instructed further. Hoover wishes members of commission to remain for the present but to depart with you in case of your withdrawal.

LANSING

File No. 124.55/9

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *undated.*

[*Received March 1, 1917, 9.30 p. m.*]

45. Department's 256 and 257, February 26. While I am shown every personal consideration and constitutional right unofficially, the German Government does not recognize me as having my former diplomatic relation to relief work. Oral assurances only have been given that members of the commission can go when they desire. Under the circumstances I assume the Department desires me to remain for the present and until the Department instructions are carried out. Gregory and I are trying to put into effect Hoover's suggestion for the reorganization of commission.

WHITLOCK

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File No. 124.55/9

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 2, 1917, 8 p. m.*

264. Your 45. Obtain assurances in writing from German authorities that the American members of the commission may leave Belgium when they desire.

LANSING

File No. 855.48/476

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 4, 1917, 2 p. m.*
[*Received March 5, 10 p. m.*]

744. Foreign Office has sent me a communication enclosing a copy of note, dated February 17, 1917, addressed by German authorities at Brussels to the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires at Brussels, together with a copy of Dutch Chargé d'Affaires' reply thereto.

Following is summary of note, February 17:

German authorities do not consider that severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States has created a new situation with regard to revictualing of occupied territories of Belgium and northern France, inasmuch as the revictualing is under the protection of the Dutch and the Spanish Governments on same basis as that of American Government. German authorities are willing to give such assistance in connection with revictualing as they have granted for maintaining and as is in conformity with the agreements already concluded. As some members of relief commission may return to the United States, it will probably be considered advisable to replace them by other suitable persons, the commission having always contained neutral members of different nationalities. The Governor General of Belgium submits for consideration the desirability of certain American members remaining in the direction of the commission at Brussels, and in the event that the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires considers this advisable, the Governor General would be willing to have Mr. Brand Whitlock cooperate with the commission. German authorities ask that Dutch Chargé d'Affaires arrange with Mr. Whitlock the nature of his cooperation.

Following is summary of Dutch Chargé d'Affaires' reply:

Dutch Government considers it desirable in the interests of revictualing of occupied territories that the Americans continue in every instance their functions in connection with the relief commission, and that the decision regarding the form which Mr. Whitlock's cooperation would take in connection with this work rests exclusively with the German authorities and with the Minister.

LANGHORNE

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File No. 855.48/478

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

Department of German Interests XII 2

WASHINGTON, *March 5, 1917.*
[*Received March 7.*]

SIR: As soon as this Legation had taken over German interests the question arose as to whether I could, according to the American-German arrangement of 1914, continue to issue safe-conducts for the steamers which the American Commission for Relief in Belgium is continually sending to Holland. I immediately asked my Government to submit the question to the German Government and am now authorized to issue certificates of safe-conduct for all steamers of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium leaving the United States with cargoes consigned to that commission. The steamers must, however, take the course north of the Shetland Islands, remain outside the blockade zone declared by the German Government, and avoid the English Channel.

I have the honor to inform your excellency of the above, and for your information beg to enclose herewith copy of the certificate of safe-conduct[1] issued by this Legation in accordance with the arrangement set forth in the memoranda, dated November 23, 1914, and December 24, 1914, from the German Foreign Office to the American Embassy at Berlin.[2]

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 855. 48/479

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *March 3, 1917.*
[*Received March 7, 7 p. m.*]

46. Referring again to Department's telegram 256, February 26, 5 p. m. Telegrams have passed between the King of Spain and the Queen of the Netherlands, and understand an exchange of views between the two Governments resulting in an agreement on their part that in the event of the Americans withdrawing from Belgium they will offer to replace the delegates by men of their nationalities, a majority of whom will be Dutch, but it is their desire that the commission continue under its present patronage and as nearly as may be as at present organized with the offices at London, New York, and Rotterdam conducted as at present by Americans, and if possible with an American director in Belgium. Loudon, Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs, says this plan has the support of the Allied governments and that he has recruited enough Dutchmen to replace the American delegates in Belgium and Northern France.

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[1] Not printed.
[2] See *Foreign Relations*, 1914, Supplement, pp. 819, 823–24.

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I have an official letter from the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires here stating that he is ready at any time to designate the Dutchmen for this service. Inasmuch as this plan, as well as Hoover's plan and all the several plans proposed for the reorganization of work, contemplates replacing the American delegates in Belgium by Dutchmen, I think that the Dutchmen should be designated at once and that they should come in as understudies to the Americans, and that as soon as possible the Americans be relieved. The Germans have several times officially reiterated their assurances that the delegates may leave when they desire and have frequently promised to put these assurances in writing though they have not yet done so. One can place so little reliance in their promises, whether oral or written, when it suits their convenience to disregard them, that I strongly feel it to be my duty to recommend early action that will permit the American delegates to depart before the situation becomes more difficult.

WHITLOCK

File No. 855.48/481

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 9, 1917, 10 a. m.*

[*Received 1.20 p. m.*]

5811. Your 4386, February 3, 4 p. m.[1] For Secretary and Hoover:

If the commission had withdrawn when break occurred with Germany and remained out, the blame would clearly have fallen on Germany. The constant controversies and entanglements that have since come show clearly that the Germans are maneuvering to throw blame on the commission and then to dismiss and eject it. I had advised commissioners here immediately to withdraw from France and Belgium. They wish Hoover to give Poland authority to take this action. Now information comes through Hoover that the Department has taken subject in hand, the commission, therefore, I presume, can not act except under instructions of the Department. Is this correct?

Delay in withdrawing will in my judgment result in the humiliation of the commission and in its ejection.

Kellogg reports hopeless conflict of opinion in Brussels. The Belgians wish Americans to remain even in case of war. Gregory favors remaining till war is declared; Whitlock favors immediate withdrawal. Meantime neither southern nor northern route to Rotterdam is safe.

I await and ask for instructions from Department.

PAGE

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[1] *Ante*, p. 630.

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File No. 855.48/482

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *March 9, 1917, 5 p. m.*
[Received 6.30 p. m.]

5819. Following for Hoover from Relief Commission:

Your 209, February 2. We feel we should liquidate present basis at once, carrying on work as before under American control to Rotterdam, basing withdrawal Belgium, France on impossibility carry out guarantees and obligations necessitated by diminished privileges and interruption of our service by the Germans, otherwise psychological moment likely to pass when we can retire as a body. We believe Germans are using dilatory tactics for purpose complicating shipping situation and forcing British action unloading cargoes which will enable them to make reprisals, possibly ending relief, and by clever compromises with our director Belgium, France get us in position where we can not charge withdrawal to them. Spanish Ambassador contends that after our withdrawal the Spanish are the commission; Allied Governments practically accept this view against our emphatic disclaimer. Advise position to be taken this question, action in the event of failure of Allies to furnish increased subsidies, and what assistance possible from the United States. Chevrillon in accord. Relief Commission

PAGE

File No. 855.48/479

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 10, 1917, noon.*

265. Your 46, March 3. Department feels that work must be maintained as long as possible under American control and relinquished only when Americans are forced out. Arrangements are being made to send force of Dutchmen into Belgium to learn details of work under guidance of American delegates. Take no steps looking to withdrawal pending receipt of further instructions.

LANSING

File No. 855.48/482

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 10, 1917, 5 p. m.*

4527. Your 5811, March 9, 10 a. m., and 5819, March 9, 5 p. m. Hoover strongly holds view, and Department agrees with him, that the relief commission has now become a national matter, and that

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any action on its part to bring about voluntary liquidation or cessation of its work would have a disastrous effect on public opinion. If conflicts arise between the Allied Governments and the Germans as to the handling of food, shipping, and other matters in connection with the relief, it is all the more essential that the committee make every effort to solve these difficulties as they arise; if a solution is not found, the responsibility for failure will not rest upon the commission. But for the commission to force a liquidation along the lines suggested in Mr. Poland's telegram would be positively disastrous. In general it is Hoover's view that the relief commission should continue its work until the last possible moment, and until it is forced out by one government or the other. Hoover is leaving immediately for London, where he will arrive about March 24. It is important that in the meantime no action shall be taken looking to withdrawal. So long as the American members of the commission remain at their posts the attitude of the Spanish as indicated by Mr. Poland need cause no concern.

The Department has to-day telegraphed Mr. Whitlock that it feels strongly that the commission should continue its work until forced to desist. He is instructed to take no steps looking to withdrawal pending receipt of further instructions.

LANSING

File No. 124.53/10

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 10, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[Received 7.20 p. m.]

760. Belgian-Dutch frontier temporarily closed. Spanish Minister at The Hague informs me that his courier service with Brussels is stopped for time being, and accordingly it is impossible for this Legation to communicate under seal with Whitlock. It is believed that Spanish courier service will be resumed shortly. Doctor Kellogg of relief commission arrived from Brussels yesterday, having obtained special permission to cross frontier, and states that Whitlock has no diplomatic position, no funds, and no pouch.

LANGHORNE

File No. 855.48/508a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Spain (Willard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 16, 1917, 4 p. m.*

328. For Berlin. Norwegian steamer *Storstad* under charter to Commission for Relief in Belgium carrying 10,000 tons corn from

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Buenos Aires to Rotterdam, was sunk without warning by German submarine off coast of Ireland, March 7 or 8. German Government will, of course, recognize that sinking of commission's ships in violation of understanding strikes at the root of relief work in Belgium and northern France. This Government can not encourage commission to continue its work unless it has most positive assurances that no more of its ships will be sunk.

LANSING

File No. 855.48/508

The Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (Honnold) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *March 20, 1917, 1.47 p. m.*
[*Received 3 p. m.*]

For your information we quote following cable from our London Office.

Tuesday, Rotterdam. Telegram dated Monday, begins: Adolf Deppe Company just received following cable from Stavanger:

Tunisie, Haelen attacked by submarine without warning outside danger zone 56° 15′ N., 5° 32′ E. Ships not sunk. Port boat *Haelen* smashed by shell. Seven men killed. Hole in ship's port bunker above water line. Sundry damages decks and engines. *Tunisie* proceeding on voyage. STANDAERT

Killed include first and third officers. Apparently *Haelen* proceeded Stavanger under own steam. Have instructed Deppe have temporary repairs made Stavanger and proceed American destination. Pilot reports that while he was leaving ships off Hook two German seaplanes appeared circling around and examining carefully our ships, then flying northward. Protesting German Legation and through Dutch and Spanish, also in Brussels. Both ships provided all commission markings, safe-conducts, and guaranties absolute safety certified German Minister, Hague.

Protesting here through Spanish Embassy and Swiss Legation. Will keep you advised.

W. L. HONNOLD

File No. 124.55/10

The Secretary of State to the Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 20, 1917, 6 p. m.*

444. Your 760, March 10, 11 a. m. Is communication with Whitlock cut off both by mail and telegraph? If so, when will it be reestablished? Can you explain statement that he has no funds? Keep Department fully informed.

LANSING

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File No. 124.55/11

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 21, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received 8 p. m.*]

792. Department's 444, March 20, 6 p. m. Spanish Minister informs me that he has heard from German Legation that Belgian-Dutch frontier has been opened to-day, but it is not yet determined when Spanish courier service will be resumed. Legation unable to send sealed letters in open mail to Whitlock, or to telegraph to him in cipher, and no assurance that unsealed letters or telegrams *en clair* reach him. Spanish Minister here is able to telegraph *en clair* to Spanish Minister, Brussels and will accept messages for Whitlock. Only means however of forwarding to Brussels communications which are not open to Spanish representatives or German authorities is through use of Spanish pouch.

My 760, March 10 stated Whitlock not displaying flag. No mention made of lack of funds.

LANGHORNE

File No. 855.48/511

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *March 14, 1917, 1 a. m.*
[*Received March 23, 4.20 p. m.*]

48. Have succeeded in securing from the German authorities written assurances that the members of the commission may leave Belgium when they choose, even in case of war, but that in order to satisfy the military requirements the members may be kept as it were in quarantine for a period of not exceeding four weeks. The authorities add orally that this four-week period would be required only in the event of war and as regards the men from northern France. The usual period would not exceed two weeks and would consist in either event in a simple residence at a hotel without confinement and with freedom of movement in the city.

Seven commission members at Gregory's orders expect to leave on 24th and will spend two weeks at Baden-Baden *en route* Switzerland.

WHITLOCK

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File No. 124.55/12a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 23, 1917, 6 p. m.*

268. By direction of the President you are instructed to withdraw from Belgium at once accompanied by the Legation staff, consular officers, and all American members of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Please telegraph Department probable date of departure, route, and plans. You should take up your official residence at Havre accompanied by your Legation staff.

Before leaving you should carry out instructions contained in Department's 248, February 3, 5 p. m.[1]

This Government has approved the proposal of the Netherland Government to send into Belgium a certain number of Netherland subjects to undertake the work thus far carried on by the American staff.

LANSING

File No. 124.55/27a

The Secretary of State to the Netherland Minister (Van Rappard)

WASHINGTON, *March 23, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. MINISTER: In view of the very serious difficulties in carrying on the relief work in Belgium and northern France, this Government feels that no useful purpose is to be served by maintaining a staff of American delegates in the territory occupied by German troops. I have to-day, therefore, by direction of the President, instructed the American Minister at Brussels to withdraw from Belgium, accompanied by all American officials and the American members of the Commission for Relief in Belgium.

It is, of course, essential that the humanitarian work of the commission be maintained and my Government is, therefore, glad to approve the proposal made by you on February 14, to the effect that "the Netherland Government would be glad to form a committee of Dutch subjects who would work under its patronage and take over . . . the duties till now performed by the American commission."

I venture to suggest, therefore, that you be good enough to inform your Government of the proposed withdrawal of the American members of the commission and to propose that the Rotterdam office of the Commission for Relief in Belgium be consulted as to the number of Dutch subjects it may be necessary to send into Belgium to carry on the work.

I am [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

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[1] *Ante*, p. 630.

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File No. 124.55/13½

Statement Given to the Press by the Department of State

WASHINGTON, *March 24, 1917.*

By direction of the President, the Minister at Brussels has been instructed to withdraw from Belgium, with all diplomatic and consular officers, and take up his official residence at Havre.

After consultation with the Commission for Relief in Belgium, Mr. Whitlock has also been instructed to arrange for the departure of the American members of the commission.

This step, the seriousness of which is fully appreciated by the Government, was taken only after careful consideration and full consultation with all the interests involved.

When diplomatic relations with Germany were broken off the normal procedure would have been to withdraw the Minister at Brussels and the American members of the relief commission. Both this Government and the commission, however, felt a heavy moral responsibility for the millions of innocent civilians behind the German lines, and it was decided that the work of the commission must be kept going despite all difficulties until continued American participation became impossible. For over two years it has been the single-minded purpose of this Government and the commission to see that these ten millions of civilians were fed, and, with this end in view, the Americans concerned have submitted to restrictions imposed on them by the German authorities which, under ordinary conditions, would never have been tolerated.

Immediately after the break in relations the German authorities in Brussels withdrew from Mr. Whitlock the diplomatic privileges and immunities which he had until that time enjoyed. His courier service to The Hague was stopped; he was denied the privilege of communicating with the Department of State in cipher, and later even in plain language. The members of the relief commission were placed under great restrictions of movement and communication which hampered the efficient performance of their task. In spite of all these difficulties the Government and commission were determined to keep the work going till the last possible moment.

Now, however, a more serious difficulty has arisen. In the course of the past 10 days several of the commission's ships have been attacked without warning by German submarines in flagrant violation of the solemn engagements of the German Government. Protests addressed by this Government to Berlin through the intermediary of the Spanish Government have not been answered. The German Government's disregard of its written undertakings causes grave concern as to the future of the relief work. In any event it is felt that the American staff of the commission can no longer serve

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with advantage in Belgium. Although a verbal promise has been made that the members of the commission would be permitted to leave if they so desire, the German Government's observance of its other undertakings has not been such that the Department would feel warranted in accepting responsibility for leaving these American citizens in German-occupied territory.

This Government has approved the proposal of the Netherland Government to send into Belgium a certain number of Netherland subjects to carry on the work thus far performed by the American staff.

File No. 855.48/516

The Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (Honnold) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *March 27, 1917.*
[*Received noon.*]

We are just in receipt of following cable from our London office.

It would be of advantage if our representatives could remain Belgium several days, say week longer, to introduce new delegates to work. Consult State Department and advise if practicable.

Will you kindly advise us as soon as possible of views of the Department as to this proposal?

W. L. HONNOLD

File No. 855.48/512

The Secretary of State to the Commission for Relief in Belgium

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *March 27, 1917.*

Your telegram received. Please inform London office, Department considers it desirable that members of commission leave at once.

ROBERT LANSING

File No. 124.55/16

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *March 28, 1917, 8 p. m.*
[*Received March 29, midnight.*]

49. Have the honor to report that I complied with the Department's 268, March 23, 6 p. m., received March 25. I immediately applied for passports for Legation, consular officers, and American members of the commission. While there are physical difficulties in the way of obtaining a special train the present indications are that

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we shall leave on or about April 1, via Switzerland. As soon as arrangements are definitely concluded I shall advise Department.

WHITLOCK

File No. 124.55/15

The Chargé in the Netherlands (Langhorne) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

THE HAGUE, *March 29, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received 10 p. m.*]

815. Associated Press correspondent informs me that he was told by German Legation that American members of relief commission and American officials in Belgium will be detained for period of not more than four weeks to prevent spread of military information. This detention would apply also to Whitlock and staff whom German Government regards on same basis as members of relief commission since severance of diplomatic relations. As matter of courtesy detention of Whitlock might be shortened. Expect courier from Brussels to-night who may bring definite information on matter.

LANGHORNE

File No. 124.55/18

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *April 1, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received April 2, 10.15 a. m.*]

711. Maverick informs me that Minister Whitlock and personnel of Brussels Legation with their families and all consuls and vice consuls in Belgium with their families will leave Brussels to-morrow (Monday) night and arrive Swiss territory probably Wednesday morning. The Minister will be accompanied by all members of the Commission for Relief in Belgium with the exception of Gray, assistant director, and four other Americans who will be compelled to remain for approximately four weeks to wind up affairs and who have written guaranties of permission to leave Belgium. A secretary of the Spanish Legation in Brussels will accompany Minister Whitlock's train.

STOVALL

File No. 124.55/23

The Minister formerly in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *April 3, 1917, 11 p. m.*
[*Received April 6, 10.30 a. m.*]

50. I have the honor to report that I arrived in Berne this evening at 6 o'clock accompanied by entire staff of Legation, by Diederich

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and his staff, Johnson and his staff, and by all the members of the Commission for Relief in Belgium with the exception of 10. We had already sent out 7 members of the commission who, after having been 50 hours *en route*, arrived here Saturday afternoon, March 31. Nasmith left at 1 o'clock Monday for Holland. The family of Heingartner preferred to remain at Liège until the arrival of the son from Vienna. The German authorities readily agreed that they might leave when they desire. They were going to retain Sherman but I induced them to recede from this determination, and he came out with his family. Arrangements have been made for the departure of the few remaining Americans who wish to leave Belgium. I also brought out Chinese Legation consisting of 15 persons, including Chargé d'Affaires, Secretary of Legation, and their families, and the son of the Minister.

The 10 members of the commission who remained in Brussels are Gray, who preferred to stay as temporary director; Neville, Degruchy, and St. Amour, accountants, who remained at Gregory's instructions to close their books; and Wickes, Stone, Pate, Van Hee, Dangerfield and Carstairs, who, in accordance with regulations governing persons coming from zone of military operations, were required by the military authorities to remain in Brussels. They will remain for a period not exceeding four weeks from the date of their leaving Étape and in the meantime will assist in installing new members of the commission. Absolute written guaranties have been given by German authorities for their safe-conduct in any event. They are being courteously treated, and no apprehension need be felt concerning them.

German authorities first told me that these members of the commission would have to be in quarantine in Germany for a period of four weeks before they would be able to depart. They were induced to relax this measure so far as it concerned the delegates in the territory of the general government whose quarantine would then consist merely in a brief sojourn in Brussels. Finally, after several conferences, they abandoned this requirement altogether save as it applied to the six men previously mentioned, in whose case military authorities were inflexible and insisted on applying a rule that governs everyone who has been in the zone of military operations.

Then other difficulties arose. The authorities stated that the Legation could go at any time, the consuls and the commission would be required to remain because it would be impossible to provide special train for all the party. I replied that unless the consuls and the commission were permitted to accompany me I would not leave Belgium until after they had gone. This state of affairs continued until last Friday, when in a final interview with Lancken I told him that whatever the consequences I would not leave until after the

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others. After that their attitude changed and every courtesy was shown us. A special train was provided, and we left Brussels at 5 yesterday afternoon, April 2, and were taken to Zingen on the Swiss frontier by the most direct route as guests of the Imperial Government.

I should like to express my appreciation as well as that of the entire party, of the courtesy shown to us by the Governor General himself, by Baron von der Lancken, of the political department, by Count von Moltke, who made the arrangements for the train, and by Baron von Falkenhausen, who accompanied us to the frontier. Our departure from Brussels caused real sorrow and the scenes attending it were most touching. Silent crowds surrounded railway stations and gathered at street crossings, waving farewells. I had advised against manifestations and this mute sorrow was more affecting than the demonstration that would have occurred in normal times. I received addresses and deputations from the city of Brussels, the city of Antwerp, from proximate communes, the national committee, the National Bank, etc.

We were met at Zurich by the American Minister to Berne.

All members of the party are well, but because of the excessive anxiety as to the last 14 months we are all so weary that we shall take a few days rest in Switzerland. I shall then proceed directly to Havre. WHITLOCK

File No. 855.48/570

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *April 13, 1917.*
[*Received 6 p. m.*]

5992. Following is substance of protest I have received from Belgian Relief Commission which Hoover desires transmitted through neutral channels to German Government.[1]

German Government notified commission February 2 that no protection would be given relief ships except by route north of duly declared war zone. Ships then in war zone must leave by most direct route before certain date. Forty-seven thousand tons foodstuff then in stock in United Kingdom awaiting shipment Rotterdam; over 49,000 tons at sea arrived United Kingdom later. Overlapping of war zone with mine zones made proposed German route impracticable. War zone readjusted, northern route to Rotterdam reopened 28th February when traffic resumed. Safe-conduct passes issued by Swiss Minister, Washington; safe-conduct ships from United Kingdom refused until 3d April. Twenty-four thousand

[1] This protest was forwarded to the Spanish Ambassador for transmission to the German Government, May 18, 1917.

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tons delivered Rotterdam during February; 9,000, March. Relief commission requires 120,000 tons per month foodstuff. Situation now most critical. German submarines have failed to adhere to any of the undertakings guaranteeing safety to commission ships. Following ships carrying commission markings and safe-conduct passes torpedoed outside war zone with considerable loss life in last two weeks during broad daylight. *Euphrates*, 4,250 tons; *Feistein*, 4,600 tons; *Trevier*, 4,300 tons; *Anna Forstenes*, 3,000 tons; *Camilla*, 2,600 tons. Two others reported lost; three other ships shelled and escaped sinking but with loss of life. Since 28th February six steamers arrived Rotterdam, five sunk in violation of undertakings to Spanish and Dutch Governments. Sinking brings sacrifice of innocent seamen and suffering to 10,000,000 Belgian, French men, women, children. In view of fact that four last torpedoed steamers sailed from America under safe-conduct, Swiss Minister, Washington, it is desirable vigorous protest be made to German Government through Swiss Government.

PAGE

File No. 855.48/587½

The British Embassy to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

In view of the serious loss of both the ships and the cargoes of the Belgian Relief Commission, His Britannic Majesty's Government have regretfully arrived at the conclusion, in the absence of any apology or expression of regret by the German Government for the mistakes of their naval officers and in the face of the justification which they appear to advance in the intercepted German wireless message to the United Press of April 20, that the outrages were quite deliberate and that it is their intention to continue them.

His Majesty's Government are most anxious to maintain the relief but are reviewing the situation in the light of the outrages on relief vessels, and the French Government are being consulted as to the course to be pursued. In the meantime, the commission in London have been informed that His Majesty's Government would not, as at present advised, feel justified in allowing further relief vessels to proceed in the absence of reliable evidence to the effect that the Germans do not intend to sink them.

WASHINGTON, *2 May, 1917.*

File No. 855.48/589

The Swiss Minister (Ritter) to the Secretary of State

Department of German Interests Doss XVIII

WASHINGTON, *May 2, 1917.*
[*Received May 4.*]

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have to-day received a cablegram from my Government regarding the safe-conducts issued

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by this Legation to the captains of the steamers of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, in which I am requested to point out most expressly to the captains of the ships that they must avoid the German blockade zone under all circumstances, and that the safe-conducts issued by this Legation contain a stipulation to this effect. Safe-conducts are not valid within the blockade zone. I am communicating this information to the Commission for Relief in Belgium at New York and shall also take steps to insure that the captains of the steamers are in every case instructed accordingly.

Accept [etc.] P. RITTER

File No. 855.48/588

The Ambassador in Spain (Willard) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

MADRID, *May 4, 1917, 10 a. m.*
[*Received 10.15 p. m.*]

520. Department's 328, March 6 [*16?*], 4 p. m.[1] German Minister for Foreign Affairs states that if *Storstad* was sunk in war zone on March 8 it was fault of captain who was at Saint Vincent from February 6 until end of month and, therefore, must have known of declaration of war zone and nevertheless ventured to enter it. Also states that so far as known ship was not provided with German safe-conduct in which case vessel showed without right the characteristics of the insignia of Commission for Relief of Belgians.

WILLARD

File No. 855.48/591

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BERNE, *May 4, 1917, 7 p. m.*
[*Received May 5, midnight.*]

866. Prentiss Gray, director in Brussels of American Relief Commission for Belgium, arrived Berne, May 3, with only remaining American delegates as follows: Carstairs, Wickes, Pate, Dangerfield, Stone, Mrs. Laura Sherman Gray, child and nurse. Gray stated that the reorganization plan as outlined by Hoover had been formally accepted by Dutch and Spanish Ministers and Comité National at Brussels and the signed acceptance mailed to Hoover at London, April 30, through Spanish pouch. The Dutch Director Langenberg had arrived; Spanish Director Pedro Saura expected Brussels, May 2. Gray stated that German authorities in Belgium have been fully advised of reorganization plan and acquiesce therein.

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[1] *Ante*, p. 652.

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I was informed by Gray that no difficulty in leaving Belgium or crossing Germany experienced by party which was accompanied to Berne by German officer who facilitated journey. I was further advised by Gray that there are in Belgium a number of private American citizens anxious to leave country to whom German authorities have refused passports. He stated that Spanish Minister, Brussels, had communicated with Whitlock in this regard.

Gray proceeding immediately to London to join Hoover, and other members party leaving Switzerland shortly for Paris.

STOVALL

File No. 855.48/593

The British Embassy to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

In a memorandum dated May 2, the British Embassy had the honour to inform the State Department that owing to the ruthless destruction of vessels of the Belgian Relief Commission, His Majesty's Government felt no longer justified in allowing, for the time being, further relief vessels to proceed to their destination.

The commission in London, however, have now furnished additional information showing that the actual torpedoing of any of their vessels within the zone declared safe by the German Government would be difficult to prove.

After full consideration of all the circumstances, His Majesty's Government have decided to grant permission to all ships of the relief commission to proceed to Rotterdam immediately, and all their captains have accordingly been warned strictly to adhere to the zone of safety prescribed by the German Government.

WASHINGTON, *May 7, 1917.*

File No. 855.48/595

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *May 19, 1917, 3 p. m.*
[Received 4.12 p. m.]

6249. Relief commission request that following be communicated to Hoover:

10, Tuesday. (Communicate also New York.) Your 343.[1] Withholding vessels based on German violations long time under discussion; no arguments but difficult to get action, apparently due to lack of cooperation between Admiralty and Foreign Office. Finally ad-

[1] Not printed.

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vised by Foreign Office, May 5. all vessels released, sailings resumed. Could get no further communication until 12th, when Admiralty advised had not released, did not propose release vessels. Matter again vigorously presented by Belgian, French Governments. Page on 14th advised unofficially two vessels released and further releases will be made as considered safe by Admiralty. We understand 55,000 tons, 13 vessels, held Halifax. Average delay 17 days per vessel, equivalent already loss 224 days demurrage; at least 30,000 tons irreplaceable loss to Belgian, French populations already on the verge of starvation. We consider action Admiralty unwarranted by circumstances and protesting in most vigorous manner. Poland, Relief Commission.

PAGE

REPORTS ON THE DEPORTATION OF CIVILIANS FROM BELGIUM

File No. 763.72115/2738a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1916, 3 p. m.*

4231. Department would be glad to have Hoover's opinion, for its confidential information, regarding continuance of Belgian deportations, whether there has been any change in the policy of the German authorities since the protest of this Government on November 29.[1] Cable report will be appreciated.

LANSING

File No. 763.72115/2701a

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Germany (Gerard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1916, 3 p. m.*

3722. General interest in the United States in matter of Belgian deportation continues to increase, and it is important that Department be advised what action, if any, the German Government has taken in response to the appeals and protest of this Government in addition to the action reported in your 4756 of December 20.[2] Take matter up immediately with Zimmermann and report by cable.

LANSING

File No. 763.72115/2738b

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Belgium (Whitlock)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1916, 3 p. m.*

243. Please report by cable situation regarding Belgian deportations, whether the deportations are continuing, and if not, what

[1] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 70.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 870.

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percentage of those who have been deported are being returned to Belgium. Interest in this whole subject is increasing in the United States.

LANSING

File No. 763.72115/2728

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, *January 2, 1917, 1 p. m.*
[*Received January 4, 8.30 a. m.*]

5397. Department's 4231, December 29, 3 p. m. Hoover submits following statement:

There has been no apparent change in German policy since the President's protest. Deportation continuing on a large scale, now apparently three to five thousand per week. Despite assertions made to the President no distinction is made as to whether deportees are unemployed or not, and in fact there seems a definite policy to secure all members of certain trades and the desire to secure these and other skilled labor leads press gangs to delegate choice of those in actual employment. Moreover, they have taken altogether up to December 15 over 700 persons employed by the commission, despite the exhibit of credentials and their specific agreement with us to the contrary and against our protest. Furthermore, our American members have witnessed the taking of several thousands, particularly from Flanders, to northern France and together with local French people are now being forced to work for the German army in the preparation of timber and fascines for the trenches. Refusal to perform such labor has here been met with refusal of food and other brutal acts. It is also reported to us from what we believe to be reliable sources that Belgian and French civilians have been deported to work on trench construction in northern France, and certain deportees have been recently returned wounded by shell fire. Of the deportees to Germany some 300 have been returned to Hainaut Province, of whom a part were apparently returned because physically unable to work, but the remainder maintain that they were returned because of their steadfast passive resistance to pressure although they were entirely refused food over a considerable period and were ultimately returned for their recalcitrancy; their appearance confirms this. Altogether the assurances given the President that only unemployed people were taken and that they are not being employed on military work or brutally treated are absolutely untrue, not only before but since assurances were given. It does appear that the civil government in Brussels has made some efforts to prevent brutality in selection, to confine selections to unemployed, and to protect the employees of the commission, and they have even solicited complaints; but they appear unable to control the military press gangs or effect any remedies. It does not appear to us, however, that protest from the President, based on failure to carry out assurance given as to the method or purpose of these deportations, is consonant with the atti-

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tude that the Americans should take, for the real issue is the very act of forced deportation as being a violation of the most primary human liberty and international law. Any protest on method or purpose alone will be construed as a recognition by America of the right to force civilians from their homes and country. I am now convinced that the Entente Governments will take no action against the relief as a consequence of these deportations as they are convinced that stoppage of relief has been no remedy and they generally recognize would only accentuate the misery.

The hourly witnessing of these outrages and the prayers to the Americans from a people now in a state of complete terror, since Americans have been so peculiarly their protectors during the past two years, make it difficult for us to control the natural feelings of our staff and we can only hope that no untoward incident may occur. My impression is that any further protest at the moment in the name of humanity and international law would have no other effect than to produce irritation and the usual denials, although if other means fail a renewed protest should be delivered with the utmost vigor as a definition of America's attitude and as a deterrent to other outrages which may be contemplated.

For immediate practical purposes in the hope of remedying or ameliorating this particular evil, I would like to suggest a personal and private message from the President to the Emperor in the belief that the Emperor is intrinsically a humane man and generally desirous of promoting peace; such message to take the general line that the constant filtration of reports of these deportations and their surrounding circumstances is to-day one of the strongest stimuli to resolution for continuance of the war amongst the population in the Entente countries and has afforded an unparalleled basis of anti-German propaganda among neutrals, which no assertion of benevolent intentions can counteract; for the fundamental basis of deportation and compulsion of the population to work against its will and conscience being wrong can only bring suffering and criticism; that if Germany is genuinely anxious for peace she can scarcely hope for sympathetic sentiment to grow abroad to that end coincident with these acts, and that a total cessation of the deportations and forced labor and the return of the deported Belgians and French to their homes would be not only an act of great magnanimity but also of the greatest assistance in the promotion of peace sentiment. Hoover

PAGE

File No. 763.72115/2730

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *January 2, 1917, 6 p. m.*

[*Received January 5, 8.15 a. m.*]

29. Department's 243, December 29, 3 p. m. It is extremely difficult to obtain accurate information regarding deportations because of the lack of facilities for communication in Belgium. We have

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no intercourse with the Étape; that is, that part of Belgium which is exclusively under military jurisdiction comprising the two Flanders, certain parts of Hainaut and Luxemburg, and all northern France. It is also difficult to employ calm and restrained expression in the presence of an event so shocking to every sentiment of liberty and to our conception and tradition of human rights. One feels too peculiarly impotent because any efforts to alleviate has the sad possibility of increasing the sufferings of the helpless folk one tries to aid.

Deportations continue sporadically, one day in this commune and one day in that. It is estimated that between sixty and one hundred thousand men have been taken. Of these possibly two thousand have been returned. Our own and other neutral Legations have brought to the attention of German authorities many cases that did not seem to fall within the categories expressly exempted by the German reply to neutral protest. Necessarily because of the extreme delicacy and tension of the situation these representations have been discreetly and unofficially made. We have confined ourselves to the transmission of complaints or petitions left at the Legation. Perhaps unluckily the numbers of exceptions thus reported and acted upon by us run into the tens of thousands so that to grant them all would amount to a practical abandonment of the policy. The German authorities say that these are receiving attention.

The men returning from Germany bring distressing accounts of suffering, hunger, lack of shelter, and of cruelties employed to force them to sign contracts of employment. Making all possible allowance for exaggeration the conditions must be most pitiful.

My one hope in the midst of the black depression caused by this unprecedented measure lies in the fact that the higher civil officials are not in sympathy with the policy and are doing what they can to bring about a response. I have had to-day a long conversation with Lancken, and he tells me unofficially and confidentially that the deportations will gradually cease although this is by no means to be taken as an official promise to the Government. They realize that the policy is a mistake, but their peculiar pride will not permit them to appear before the world as having yielded to external influences and protests or to the threats of adversaries. I pointed out to Lancken that the continuance of the policy placed in jeopardy the chances of peace; they realize this and may be influenced by it. This consideration I think, if emphasized in the right quarter in a manner that would not give offense, might prove effective as bitter criticism only aggravates and does not soften the military party.

The later preparations, I observe, are made with more care than those that preceded the earlier deportations. They are to take men

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at Malines on January 4 and I have arranged to have Herter [1] witness the deportation as Lancken's personal but unofficial guest.

The continued requisition of stocks and materials in the few industries still in operation complicates the situation by increasing the number of unemployed and thereby formally exposing them to deportation.

It is unnecessary to add that publication of this despatch would compromise our efforts to influence the situation and to render service in isolated cases. My only hope, unless peace comes soon, lies in our good offices and the steady influence of public opinion, which acting on German Liberals may bring this dark chapter to a close.

WHITLOCK

File No. 763.72115/2585

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Germany (Gerard)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *January 6, 1917, 4 p. m.*

3754. Your 4645, November 24, 4 p. m.[2] The Chancellor's reply contains statement that American inspection of work places of deported Belgians might be arranged if desired. Please make such arrangements if possible. The Department assumes that such inspection might be combined with visits to British prisoner camps.

LANSING

File No. 763.72115/2759

The German Ambassador (Bernstorff) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

J. No. A 131 WASHINGTON, *January 8, 1917.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor to inclose a memorial sent me by my Government on the employment of Belgian laborers in Germany, refuting the false statements of Germany's enemies. In case your excellency should not express any objections, I intend to publish it here in the near future.

Please accept [etc.] J. BERNSTORFF

[Enclosure—Translation]

Employment of Belgian Laborers in Germany

I

The compulsory employment of Belgian laborers in German works is utilized by our enemies as a welcome occasion in order to stir up

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[1] Attached to the Legation.

[2] *Foreign Relations*, 1916, Supplement, p. 867.

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the public opinion of neutral and hostile foreign countries against this alleged recent violation of the Belgian people. This propaganda threatens to assume considerable proportions, and it may even be considered likely that the Entente will attempt to induce neutral governments or high neutral personages to make a formal protest. An explanation of the causes and effects of the disapproved measures therefore appears necessary in order to prevent a one-sided judgment of the question.

Those who, far away from the scenes of the war, are able to judge the conditions in the territories occupied in the west only in a superficial manner, will perhaps not understand so easily that the measures taken are not only by no means injurious to the population of these regions from an economic standpoint, but had become to a certain extent a social necessity owing to the peculiar conditions prevailing there. He who wishes to comprehend this must first picture to himself the extent and effects of the nonemployment in Belgium. The chief cause of this is the British naval blockade, which is being ruthlessly enforced even against Belgium. Belgian industry is so greatly dependent on the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured articles that the almost complete stoppage of foreign trade by England necessarily entailed automatically the paralyzation of by far the greater part of Belgian industries. This is especially the case with the important iron and steel industries, textile and clothing industries, and the ceramic and glass industry, which together employed over half a million workmen in time of peace, as well as with the leather, tobacco, paper, and chemical industry. Even fishing has entirely ceased in consequence of the blockade of the North Sea coast. A number of other enterprises had to be suspended because the materials used and their transportation had become so dear that the work was conducted at a loss; this occurred, among others, with the building industry (employing in peace 95,000 laborers) and the wood and furniture industry (80,000 laborers). The important mining industry owes it only to the extensive exportation of coal to Germany that it is able to employ about nine-tenths of its 145,000 laborers, and the stone quarries also employ one-third of their force, which had hitherto consisted of 35,000 hands, in order to fulfil orders which are mostly German.

That, as frequently asserted in Belgium, requisitions of raw materials and machinery by Germany have considerably increased the unemployment is not true for the reason that these requisitions were made primarily in factories which were unable anyway to keep running owing to one of the aforementioned causes.

The result of these occurrences is that, out of 1,200,000 men and women who worked in Belgian industrial enterprises before the war,

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and who represent about half of all persons in Belgium engaged in earning a living, 505,000 (including 158,000 women) are entirely, and 150,000 (including 46,000 women) partially, unemployed. Altogether there are therefore 655,000 persons, formerly earning their living by labor in industry, who are now dependent upon public assistance, a number which, added to 293,000 wives and 612,000 children of the unemployed, reaches a total of 1,560,000 needy people and represents about one-fifth of the entire population of Belgium.

In so highly a developed industrial nation as Belgium this state of affairs, without precedent in history, had necessarily to entail the gravest economic and social troubles. The sums expended up to the present in order to furnish the bare minimum needed for existence to the unemployed persons and those dependent upon them already amount to over 300,000,000 francs and are likely to amount to no less than 20,000,000 francs a month in future. Even though foreign countries undertook to finance the work of affording this assistance, nevertheless Belgian national economy must eventually bear the burden. The equivalent of these expenditures, which are not made for productive labor, is not only entirely lost to Belgian economic life, but even does it considerable injury. The laborers are so accustomed to idleness by the help afforded them that a Belgian employer at present has difficulty in finding the necessary workmen to keep his enterprise going.

If this fact, in view of the above-cited large number of unemployed, in itself throws a sharp light on the economic troubles created in Belgium by unemployment, then the present condition must be characterized as wholly intolerable from a social standpoint if we picture to ourselves the consequences which the long continuing idleness produces for the laboring population. It is obvious that a trained laborer will lose his ability through long years of idleness, and his value to Belgian industry will therefore be seriously diminished. Even the unskilled laborer, who has been accustomed to a constant exertion of his strength, will be physically impaired by remaining unoccupied for a long time. In a moral way a continuance of present conditions will be absolutely devastating in its effects. The feeling of humiliation experienced by morally sound persons when they have to beg their living from foreign charity is in the long run entirely lost by the laboring classes, and they cease to be proud of being able to support their families by their own efforts. The saying that idleness is the beginning of vice is verified to an enhanced degree in the case of the materially inclined Belgian laborer, and the consequences are drunkenness and moral degeneracy in wide circles of these classes of the population, among whom family life also incurs many dangers.

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All these circumstances, as well as the gradual impoverishment of the laborers' families, who are able to satisfy only the most necessary material needs after consuming all their savings, must inevitably involve a weakening of the whole power of the Belgian people.

II

Baron von Bissing, Governor General of Belgium, early realized the grave significance of this question to the population of the territory under his administration, and he consequently turned his whole attention to it from the beginning of his official activity. As far as the requirements of warfare permitted, he encouraged the revival of commerce and industry and favored every importation and exportation that was at all possible under the British blockade. He also exhorted the Belgian communal administrations to undertake emergency work that would be of utility to the general public, provided this would not cause any overburdening of the communal finances. The constantly increasing assistance to the unemployed has also been the subject of his unceasing solicitude, as he had long since recognized that such assistance would encourage aversion to work and thus enlarge the number of unemployed. He has, therefore, repeatedly instructed the authorities under him to see that the help afforded unemployed did not become an obstacle to their resumption of work, and he has also induced the heads of the assistance committees to act along the same lines.

By all these measures it was possible to limit, but by no means remove, the evil, for the reason that the deeper cause, the British naval blockade, made its effects felt more and more as time went on. The Governor General was accordingly obliged, even last year, to resort to a more powerful means in order to counteract the increasing habit of idleness on the part of the people. At the instance of shrewd Belgians, and with the cooperation of the proper Belgian Ministry, he issued an order in August, 1915, against shirking of labor, which order was supplemented and strengthened in March of this year. These orders contemplate a compulsory removal to the places of work only when the laborer declines without sufficient grounds a job offered him at appropriate wages and within his capacity, and in this connection any ground of refusal based on international law is regarded as sufficient. A workman can accordingly not be forced to participate in warlike enterprises. The orders are directed primarily against certain organized influences which wish to keep the laborers from voluntarily accepting remunerative work only because it was offered by Germans. They are founded on sound legislative considerations, which restrict the liberty of the individual in the interest of the general public.

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The evil conditions which existed even at the time of issuance of these orders having in the course of time become entirely intolerable, the orders are now to be enforced more extensively than hitherto. Before they are applied, a proposition is made to the unemployed workman that he voluntarily enter into an advantageous labor contract, and only in case he stubbornly refuses (usually as a result of incitement) are forcible measures employed. The unemployed who go to Germany are placed on an equal footing there with the German laborers, and they receive higher wages than were ever known in Belgium. Care is taken to send part of these wages to the families remaining behind. The laborers are likewise allowed to carry on correspondence by letter with their families, and they are granted leave to go home at regular intervals. At their request they may even take their families with them to Germany. Provision is also made for religious service in their mother tongue.

III

The great advantages which accrue to Belgian laborers from the opportunity thus offered them to work, as compared with their previous sorry plight, are so obvious that for a year tens of thousands of them have been voluntarily availing themselves of the offer and have found remunerative labor in Germany. Happy to have escaped the misery caused by many months' idleness and the humiliation of public assistance, they have been able to restore their physical and moral strength by returning to their normal occupation. By the labor of their hands they can again raise their families up to a higher standard economically and make savings for the future. The temporary transplantation to another home does not frighten them, as Belgian laborers are used to wandering and have, in time of peace, often hired out for work in the southern industrial section of the country or in northern France for several months for the sake of a much less increase in wages than that now offered. The transfer of Belgian laborers to Germany therefore means a considerable improvement in the situation of these laborers and the abolition of conditions which have become intolerable.

File No. 763.72115/2781

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

BRUSSELS, *January 16, 1917, 11 a. m.*
[*Received January 17, 2.15 p. m.*]

32. I understand that the deportations from Brussels will begin within a short time. They continue here and there in the country,

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though with diminished frequency, and we are told with milder methods. The civil government is still trying to have the policy abrogated but has not yet succeeded in impressing its views upon the military authorities.

WHITLOCK

File No. 763.72115/2980

The Minister in Belgium (Whitlock) to the Secretary of State

No. 429 BRUSSELS, *January 17, 1917.*
[*Received February 13.*]

SIR: With reference to my telegram of the 15th instant, No. 32, regarding the deportations of Belgians from the city of Brussels, I have the honor to state that summonses to appear for examination are now being sent out by the German authorities, directing the men to appear on Saturday, the 20th instant, at the Gare du Midi.

The method of summoning the men is different from that employed hitherto, and indicates greater care in preparation. No announcements have been posted on the city walls; persons whom it is desired to examine are summoned individually by post card, and are at the same time advised as to the punishment to which they will expose themselves if they do not reply to the summons, the preparatory measures which they should take in view of a possible deportation, and the bureau to which they should apply in the event of their voluntary inscription for work in lieu of deportation.

A copy and translation of this post card of notification are enclosed herewith.

I have [etc.] BRAND WHITLOCK

[Enclosure—Translation]

Post Card Sent Out by German Authorities Summoning Belgians to Appear for Examination Preliminary to Deportation

IMPERIAL GERMAN COMMANDANTUR BRUSSELS, [*date of the postmark*].

You are summoned to present yourself on ——— at 8 a. m. at the Southern Railway Station (entrance from the Rue de France).

In the event that you should not obey the present summons, you would be deported at once by force; furthermore, you would be liable to a sentence of a maximum imprisonment for three months, or of a fine not exceeding 1,000 marks.

As it is possible that you may be sent to a place of work and that in such case you would not have further occasion to get into communication with the members of your family, you are advised to provide yourself with a blanket, with winter clothing, linen, and good boots.

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Whoever signs a contract at the *Bureau de l'Industrie*, Rue Marie Thérèse, 64, is offered work either in Germany or in Belgium on very advantageous conditions, and need not present himself at the station.

COUNT VON SODEN
Colonel and Commandant

The present summons is to be exhibited

[SEAL]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SERBIAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES

File No. 701.7211

The Chargé in France (Bliss) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PARIS, *September 11, 1916, noon.*
[*Received 12.45 p. m.*]

1590. Serbian Minister at Paris desires me to ascertain whether the nomination of Mr. Lioubomir Michaïlovitch as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Serbia to the United States will be agreeable to our Government.[1] He was formerly Serbian Minister to Montenegro.

BLISS

File No. 701.7211

The Secretary of State to the Chargé in France (Bliss)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *September 23, 1916, 6 p. m.*

1740. Your 1590, September 11, noon. We have not been approached directly by Serbian Government, but should that Government desire establish diplomatic mission, Washington and accredit Mr. Michaïlovitch, such action would be agreeable this Government.

LANSING

File No. 701.7211/3

Remarks of the Serbian Minister (Michaïlovitch) on the occasion of his reception by President Wilson, January 26, 1917

[Translation]

His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent of Serbia, in the name of King Peter I, my August Master, and the Royal Government of Serbia, desirous of strengthening the cordial relations already ex-

[1] Serbia had no diplomatic representative in the United States.

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isting between the United States of North America and Serbia, have commissioned me to represent them near your excellency and the Government of the Republic.

In placing in your excellency's hand my letters of credence, I beg you to believe that my every effort will be bent on tying the most beneficial and cordial bonds between our two countries. The Serbian people who only aspire to free political and economic development would like to follow in the path of the Great Republic's stupendous advance and learn from its wide experience in every field of public life which has so happily secured independence and great prosperity for the American people.

In order to accomplish that mission, I have the honor to hope that your excellency will deign to extend to me your benevolent assistance and that I may count on the friendly cooperation of the Government of the Republic.

File No. 701.7211/3

President Wilson's reply to the remarks of the Serbian Minister (Michaïlovitch) on the occasion of his reception, January 26, 1917

MR. MINISTER: I was gratified to learn of the intention of the Government of Serbia to establish a diplomatic mission at Washington, and it gives me pleasure now to accept from your hands the letters whereby you are accredited as its first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near the Government of the United States, and to recognize you in that high quality.

Evidencing as its action does the desire of the Government of Serbia to enter into closer and more direct relations with the United States, I have no doubt that your aims will be to promote the common interests of both countries, to strengthen cordiality of intercourse between them, and to make each better acquainted with the other. In these endeavors I shall be happy to give you my hearty cooperation.

I trust that you will find your residence among us most agreeable.

THE JURISDICTION OF AMERICAN COURTS OVER SHIPS REQUISITIONED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS: THE CASE OF THE "ATTUALITÀ"

File No. 311.654At8/1

The Counselor of the Italian Embassy (Brambilla) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *September 12, 1916.*
[*Received September 13.*]

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: The Ambassador has directed me to inform you that although the Italian Consul at Philadelphia

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had on August 28, ultimo, caused to be sent to the United States District Court at Richmond, Va., a certificate stating that the Italian S. S. *Attualità* had been requisitioned by the Royal Government, and subsequently notified the above court, by a letter dated August 29, that, as a consequence of its requisition, the said ship could not be subjected to attachment, the *Attualità* was attached upon arriving at Norfolk, Va., on the 9th instant, following a libel filed against her with the United States District Judge at that port by the owner of the Greek S. S. *Mina.*

The Ambassador wishes me to point out to your excellency that, although the United States Government have never disputed the right of a requisitioned ship to be exempt from attachment and although judges of American courts have not only repeatedly confirmed it in their judgments, but expressed the opinion that, as in the case of the Greek S. S. *Athanasios*—

It may also be noted that, under existing treaties and what has hitherto been considered accepted international usage, it would be the duty certainly of the executive, and probably of the judicial, branch of the United States Government to assist the Consul General of Greece in carrying out the orders of his king in respect of the *Athanasios*, inasmuch as such orders in no wise interfere with the peace, order, or dignity, of the United States, however destructive they may be to a private contract between subjects of Greece and Great Britain. (Judge Hough of the District Court—New York, Nov. 15, 1915.)

and in the case of the Italian S. S. *Luigi*—

It is far more important for the courts of the United States to recognize the international rule of comity that an independent sovereign can not be personally sued, because such a suit would be inconsistent with the independence and equality among the nations of the state which he represents, than it is to take cognizance of private rights, if, by so doing, that rule is violated. If, therefore, by means of the attachment against the *Luigi* now under requisition as a public vessel of the Italian Government, the authority of the court is indirectly exercised or attempted to be exercised upon the Italian Government, so as to be inconsistent with the independence and equality of that government, the writ of attachment must be quashed. (Judge Thompson of the District Court—Pennsylvania, February 22, 1916.)

the case of the *Attualità* and some previous cases show that Italian requisitioned ships are, in certain instances, subjected to attachment by American judicial authorities.

Whilst instructing me to beg your excellency to kindly take up the matter with the Department of Justice in view of obtaining the prompt release of the *Attualità*, Count Cellere has, therefore, requested me at the same time to add that he would greatly appreciate it if the Department of State would suggest some procedure by which it may be possible to protect Italian requisitioned ships in the enjoy-

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ment of their rights and avoid the considerable delays and losses to which the Royal Government has been exposed through the attachment in American ports of ships requisitioned by them.

Whilst awaiting the favour of a reply which I may communicate to the Ambassador, I beg to remain [etc.]

BRAMBILLA

File No. 311.654At8/7

The Italian Ambassador (Macchi di Cellere) to the Secretary of State

[Translation [1]]

No. 2977 BEVERLY FARMS, MASS., *October 2, 1916.*

[*Received October 4.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: On September 12 last, by a letter addressed to your excellency, Signor Brambilla, Counselor of the Royal Embassy, had the honor to inform you that although the Italian consular officer had officially declared to the Federal magistrate that the Italian Steamer *Attualità* was a steamship requisitioned by the King's Government and therefore was not attachable, the said steamer, pursuant to the application of the owner of the Greek S. S. *Mina*, was held under a writ of attachment issued by the District Court of Norfolk, Va.

The principle that a steamship requisitioned by a friendly government must not be liable to attachment being an accepted principle that never was questioned by the Government of the United States, I ventured to represent to your excellency in the above-mentioned letter that requisitioned Italian steamers had been and (as evidenced by the *Attualità* case) continued to be subjected to attachment by the American judiciary. I, therefore begged your excellency to be pleased to acquaint the Federal Department of Justice with the fact that had been brought to your notice, with a view to an early release of the *Attualità*. And I asked at the same time that you kindly suggest some procedure that would make it possible to protect requisitioned Italian steamers in the enjoyment of their rights as well as to avoid the considerable delays and the no less considerable loss entailed on the King's Government by the attachment in American ports of steamers requisitioned by it.

Your excellency will readily understand that I must be somewhat grieved at finding that I have not up to date had the honor to receive an answer to the above-mentioned note of September 12 and, instead, that the steamship *Attualità* is still held under attachment. Neither the official attestations of the Royal consular officer nor the sub-

[1] As revised by the Editor; "required" changed to "requisitioned" throughout.

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sequent official declaration of this Embassy made in the second note of September 18 to your excellency [1] have availed to prevent the attachment being brought into court for a hearing. And while, on September 23, the District Court of Norfolk, upon an argument of the cause, decided it had no "jurisdiction" over the steamer and ordered its release, the Court of Appeals has stayed execution of that judgment and, in turn, set the 5th of this month for the date of a further hearing, thereby leaving open, before all, the possibility of an eventual denial of the unquestionable right of the King's Government.

The importance of the statement I have the honor to lay before you can not escape your excellency when considering the painful impression this attitude of the American judiciary is bound to create among the officials of the Kingdom and would create on public opinion in Italy, if known. The S. S. *Attualità*, which is not liable to attachment on account of its being requisitioned by the King's Government, has been detained under an attachment in an American port since the 9th of September. It is still subject to the judgment of the court. The Italian Government is suffering considerable loss therefrom. The Royal Embassy had the honor to bring the case to your excellency's notice as early as the 12th of September, and asked at the same time a suggestion as to the procedure which might insure to the King's Government for the future the enjoyment in American ports of the rights that appertain to it in the matter of steamers belonging to the state. It was all the more necessary and urgent to define such a procedure as cases of attempted attachment may recur at any moment. I have not yet had the honor to receive an answer to that note.

Your excellency will therefore indulge my again drawing your benevolent attention to the case and again appealing to your authoritative intercession for measures to be applied now and suggestions likely to smooth in the future the way to a practical recognition of a sovereign right of the Italian State.

I thank your excellency therefore in advance and renew to you [etc.]

MACCHI DI CELLERE

File No. 311.654At8/11

The Counselor of the Italian Embassy (Brambilla) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, *October 13, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: The Ambassador has instructed me to inform your excellency that, although he has not yet

[1] Not printed.

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had the honour of receiving a reply to his note of the second instant, he supposes that the Department of State is by now fully acquainted with the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond, Va., of October the 6th, in the case of the Italian S. S. *Attualità*. He, therefore, directs me to submit to your excellency's consideration the fact that, according to counsel of this Embassy, no form of redress against the decision of the above Court of Appeals seems now to be possible, except by a petition to the United States Supreme Court for a writ of *certiorari* to be filed by the United States Attorney General upon request of His Majesty's Embassy to the Department of State.

Whilst reiterating the formal protests of the Royal Government against the assumption of jurisdiction by United States courts over an Italian requisitioned ship, a proceeding so inconsistent with the rules of international courtesy which are universally observed when the sovereign rights of a foreign state are involved, the Ambassador now directs me to point out to your excellency the even greater inconsistency with those rights of the further procedure now fatally arising out of a situation of which the entire responsibility rests with the Government of the United States. The very shortness of the term of 10 days granted by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for a petition to the United States Supreme Court would suffice by itself to show how utterly impossible it is to apply procedures framed for private individuals to cases where the very essence of the right of sovereignty and the supreme power of dominion of a foreign state are involved, as it would be hardly reasonable to expect the necessarily slow moving and complicated machinery of a modern state, often separated by thousands of miles from its representatives abroad, to move with a celerity of which it is actually incapable.

Although all previous friendly representations made by this Embassy to the Department of State have remained, so far, unheeded, the Ambassador is confident that your excellency will realize the difficulty of the situation with which he is now confronted notwithstanding all the efforts made by this Embassy with a view of reaching an amicable settlement of this question. He trusts that your excellency will realize that it is utterly impossible for His Majesty's Government to submit to any procedure inconsistent with the dignity of a sovereign state and that it would be hardly just to expect an ambassador to take any steps in questions of such vital importance without even having time to receive instructions from his Government.

I beg leave to remain [etc.] BRAMBILLA

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File No. 311.654At8/1

The Secretary of State to the Italian Ambassador (Macchi di Cellere)

No. 221 WASHINGTON, *October 26, 1916.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the communications addressed by your Embassy to the Department under dates of September 12, October 2, and October 13, 1916, respectively, with regard to the proceedings instituted in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia against the Italian steamer *Attualità* which you state has been "requisitioned" by your Government. In one of these communications you represented that the action of a court of this country in taking jurisdiction in this case is inconsistent with "the rules of international courtesy which are universally observed when the sovereign rights of a foreign state are involved." And you requested that steps be taken with a view to the early release of the vessel, and that I suggest some procedure "that would make it possible to protect required [*requisitioned*] Italian steamers in the enjoyment of their rights as well as to avoid the considerable delay and the no less considerable loss entailed on the King's Government by the attachment in American ports of steamers required [*requisitioned*] by it."

The Department has examined the judicial proceedings taken in the case of the steamer *Attualità*, and the questions raised by your communications respecting this case have received the Department's attentive consideration.

Briefly summarized, the facts and circumstances in connection with your complaint are as follows:

On September 9, 1916, a libel was filed in the court by the owner of a Greek steamer called the *Mina* to recover damages to the amount of $800,000 for the losses resulting from a collision between this vessel and the steamship *Attualità*, which occurred in the month of July, 1916, in the Mediterranean Sea. Counsel for your Embassy appeared in the case as *amicus curiae* and moved to have the vessel released on the ground of its governmental character. It appears that during the course of the proceedings an appearance was also made by the master of the vessel in behalf of its owners and other interested persons.

On the receipt of the note addressed to the Department by the Counselor of the Embassy under date of September 12, 1916, the Department communicated it to the Attorney General with the request that the contents thereof be laid before the court, and it appears that in accordance with this request the following statement was presented to the court through a representative of the Department of Justice:

I, Richard H. Mann, United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia, acting under the direction of the Attorney

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General of the United States, respectfully bring to the attention of the court that the Attorney General of the United States has received from the Secretary of State of the United States a communication dated September 15, 1916, to the effect that the Secretary of State has been advised by the Italian Ambassador that the Italian steamship *Attualità*, which has been libeled and attached in this proceeding, was at the time of the said attachment and is now requisitioned by the Italian Government, and was at the time of said attachment and is now in the service of the Italian Government; and I am further directed to call the attention of this court in this connection to the *Luigi*, 230 Federal Reporter 493.

In bringing this matter to the attention of the court, the United States does not intervene as an interested party, nor do I appear either for the United States or for the Italian Government, but I present the suggestion as *amicus curiae*, as a matter of comity between the United States Government and the Italian Government, for such consideration as the court may deem necessary and proper.

On September 28, 1916, the District Court ordered the release of the vessel.

An appeal from the court's decision was taken by the libelant to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. This tribunal apparently held that the ship was not immune from the jurisdiction of the courts of this country, and it reversed the decree of the lower court and remanded the case for further proceedings.

I desire to present to you certain considerations prompting me to reach the conclusion that the decision of the higher court does not conflict with established principles of international law and practice, or involve, as stated in Mr. Brambilla's note of October 13, "procedure inconsistent with the dignity of a sovereign state," which this Government would not knowingly sanction or defend.

In the opinion of the Circuit Court of Appeals and in arguments of counsel, reference is made to the case of *The Exchange* (7 Cranch 116), in which the Supreme Court of the United States held that the public armed vessels of a foreign nation may, upon principles of comity, enter the harbors of this country with the presumed license of the Government, and while there are exempt from the jurisdiction of local courts.

Mr. Chief Justice Marshall in rendering the opinion of the court, said that the "perfect equality and absolute independence of sovereigns, and this common interest impelling them to mutual intercourse, and an interchange of good offices with each other, have given rise to a class of cases in which every sovereign is understood to waive the exercise of a part of that complete exclusive territorial jurisdiction, which has been stated to be the attribute of every nation."

It appears that he divided these cases into the following classes: (1) the immunities accorded the person of the sovereign in a foreign

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country; (2) the immunities granted by civilized nations to foreign diplomatic representatives; (3) the immunities allowed the troops of a foreign prince which are permitted to pass through his dominions; and (4) the immunities granted to public armed vessels.

In order to determine which, if any, of these rules is applicable, it is important to ascertain the exact status of the steamer in question. The only information on this point contained in the communications under acknowledgment is that the vessel has been "requisitioned" by the Italian Government. From the record of the court proceedings, however, it appears that under Italian law the owner of a steamer whose services are "requisitioned" by the Italian authorities is paid a compensation by the government calculated on a specifically prescribed basis; that the contract of the enrollment of the crew continues in force during the period of "requisition"; that the owner is obligated to pay the master and crew, as well as all expenses of operating the ship, and the cost of insurance against misfortunes; that the vessel must be returned to the owners at the termination of the period of requisition in a condition defined by the terms of the requisition, and that damages sustained by the vessel in consequence of the services performed must be determined by a technical commission and paid to the owners.

It further appears that under the terms of the requisition of the *Attualità*, an arbitral procedure is provided for the adjustment of all controversies between the Italian Administration of War and the owner of the vessel in relation to the interpretation and fulfilment of the conditions of the contract of requisition as well as all other matters growing out of the requisition except the amount of compensation to be paid the owner; and that the Italian authorities hold the owners of the vessel responsible for the cargo from the time it is loaded until it is unloaded.

The *Attualità*, therefore, appears to be not only not an armed public vessel of the Italian Government, but not even a merchant vessel owned by that Government. She seems to be merely a merchant vessel—owned by private persons as heretofore, and fully equipped, insured, manned, and operated by and at the expense of the owners, who are responsible for any damages sustained by the ship in the course of the services performed as well as for the cargo on board—whose services are purchased for a stated period by the Italian Government for a stipulated compensation. I do not perceive that this private character of the vessel is in any way impaired by the fact that the contract of employment is compulsory rather than voluntary.

It seems obvious, therefore, that the *Attualità* can not be regarded as entitled to any of the immunities under the rules pointed out by

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Chief Justice Marshall in the case of the schooner *Exchange*. Nor do I perceive that there is any other rule of international law or comity granting this vessel immunity from the jurisdiction of the admiralty courts of this country in a case of this character. The object of the court in taking jurisdiction is, I presume, to determine whether the vessel or the owner is liable for the alleged marine tort on account of which the vessel was libeled. The courts are open to the owners of the vessel to defend their rights in the proceedings instituted against it and to endeavor through appropriate proceedings to have set aside by the court of last resort the decision holding the vessel for trial. It seems clear, therefore, that the action of the court in taking jurisdiction in the case on its merits does not necessarily result in directly or in indirectly impleading the Government of Italy.

The Circuit Court of Appeals in its opinion commented briefly on the consequences of granting immunity to a privately owned merchant vessel engaged in the regular trade, though temporarily in the service of the government. The court said:

There are many reasons which suggest the inexpediency and the impolicy of creating a class of vessels for which no one is responsible in any way. For the public armed ships of a sovereign, and for those whether armed or not, which are in the actual possession, custody and control of the nation itself, and are operated by it, the nation would be morally responsible although without her consent not answerable legally in her own or other courts. For torts and contracts of an ordinary vessel it and its owners are liable. But the ship in this case, and there are now apparently thousands like it, is operated by its owners and for its actions no government is responsible at law or in morals.

The persons in charge of the navigation of the ship remain the servants of the owners and are paid by the owners. The immunity granted to diplomatic representatives of a sovereignty, to its vessels of war, and under some circumstances to its other property in its possession and control, can be safely afforded because the usual limited numbers and the ordinarily responsible character of the diplomats or agents in charge of the property in question and the dignity and honor of the sovereignty in whose services they are, make abuse of such immunity rare. There will be no such guaranty for the conduct of the thousands of persons privately employed upon ships which at the time happen by contract or requisition to be under charter to sovereign governments.

There are other practical reasons which impel me to my regret to disagree with the contentions advanced in the communications under acknowledgment. If those contentions were admitted, American tribunals might become impotent to determine even the rights of American citizens in cases of maritime torts, salvage, and contracts involving such vessels, and therefore no remedies would be

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open to American citizens in such cases except through diplomatic channels. Indeed, it would seem that, if your excellency's contention is followed to its logical conclusion, the courts of this country would be precluded from the administration of criminal jurisprudence in cases where the arrest of any persons connected with such vessels for any offence committed within the territorial jurisdiction of this country might involve a delay in departure from port.

There is a further consideration to which I must call your excellency's attention. The steamer *Attualità* and other private merchant vessels whose services have been required by belligerent governments during the present war have freely entered and cleared in the ports of this country in conformity with the laws and regulations observed by other private merchantmen and have not claimed the immunities from local laws and regulations accorded to public vessels of war by the universal practice of nations.

Should this Government concede the contention which I understand you to make: namely, that vessels having the status of the steamer *Attualità* should be given in this country a treatment assimilated to that accorded to vessels of war, and should not be subjected to the laws and regulations generally governing merchant vessels in foreign ports, a grave question might, in my judgment, be raised as to the propriety of this Government's permitting such vessels freely to enter, remain at will, and leave the ports of this country, and to transport therefrom merchandise of all kinds, including articles of contraband of war for the direct use of belligerent governments.

The cases of the *Athanasios* (228 Fed. Rep. 558), and the *Luigi* (230 Fed. Rep. 493), referred to in the Counselor's note of September 12, do not appear to me to form a precedent applicable to this case, as it is evident from the reports of these cases that the question of the immunity of the ship from judicial process was not involved in the decisions in these cases.

Furthermore, even though these two decisions might be considered as giving a measure of support to your excellency's contentions with respect to the immunity of the steamer *Attualità*, it should be observed that they were rendered by a court inferior to the Circuit Court of Appeals against whose decision in the case of the *Attualità* your Government now complains.

Since it appears that the action of the Circuit Court of Appeals in refusing to deny the foreign libellant the opportunity to establish his rights in an admiralty court of this country was in conformity with the practice of the courts of the United States to take jurisdiction in controversies in admiralty between foreign vessels, and since it further appears that the proceedings in this case did not involve

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any attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the Italian Government or its property, I can not bring myself to share the view of the Counselor of the Embassy in his note of October 13, that the judicial proceedings which have taken place contravene "the rules of international courtesy which are universally observed when the sovereign rights of a foreign state are involved," or to admit that this procedure is "inconsistent with the dignity of a sovereign state."

I earnestly hope that a further consideration of the case will convince your excellency of the soundness of the views of this Government as to the course adopted, and that you will reach the same conclusion as to the embarrassments and complications which would undoubtedly arise if any other course were pursued, for I am convinced that you are as anxious as I am to avoid creating new controversies of a far more serious nature relating to vessels under contract to your Government entering American ports as private vessels of commerce.

As to means of avoiding the delay and loss to the King's Government growing out of legal proceedings of this sort, upon which you desire some suggestion, I have no doubt that the court would entertain a proper application of the owners to release the vessel under bonds pending the final disposition of the case, as was done in the case of the Italian steamer *Luigi*.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

File No. 311.654At8/16

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ROME, *December 11, 1916, 3 p. m.*
[*Received December 12, 9.40 a. m.*]

750. Minister for Foreign Affairs earnestly requests my aid in obtaining release and prompt departure for Italy of steamer *Attualità* requisitioned by Italian Government, now under seizure Norfolk on complaint of Greek shipowner. Grain cargo *Attualità* greatly needed here. Baron Sonnino reminds me agreement had previously been reached with Department that no ships requisitioned by Italy would be subjected to seizure.

NELSON PAGE

File No. 311.654At8/16

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, *December 14, 1916, 4 p. m.*

682. Your 750, December 11, 3 p. m. In note dated October 26, 1916, Department communicated to Italian Ambassador reasons why

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it did not consider it was in position to take steps looking to release steamer *Attualità*. In note, December 8,[1] Department informed Ambassador that for reasons set forth in previous note the Department must adhere to views therein contained to effect that action of court in taking jurisdiction in case this vessel was not at variance with international law or international custom and Department again pointed out, as was done in note October 26, that courts are open to owners of vessel to defend their rights and to endeavor to have set aside by court of last resort decision holding vessel for trial, and that inconvenience resulting from detention vessel could doubtless be avoided in case owners should enter bond as was done in case of an Italian steamer called the *Luigi*.

Baron Sonnino apparently is in error with respect to statements made regarding agreement with Department that no ships requisitioned by Italy would be subjected to seizure, Department having entered into no such agreement. You may communicate with Foreign Office in sense foregoing.

LANSING

File No. 311.654At8/19

The Italian Ambassador (Macchi di Cellere) to the Secretary of State

[Translation]

No. 1359 WASHINGTON, *May 12, 1917.*
[*Received May 14.*]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: With reference to the correspondence exchanged with your excellency in the case of the S. S. *Attualità* and with special reference to my note of November 20, 1916,[1] I have the honor to confirm to your excellency that in the spirit of the law in force in the Kingdom the transfer of the flag of Italian steamers is prohibited. This prohibition was first established by a decree—law of April 1, 1915, and since confirmed by a decree of the Lieutenant of the Kingdom of April 2, 1916, which superseded the first.

As it appears from information received at the Embassy that Judge Waddill of Norfolk is about to decree the forced sale of the *Attualità*, I have the honor to beg your excellency kindly to apprize for all pertinent purposes, the above-named judge of the existence of the aforesaid prohibition. I enclose to that end a certified copy of the Lieutenant's decree of April 2, 1916.[1]

In performing the duty of renewing in this instance the reserves previously made regarding the action taken by the Government of the United States and the courts of Norfolk and Richmond in the case of the S. S. *Attualità* which as a requisitioned vessel is not

[1] Not printed.

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subject to foreign jurisdiction, I extend to your excellency, together with my thanks for the transmission hereby requested, the sentiment of my highest consideration.

MACCHI DI CELLERE

File No. 311.654At8/19

The Secretary of State to the Italian Ambassador (Macchi di Cellere)

No. 278 WASHINGTON, *May 29, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th instant in which you request that this Department apprize the United States judge at Norfolk who, you state, is about to decree the forced sale of the Italian steamship *Attualità*, that under the laws in force in the Kingdom of Italy the transfer of the flag of Italian steamers is prohibited.[1]

I regret that I do not consider that I am in a position to interfere in any way in this case in its present status.

According to my information the case was tried on its merits by a court of competent jurisdiction, and both parties litigant were given a full opportunity to present their cases to the court, which I understand has entered a decree finding that the steamer *Attualità* was wholly at fault in connection with the collision which took place between it and the steamer *Mina*. I am further informed that the case has been referred to a commissioner to ascertain the amount of damages resulting from the collision to the last-mentioned vessel and its cargo.

Accept [etc.] ROBERT LANSING

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[1] The ship was sold, Aug. 7, 1917, to an Italian company (File No. 311.654 At8/24).

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INDEX

114203—31——44

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INDEX

Page

Addis, Dr. Thomas, pardon after conviction for recruiting. 538–541
Adelheid, ex-German ship transferred to United States by Cuba 318
Ainsdale, sunk with American aboard 134
Algonquin, American steamer sunk without warning 174, 177
Alice, sunk with American aboard 143
Allaguash, removal of belligerent reservists 528–529, 530
Ancona, case of 1916 cited 131–132, 133, 151, 161, 163, 168
Anna Forstenes, Belgian relief ship torpedoed outside war zone 661
Appam, prize in American port, precautions for safety 588
Arbitration treaties between Uruguay and Allied powers, negotiations for conclusion. 333–335, 336–339, 350–351, 356–357, 358, 369.

Argentina:
- Conference of American States, initiative towards. *See under* Conference of American States.
- German Chargé d'Affaires, disclosure and publication of his telegrams to Berlin 322–323, 324, 353, 392–393, 393–394
- Argentine attitude 329, 329–330, 391
- Denial of contents 324, 393
- Passports sent him 325
- Congressional action 328, 329–330, 332–333
- German disavowal of telegrams 330
- Safe-conducts to Germany. 391*n*
- Merchant marine. 325–326, 327–328
- Neutrality, maintenance 225–226, 249–250, 256, 273, 391
- President, message to Congress 304
- Submarine warfare:
  - Cases of vessels sunk 255, 303
  - Negotiations with Germany 263, 275, 275–276, 306, 309, 319
  - Protest against resumption of unrestricted conduct 227–228

Page

Argentina—Continued.
- U. S. Fleet, visit of 304, 315
- Wheat:
  - Decree prohibiting export 323
  - Negotiations for export to Great Britain and France 306, 366–367, 386, 395–397, 398–399, 399–400
  - Convention 396, 399–400
  - U. S. assurances 398–399

Armament of merchant ships (*see also* Submarine warfare: Resistance and aggression by enemy merchant ships):
- Armed merchant ships, treatment of crews, neutral seamen:
  - Austro-Hungarian attitude. 165–166
  - Cases of captured American seamen brought to Germany on the *Moewe* and *Yarrowdale* 95, 96, 208–215, 218, 587, 588, 590
  - German note 215–218
- Armed merchant ships in neutral ports, attitude of—
  - Denmark 556
  - Netherlands 552, 555–556, 556
  - Norway 551, 557–558
  - Spain 551, 554
  - Sweden 551, 554, 554–555
  - United States 545, 556–557
- Armed merchant ships of neutrals, German attitude towards 92
- British practice and instructions 84, 85, 86–87, 543, 546–548
- Effect upon conduct of submarine warfare, German memorandum of Jan. 10. 83–86, 96–97
- French practice and instructions. 84, 87, 542–543, 544–545
- Italian practice and instructions 84, 87
- Russian practice and instructions 87
- U. S. notice of intent to arm. 171

Athanasios, case of 1915 cited. 676, 684
Athos, sunk with loss of several hundred Chinese laborers. 429
Attualità, merchant ship requisitioned by Italy, libeled in U. S. courts 675–687

Digitized by Google

Page
Ausable, removal of belligerent reservist 526, 530
Austria-Hungary:
Ambassador designate to United States, question of reception 143, 169, 177, 186
U. S. refusal to receive 188, 191
Diplomatic and consular staffs, return from—
Siam 609–610
United States 594–598
Economic condition 39
Interests in charge of—
Sweden in United States 595, 619–620, 620–621
Switzerland in the Philippines 620
Peace, terms and attitude 31, 34, 38–39, 76–77
Counter-reply to Allied powers' rejection of invitation to discuss peace 10–12
Refusal to consider separate peace 63, 65–66
Reply to Pres. Wilson's Senate address of Jan. 22 104–105
Prisoners of war and interned civilians in Russia, U. S. relief work 623–624, 625–626
Relations with United States:
Maintenance, attitude 38, 136, 137, 152, 169, 186, 193
Severance by Austria-Hungary 594–595
Submarine warfare:
Cases 93–94, 132
Denial of responsibility in certain cases 152, 167
Unrestricted conduct, attitude towards 38
Notice of Jan. 31 of extent of war zones 104–105
Aide-mémoire of Mar. 2 161–168
U. S. diplomatic and consular staffs, departure 596
Visit of German Kaiser 41
War with Associated powers, declarations by—
Siam 453
China 456
United States 385*n*
Panama 385
Cuba 393
Avra, sunk with American aboard 185–186
Aztec, American steamer sunk 203, 204–205

Bacchante, British war vessel at Monrovia 461, 464, 465
Balboa, American steamship blacklisted 505–506
Barbara, German investigation of sinking with Americans aboard 89
Bavaria, German ship interned in Cuba 247
Transferred to United States 318
Bayonne, sunk with Americans aboard 141–142
Belgier, sunk with Americans aboard 159
Belgium:
Deportations:
German memorial concerning 668–672
Reports on 665–668
Resumption 672–674
Interests in charge of Sweden in Turkey 601
Partition, German interest in Flemish autonomy 64
Peace, reply to Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 5, 8–9
Relief work:
Attitude of—
Germany towards U. S. relief work 636–637, 638, 641, 642, 649
Great Britain 637, 661, 663
Netherlands 637–638, 648, 649
Spain 634–635, 648
United States 630, 644–645, 647, 650–652, 656–657
Withdrawal of U. S. workers 655, 657
Transference of U. S. work to Netherland subjects 655
Ships engaged in:
Attacks upon and destruction of 196
Cases 636, 652–653, 661
U. S. protest 652–653
German reply 662
Routing, safe-conducts 629, 632–634, 635, 637, 643–644, 646, 649–650, 660–661, 661–662, 663–664.
U. S. Minister:
Diplomatic standing 638–642, 643, 644, 646–647, 647, 652, 653–654.
Withdrawal 657–660
German assurances 647–648, 654
U. S. instructions 655
Bernstorff, Johann Heinrich, Count von (German Ambassador at Washington):
Effort to delay resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare 32–33
Return from United States upon severance of diplomatic relations 591–594
Black list of neutral ships, case of *Balboa* 505–506, 507
Blair, Ralph K., pardon after conviction for recruiting 538–541

Digitized by Google

Page
Blenheim, sunk with American aboard 175–176
Blockades:
Central powers, by Great Britain and France (*see also* Contraband of war; Detention and seizure of neutral ships and cargoes):
British orders in council .. 492–493
Special arrangements for U. S. imports, goods of German origin detained in the Netherlands .. 509–517
Greece, by Great Britain and France .. 5, 23, 37, 39, 54, 55, 57
Submarine blockade of the Allied powers. *See* Submarine warfare: Unrestricted conduct.
Blythe, Samuel G., article on China in *Saturday Evening Post* 453
Bolivia:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 293, 384
Cooperation with United States 222–223, 253
German Minister, departure 608–609
Relations with Germany, severance 253
Submarine warfare, protest against unrestricted conduct 230
Bopp, Franz (German Consul General at San Francisco):
Conviction for violation of U. S. laws 579–580
Relieved of office 580
Revocation of exequatur .. 580–581
Detention and internment .. 582–585
Braz Pereira Gomes, Dr. Wenceslao (President of Brazil), messages to Congress ... 285–286, 290–291, 351
Brazil:
Coffee, negotiations with Great Britain for removal of import restrictions .. 294
U. S. intercession 296
British conditions ... 297, 305, 318
Brazil's attitude 310–311
Suspension of negotiations .. 397
Conference of American States, attitude towards 281, 373–374
Cooperation with United States 222, 226, 283–286, 294–295
Patrolling of South Atlantic 311, 312–313, 316
Mission to United States .. 346–347, 350
Squadron to join U. S. naval forces 379–380
German diplomatic and consular staffs, departure .. 606–609

Page
Brazil—Continued.
German ships in Brazilian ports:
Seizure and transfer to Brazilian flag 252, 291, 294, 315–316
Negotiations for use 315, 335–336, 345
France 319, 321, 352, 377–378, 380, 381
Great Britain 305, 318
United States ..... 285, 320, 323, 325, 331–332, 345–346, 356, 391, 392.
Neutrality decrees:
Decree of Apr. 25, as affecting United States .. 273–274
Withdrawal .. 291, 293, 294–295
Decrees as affecting Allied powers, withdrawal ... 304
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 219
President, messages to Congress 285–286, 290–291, 351
Relations with Germany, severance 251–252
Submarine warfare:
Cases of vessels sunk 252, 351
Protest against unrestricted conduct 252
War with Germany, declaration of state of 352
Brincken, Von (attaché of German Consul at San Francisco) conviction for violation of U. S. laws 579–580
Bulgaria:
Peace, counter-reply to Allied powers' rejection of invitation to discuss peace .. 61–62
Relations with United States, maintenance, attitude of—
Bulgaria 138, 172
United States 116
Bunker coal (*see also* Black list of neutral ships), British bunkering agreements 505, 506–507, 507–509

Cablegrams, transmission by U. S. officials for German, Austrian, and Bulgarian officials .. 31*n*, 87, 112, 116, 137, 152
California, sunk with American aboard 122, 123, 125
Camilla, Belgian relief ship torpedoed outside war zone .. 661
Canadian, sunk with Americans aboard 205
Cannizaro, sunk with American aboard 206
Centurion, sunk with Americans aboard 146–147
Chemung, Austro-Hungarian investigation of sinking with Americans aboard 93–94

Digitized by Google

Chile: Page
Conference of American States, attitude towards 241, 364
Neutrality, maintenance 229, 251, 298–299
Submarine warfare, protest against unrestricted conduct 227
U. S. Fleet, visit of 309–310, 312, 315
China:
Cabinet:
Composition 449
Premier, war policies 432, 444, 446–447, 448, 449–451
Conference of military governors 432, 443–444, 447
Departure and return to office 428, 429, 442
Opposition of—
Parliament 448–450
South China 438–441, 443, 450
Cooperation with United States 401–404, 407–409, 410–420, 453–454, 454–455
Assurance of cooperation in event of war 407
Saturday Evening Post article by Samuel G. Blythe 453
U. S. attitude 408, 410–411, 419–420, 422
U. S. influence and prestige 428, 437
Cooperation with Allied powers:
Assurances of assistance, etc.—
Requested by China 412, 441–442
Offered by Allied powers 413, 425, 447–448, 457–458
Text 455, 457
U. S. participation 456
Japanese influence 412, 413–414, 424, 426, 427–429, 441
U. S. attitude 412, 455–456
Desiderata, with regard to tariff, Boxer indemnity, etc 420–421, 443
U. S. attitude 422–423
German rights and property:
Concessions, policed by Chinese 434–435, 451
Attitude of—
Allied powers 434
United States 452
Extraterritoriality privileges 434, 435–436
Ships interned 437–438
Loan from United States, project 402, 419, 427, 430–432, 445–446, 446–447.
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 400–401
China—Continued. Page
Peace settlement, desire to protect interests in 404–407
U. S. attitude 411, 419
Railway project of Siems-Carey Co., bond issue 449
Relations with Germany, severance 418, 420, 422
Submarine warfare:
Case of vessel sunk with loss of several hundred Chinese laborers 429
Protest against unrestricted conduct 407
Japanese approval 409
War with Germany and Austria-Hungary, declaration of state of war 456
Chorley, sunk with Americans aboard 188
City of Memphis, American ship sunk 180, 181–182
Coaling. *See* Bunker coal.
Coffee, Brazilian negotiations with Great Britain for removal of import restrictions 294, 296, 297, 304–305, 310–311, 318, 397.
Colombia:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 308, 370–371
Neutrality, maintenance 229
Submarine warfare, protest against resumption of unrestricted conduct 347
Commercial conference in Latin-America. *See* Conference of American States.
Conference of Allied leaders at Rome 3, 4
Conference of neutrals at Stockholm 54–55, 56
Conference of American States, initiative taken by—
Argentina 235, 236, 256, 260–261, 264–265, 282–283, 303, 304, 306, 354, 365, 368, 382.
Attitude of—
Latin American countries. *See under individual countries.*
United States 240–241, 263, 279–281, 289, 355, 388–389.
Changes in name and purpose 235, 236, 256, 259, 260, 265, 277, 280, 282.
Invitation, text of 257, 263–264
Peruvian plan 367–368, 371, 376–377
U. S. approval 372–373
Postponement 394, 394–395

Digitized by Google

Page
Conference of American States, initiative taken by—Contd.
Ecuador 233, 317
Attitude of Mexico 243
Paraguay 232, 363
Constantia, ex-German ship transferred by Cuba to United States 318
Contraband of war, lists of—
France 492*n*
Great Britain 492
Conventions. *See* Treaties and conventions.
Cornell, Margaret, conviction along with Germans for violation of U. S. laws 579–580
Corso, sunk with American aboard 178
Costa Rica:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 281, 383
German diplomatic staff, safe-conducts for departure 329, 348–349
Offers to United States of—
Benevolent neutrality 243
Use of ports and waters 247
U. S. attitude 268, 274
Recognition of Tinoco government, question involved 243, 274, 287, 328
Relations with Germany, severance 329
Crews of armed merchant ships, status of neutral members. *See* Neutral seamen and passengers on armed merchant ships of belligerents.
Crispin, sunk with Americans aboard 189–190, 194
Crowley, Charles C. (employee of German Consul General at San Francisco), conviction for violation of U. S. laws 579–580
Cuba:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 281
Cooperation with United States 221–222, 224, 244
Mission to United States 247, 254
German ships in Cuban ports:
Seizure 247
Negotiations for use by United States 270, 286–287, 299, 307–308, 308, 318–319, 348, 386–387.
War, declaration of a state of war with—
Germany 246
Austria-Hungary 393
Customs collectors. *See under* United States.

Page
Dalbeattie, sunk with Americans aboard 138
Davanger, sunk with American aboard 181
Declaration of London:
German and Austrian appeals to 13, 162
Peruvian appeal to 312
Removal of belligerent subjects from neutral ships 530
Declaration of Paris 13
Defensive sea areas. *See* North Sea.
Denmark:
Interests in Belgium transferred to Spain by United States 642
Neutrality, maintenance 116–117
Representation of Germany in Danish West Indies 613
Deportations. *See under* Belgium *and* Germany.
Desaix, French cruiser at Monrovia 491
Detention and seizure of enemy ships in belligerent ports prior to outbreak of hostilities 221, 247, 252, 327, 438, 453, 558–566, 588
Detention and seizure of neutral ships and cargoes:
Austria-Hungary, rules and practice, destruction at sea 93–94
Germany, rules and practice (*see also* Submarine warfare), destruction at sea 88–89
Great Britain, rules and practice 492–493, 494–504
Diplomatic and consular officers, return from posts upon severance of relations 585–610
Drina, sunk with Americans aboard 169

East Point, sunk with Americans aboard 175
Eavestone, sunk with Americans aboard 144–145
Ecuador:
Conference of American States:
Initiative towards calling 233, 317
Attitude towards Argentine initiative 383, 384
Cooperation with United States, opening of waters to friendly war vessels 389
Neutrality, maintenance 231–232, 317
Pan-American solidarity, memorandum on 341–344
President, message to Congress 317–318
Relations with Germany, severance 383–384

Digitized by Google

Page
Elkus, Abram I. (U. S. Ambassador to Turkey), illness and return from Turkey upon severance of relations.... 598-606
Enemy aliens and property, treatment of:
Deportation by Liberia... 471, 477-478, 486-489, 491-492
Internment by—
China... 438
Cuba... 247
Siam... 453
United States... 582-585
Treaty for protection of citizens and private property presented to United States by Germany, paraphrase of... 589-590
Enemy ships in belligerent ports, treatment prior to outbreak of hostilities... 221, 247, 252, 438, 453, 558-566, 588
Enlistment in belligerent forces, case of Addis and Blair.. 535-541
Pardon... 539
Eptalofos, sunk with Americans aboard... 190
Euphrates, Belgian relief ship torpedoed outside war zone. 661
Exchange, The, case cited... 681
Extraterritoriality in China, transference of consular jurisdiction... 434, 435-436

Far East, war in. *See* China *and* Siam.
Feistein, Belgian relief ship torpedoed outside war zone... 661
Flag:
Neutral, use by armed enemy merchantmen... 92
Transfer forbidden by Italian law... 686-687
Folia, sunk with American aboard... 172, 173
France:
Arbitration treaty with Uruguay, negotiations for conclusion of... 333, 336-338, 350*n*, 356-357, 358, 369
Armament of merchant ships, practice and instructions. 84, 87, 542-543, 544-545
Contraband list... 492*n*
Interests in charge of—
Netherlands in Turkey... 601
Switzerland in Austria-Hungary... 618
Mails, censorship... 520-522, 524-525
Negotiations with—
Argentina, for wheat... 366-367, 386, 395-397, 399-400
Brazil, for ex-German ships. 319, 321, 352, 377-378, 380, 381

Page
France—Continued.
Negotiations with—Contd.
China, for entrance into war. *See* China: Cooperation with Allied powers.
Liberia, for entrance into war. *See* Liberia.
Siam, for entrance into war. 444-445
Uruguay, for ex-German ships... 350*n*
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's Senate address of Jan. 22... 33-34
"Freedom of the Seas"... 27-28, 98, 99, 162-163, 165

Galgorm Castle, sunk with Americans aboard... 156-157
Geier, German warship seized by U. S. naval authorities.. 558
Gerard, James Watson (U. S. Ambassador to Germany), return from Germany upon severance of diplomatic relations... 585-591
Germany (*see also* Submarine warfare):
Belgium:
Deportations, memorial on. 668-672
Partition, Flemish autonomy... 64
Relief work, attitude. *See* Belgium: Relief work.
Chargé d'Affaires in Argentina, disclosure of his telegrams to Berlin. *See under* Argentina.
Consular officers at San Francisco, conviction for violating U. S. laws. *See under* United States.
Deportation of German civilians from Liberia, protest... 471
Diplomatic and consular staffs, return from—
Bolivia... 608-609
Brazil... 606-609
Costa Rica... 348-349
Siam... 609-610
United States... 591-594
Economic conditions... 75-76
Greek deportations in Turkey, attitude towards... 15
Interests in charge of—
Denmark in Danish West Indies... 613
Netherlands in China... 434, 438
Spain in—
Panama Canal Zone.. 617-618
Porto Rico... 613
Switzerland in—
Great Britain... 622
Hawaii... 614

Digitized by Google

Germany—Continued. Page
Interests in charge of—Contd.
Switzerland in—Contd.
Philippines 612
United States 612–613, 613–614
Kaiser's visit to Austria-Hungary 41
Mexico, overtures to, Zimmermann telegram 147, 158, 160, 192
Peace, terms and attitude 15, 114
Counter-reply to Allied powers' rejection of invitation to discuss peace 12–14
Reply to Pres. Wilson's—
Offer of mediation 34–36
Senate address of Jan. 22 97–100
Political situation 66–67, 68–69, 73–75, 173–174
Russian revolution, attitude of German Socialists 77
Severance of relations by—
United States 106–108
Overture for resumption through Swiss Minister 125, 126, 136–137, 139–141
U. S. reply 129
Press reports on German attitude 153–155, 156
China 420, 422
Brazil 251–252
Bolivia 253
Guatemala 271
Liberia 462, 472–473
Honduras 282
Nicaragua 289–290
Haiti 301
Costa Rica 329
Peru 340, 340–341
Uruguay 340, 341
Ecuador 383–384
Ships in ports of Brazil, China, Cuba, Siam, Uruguay, and United States, treatment accorded. *See under individual countries.*
Treaty for protection of citizens and private property after severance of relations, paraphrase of treaty presented to United States 589–590
U. S. diplomatic and consular staffs, departure 585–591
War with Associated powers:
United States declaration of war 207–208
Cuban declaration of war 246
Panaman proclamation, amounting to a declaration of war 245, 248

Germany—Continued. Page
War with Associated powers—Continued.
Brazilian—
Neutrality decrees withdrawn 293, 304
Declaration of war 352
Uruguayan neutrality decrees withdrawn 301–302, 307, 346, 369–370
Siamese declaration of war 453
Liberian—
Declaration of war 477
Deportation of German subjects 477–478, 491–492
Chinese declaration of war 456
Girda, sunk with Americans aboard 182–183
Good offices. *See under* Peace.
Gouverneur Jaeschke, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558
Great Britain (*see also* Black list; Blockades; Detention and seizure of neutral ships and cargoes):
American policy, attitude towards 119–120, 170
Arbitration treaty with Uruguay, negotiations for conclusion of 333, 334–335, 336–338, 350–351, 357, 358.
Armament of merchant ships, instructions and practice 84, 85, 86–87, 543, 546–548
Belgian relief, attitude 637, 661, 663
Bunkering agreements, control of neutral shipping 505, 506–507, 507–509
Cabinet:
Premier, attitude towards Pres. Wilson 43–44
Transformation 44
Contraband list 492
Greek policy 23, 39, 57
Import restrictions on Brazilian coffee:
Conditions for removal 297, 304–305, 318
Refusal to relax 397
Interests in charge of—
Netherlands in—
Germany 586
Turkey 601
Spain in Austria-Hungary 618
Mails, censorship 522–523, 525–526
Negotiations with—
Argentina, for wheat 366–367, 386, 395–397, 399–400
Brazil, for ex-German ships 304–305, 310–311, 318

Digitized by Google

Great Britain—Continued. Page
Negotiations with—Contd.
China, for entrance into war. *See* China: Cooperation with Allied powers.
Liberia, for entrance into war. *See under* Liberia.
Uruguay, for ex-German ships 334–335, 350–351
North Sea, declaration of dangerous area 518–520
Orders in council 492–493
Peace, terms and attitude 15–16, 17–21
Vatican criticism of 22
Separate peace with Austria-Hungary 41–43, 55–56
Prize procedure 500–501
Recruiting in United States. *See* Enlistment in belligerent forces, case of Addis and Blair.
Reservists of enemy, removal from U. S. ships 526–532
Greece:
Athens, disturbances of Dec. 1, 1916 47–51
Blockade by Allied powers 5, 23, 37, 39, 54, 55, 57
Neutrality, maintenance 126–127, 143–144
Political situation 70–73
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 16–17
Provisional government, request for U. S. recognition 52–53, 76
Saloniki, Allied occupation 4
Submarine warfare, protest against resumption of unrestricted conduct 142
Ultimatum of Allied powers 4, 5, 23, 54
Acceptance 10, 21
Guatemala:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 278, 307, 364–365
Cooperation with United States 223
Suspension of guaranties in border departments 257
Request for assurances 258–259
U. S. assurances 261
Acceptance 264
Special mission to United States, memorandum on needs for effective cooperation 326–327
U. S. reply 358–363
Offer of use of territorial waters, ports, and railways 272
Relations with Germany, severance 271

Hague conventions cited: Page
VI, 1907 (status of enemy merchant ships at outbreak of hostilities) 590
IX, 1907 (restrictions with regard to right of capture) 216, 217
XI, 1907 (restrictions with regard to right of capture) 210, 590
XIII, 1907 (rights and duties of neutral powers in naval war) 604
Haiti:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 293
Cooperation with United States 223–224, 275, 276
U. S. assurances 266–268
Benevolent policy 279
Relations with Germany, severance 301
Submarine warfare, protest against resumption of unrestricted conduct 279, 281
Hale, William Bayard (Hearst representative in Germany) 94, 95
Haelen, Belgian relief ship attacked by submarine 653
Healdton, American ship sunk 183, 185
Helgoy, sunk with American aboard 82
Henry S., removal of belligerent subjects 530
Hermes, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558
Holsatia, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558–559
Honduras:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 278, 356
Cooperation with United States 222, 224, 236–237, 276, 282
Offer of cooperation 291–292
Acceptance 302–303
Relations with Germany, severance 282
Housatonic, American steamer sunk 112, 115

Illinois, American ship sunk 184
Immunity of public vessels from local jurisdiction, case of the requisitioned merchant ship *Attualità* 675–687
Attitude of—
Italy 675–679, 685, 686–687
United States 680–685, 685–686
Interests of belligerents, protection. *See under individual countries.*
Internment:
Enemy aliens 247, 438, 453, 582–585
Warships 437–438, 601, 603–604
Crews 438

Digitized by Google

Page

Isle of Arran, boats towed to shore by submarine 146
Italy:
Arbitration treaty with Uruguay, negotiations for conclusion of 333, 334, 336–339
Armament of merchant ships, instructions and practice 84, 86–87
Conference of Allied leaders at Rome 3–4
Interests in charge of—
Spain in Turkey 601
Switzerland in Austria-Hungary 618
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's Senate address of Jan. 22 29–30, 69–70
Price fixing, effect upon U. S. shipments of coal 22
Requisitioned merchant ship libeled in U. S. courts, public character of *Attualità* 675–687
Attitude 675–679, 685, 686–687
Inverlogie, sunk with American aboard 170–171

Japan:
Chinese policy 412, 413, 424, 426, 427–429, 452
Interests in charge of Spain in—
Austria-Hungary 618
Belgium 642
Germany 586
Mexican overtures, denial of receipt 160–161
Japanese Prince, sunk with Americans aboard 133

Kaufmann (Chancellor of German Consulate General at San Francisco), detention at San Francisco for violation of U. S. laws 582–583
King Alfred, British war vessel at Monrovia 467
Kraetke, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558

La Campine, sunk with American aboard 183
Laconia, sunk with Americans aboard 149, 151
Lars Kruse, sunk with cargo for Belgian Relief Commission 636
Latin-American conference. *See* Conference of American States.
League to enforce peace, discussion 6, 25–26, 30
L'Erdre, French armed merchant ship 543–544

Page

Liberia:
Cooperation with United States 458
Request for aid to handle possible German outbreak 459
U. S. negotiations with France and Great Britain 459–461
British and French war vessels at Monrovia 461, 464, 465, 467, 477, 491
Severance of relations with Germany 462, 472
Negotiations with Great Britain and France looking to a declaration of war against Germany 462–477, 479–485
Trade restrictions, British conditions for removal 469–470
Acceptance 470
Liberian proclamation 470–471
Deportation of German subjects, German protest 471
Reply of Liberia 486–489
Assurances, British and French 474–475, 489–491
U. S. approval 475, 483–484
Draft convention 475–476
U. S. disapproval 476–477
War with Germany:
Declaration of state of war 477
Deportation of German subjects 477–478, 491–492
Liebenfels, German ship sunk in Charleston harbor 561, 588
Liechtenstein, interests in Belgium transferred by United States to Spain 642
Lincolnshire, sunk with American aboard 203
Locksun, German tender seized by U. S. naval authorities 558
Lökken, German defense of sinking with American aboard 89
Loongmoon, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558
Lorton, Peruvian ship sunk 231, 312, 324, 331, 340
Lucilline, sunk with American aboard 181
Lucy Andersen, sunk with American aboard 177
Luigi, case of 1916 cited 676, 681, 684, 685
Luxburg, Count (German Chargé d'Affaires to Argentina):
Telegrams to Berlin, disclosure of 322–323, 324, 353
Passports sent him 325
Safe-conducts to Germany 391*n*

Digitized by Google

Page

L man M. Law, American schooner sunk 131, 139, 152

Maçāo, ex-German steamer under Brazilian flag torpedoed 351
Mail censorship and detention by belligerent governments:
  Commercial mail to Greece, detention and return 521, 522, 523–524
  French arrangements for detained mail, U. S. inquiry concerning 521
  French reply 524
  Remittances in transit through Great Britain 522–523, 525–526
  Shipping documents, special treatment 520, 521, 522, 524–525
Malmanger, sunk with American aboard 184–185
Manifests of cargo, publication discontinued as precaution against supplying information to belligerent warships 566
Mantola, sunk with American aboard 126
Marcus L. Urann, removal of belligerent subject 530
Mayola, sunk with American aboard 169
Mediation. *See* Peace: Good offices and mediation.
Mexico:
  Conference of American States, attitude towards—
    Argentina's initiative 308, 364
    Mexican delegation 380
    Ecuador's initiative 243
  German overtures:
    Zimmermann telegram, disclosure of 147–148, 151–152, 153, 158, 160, 192, 234–235
    De facto government, attitude of 235, 238–239
  Neutrality, maintenance 249, 255, 262, 265–266
  Senate resolution 349, 392
  Peace:
    Carranza's proposal for terminating war 45–46, 54
    Offer of good offices to restore relations between United States and Germany 241–242
Michaïlovitch, Lioubomir (Serbian Minister to the United States), appointment and reception 674–675
Mississippi, French armed merchant ship 544–545
Missouri, British armed merchant ship 550

Page

Missourian, American steamer sunk 205
Moewe, German cruiser, capture of neutral seamen. *See* Neutral seamen and passengers on armed merchant ships of belligerents.
Mohacsfield, sunk with American aboard 93
Montenegro, interests in charge of Spain in Turkey 601
Monte Protegido, Argentine ship sunk 255, 275
Monroe doctrine 29, 295

Naval war zones. *See* North Sea *and* Submarine warfare: Unrestricted conduct.
Neath, sunk with Americans aboard 189
Netherlands:
  Belgian relief, attitude 637–638, 648, 649
  Neutrality, maintenance 123
  Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 23–24
  Representation in enemy countries and in countries with which relations have been severed, of—
    France 601
    Germany 434, 438
    Great Britain 586, 601
    Russia 601
  Transmission of communications between governments, German memorandum on treatment of neutral members of crews of enemy merchantmen 215–218
Neutral ports:
  Armed merchant ships, treatment 541–558
  Precautions against supplying belligerent warships information regarding sailings 566–569
Neutral seamen and passengers on armed merchant ships of belligerents, treatment of:
  Austro-Hungarian attitude 165–166
  Cases of captured American seamen brought to Germany on the *Moewe* and *Yarrowdale* 95, 96, 208–215, 218, 587, 588, 590
  German note on status of neutral seamen 215–218
Neutral states:
  Cooperation, conference of neutrals at Stockholm 54–55, 56

Digitized by Google

Page
Neutral states—Continued.
Responses to U. S. suggestion to sever relations with Germany:
Asiatic countries 407, 410
European countries 116–119, 123–124, 126–128, 130, 143–144
Latin-American countries 221–227, 228–230, 230–231, 231–232, 235, 236–238
Nicaragua:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 278, 289, 356
Cooperation with United States 237–238, 259, 278–279
Offer of use of ports and waters 290
Acceptance 292–293
Relations with Germany, severance 289–290
Norway, neutrality, maintenance 118–119, 130
North Sea, "dangerous" area declared by Great Britain 518–520
Nyland, sunk with American aboard 159

Odenwald, restrained in U. S. port, safety precautions 588
Olivant, ex-German ship transferred by Cuba to United States 318
Oxonian, British armed merchant ship 548–550

Palm Leaf, British master retained as hostage 146
Panama:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 277, 280–281, 286, 387–388
Cooperation with United States 221, 225, 233–234
Proclamation of alliance and cooperation 245, 248
U. S. acceptance of action 250
Measures for protection of canal 287–288
Mission to United States 259–260, 271, 281
Peace, attitude towards Carranza's suggestion for terminating war 240
War with Germany and Austria-Hungary:
Proclamation amounting to a declaration of war against Germany 245, 248, 366
Congressional approval 363, 374–376
Resolution of National Assembly declaring war on Austria-Hungary 385, 390–391

Page
Pan-American solidarity, policies of 222, 286, 292, 295, 296, 299–300, 301, 322, 342–344, 352–353
Paraguay:
Conference of American States, attitude 297, 372
Initiative towards calling 232, 363
Neutrality, maintenance 226–227, 254
Paraná, Brazilian ship sunk 252
Pardo, Dr. José (President of Peru), message to Congress 308–309
Passports and consular certificates:
Expatriation, presumption of 576–579
Rules for issuance in United States, requirements:
Affidavit 573–574
Letters from commercial firms 574–575
Photographs 575
Witness 575–576
Surrender of old passports 576
Pauli (German Minister to Brazil), return from Brazil upon severance of relations 606–609
Peace:
Central powers' proposal, counter-replies to Allied powers' rejection of:
Austria-Hungary 10–12
Bulgaria 61–62
Germany 12–14
Turkey 58–60
Good offices and mediation:
Mexican offer of good offices to restore relations between United States and Germany 241–242
U. S. reply 261–262
Pope's further mediation, U. S. denial of approval 382
U. S. suggestions and offers:
President's communication to belligerents 3
Joint reply of Allied powers 4, 5, 6–8, 22
Separate note of Belgium 5, 8–9
Attitude of—
Brazil 219
China 400–401
Greece 16–17
Netherlands 23–24
Persia 14
Peru 220
Spain 30–31
Uruguay 220
President's offer to Germany on basis of Senate address of Jan. 22 31–32
Acceptance by Germany 34–35

Digitized by Google

Page

Peace—Continued.
Good offices and mediation—Continued.
U. S. suggestions and offers—Continued.
President's proposal of assurances to Austria-Hungary:
Consultation with Great Britain 40–41
British attitude 41–44, 55–56
Presentation to Austria-Hungary 57–58, 63–64
Replies of Czernin 62–63, 65–66
League to enforce, discussion 6, 25–26, 30
Mexican proposal for terminating war 45–46
Replies of—
United States 54, 67–68
Panama 240
Pres. Wilson's address of Jan. 22 to Senate on bases of a durable peace 24–29
Reception in—
Austria-Hungary 31, 34
France 33–34
Germany 97–99
Italy 29–30, 69–70
Spain 30
Terms:
Allied powers 8
Austria-Hungary 38–39, 63, 76–77
Germany 15, 35, 37, 114
Great Britain 15–16, 17–21
Vatican criticism 22
Persia:
National integrity, desire for preservation of 14
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 14
Persia, case of 1916 cited 132–133, 151, 163, 168
Peru:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 242–243, 297, 384
Peruvian plan 367–368
Cooperation with United States 230–231, 253, 309, 311
Pan American solidarity, external policy 321–322
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 220
President, message to Congress 308–309
Relations with Germany, severance 340, 341
Submarine warfare:
Case of ship sunk 231, 312, 324, 331, 340
Protest against unrestricted conduct 231

Page

Pinna, sunk with Americans aboard 135
Pommern, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558–559
Princess Melita, British armed merchant ship 555
Prinz Waldemar, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558
Prisoners of war, treatment 13
Prisoners of war and interned civilians, U. S. relief work for Austra-Hungary in Russia 623–624, 625–626
Prize procedure, Great Britain 500–501
Prizes, destruction at sea 88–89, 93–94
Public vessels immune from local jurisdiction, case of the requisitioned merchant ship *Attualità* 675–687

Recruiting. *See* Enlistment.
Relief. *See under* Belgium *and* Prisoners of war.
Representation of belligerent governments in enemy countries:
Prisoners of war and interned civilians 623–624, 625–626
Requests to local government 615–617
Transference of representation to neutral governments upon severance of relations 586, 601, 618, 621–628, 642
Transmission of communications between governments 126, 184, 187, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 471, 581–583, 587–588, 591, 652
Reservists of belligerent forces, removal from neutral ships by enemy 526–532
Return of diplomatic and consular officers upon severance of relations 585–610
Ritter, Dr. Paul (Swiss Minister to United States), participation in German overtures to United States for resumption of relations 125, 126, 136–137, 139–141
Roanoke, torpedoed with American aboard 149
Ronald, sunk with American aboard 186–187
Roumania, interests in charge of—
Spain in Germany 586
Switzerland in Austria-Hungary 618
Russia:
Aide-mémoire to Siam urging severance of relations with Germany 433
Armament of merchant ships, instructions and practice 87

Digitized by Google

Russia—Continued. Page
Interests in charge of Netherlands in Turkey 601
Revolution, attitude of—
German socialists 77
Pres. Wilson 200

Sacramento, American ship attacked by submarine 81
Safe-conducts:
Belgian relief ships, routing 629, 630, 632–634, 635, 637, 644, 646, 649–650, 660–661, 661–662, 663–664.
Diplomatic officers of Germany and Austria-Hungary in United States and Latin America 329, 348–349, 391*n*, 592, 597, 607–608
Salvador:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 278, 356
Cooperation with United States, friendly neutrality 330–331
Opening of waters to U. S. Fleet 347, 370, 371
Neutrality, maintenance 235, 251
Sanden, Von (German Minister to Bolivia), return from Bolivia upon severance of relations 608–609
Sandvik, sunk with Americans aboard 203–204
Saxonian, sunk with Americans aboard 129–130, 131, 135
Schack, Von (German Vice Consul at San Francisco):
Conviction for violations of U. S. laws 579–580
Detention and internment 582–585
Scorpion, U. S. warship in Turkish waters 113, 135, 148*n*, 207, 601, 603–604
Secondo, sunk with Americans aboard 132, 167
Self-determination, Wilsonian principles 27, 29, 202
Serbia:
Interests in charge of—
Spain in—
Belgium 642
Germany 586
Legation, establishment in United States 674–675
Minister Michaïlovitch presents letters of credence 674–675
Setos, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558
Siam:
Allied powers, efforts to bring into war 433, 444–445
Russian *aide-mémoire* 433
U. S. attitude 445

Siam—Continued. Page
Austro-Hungarian Chargé, departure 609–610
German Chargé, departure 609–610
German ships in Siamese ports:
Seizure 453
Negotiations for use:
Allied powers 454
United States 454
Neutrality, maintenance 410
War with Germany and Austria-Hungary, declaration of a state of 453
Sjöstad, sunk with American aboard 155
Skogland, sunk with Americans aboard 141
Skrim, sunk with American aboard 142
Solidarity. *See* Pan-American solidarity.
Spain:
Belgian relief, attitude towards 634–635, 648
Neutrality, maintenance 117*n*, 120
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916, to belligerents and Senate address of Jan. 22 30–31
Representation in enemy countries and in countries with which relations have been severed, of—
Denmark 642
Germany 613
Great Britain 618
Italy 601
Japan 586, 618, 642
Roumania 586
Serbia 586, 642
Turkey 602, 621
United States 585, 610–612, 618–619, 642
Submarine warfare, protest against unrestricted conduct 117–118
Transmission of communications between governments:
German protest against Liberian deportation of German subjects 471
U. S. communications to Germany 211, 587–588
U. S. safe-conduct for German Embassy staff and German consuls 591
Staatssekretar, German merchant ship in Hawaii at time of severance of relations 558
Storcnes, sunk with American aboard 159–160
Storstad, Belgian relief ship sunk by submarine 171–172, 652–653, 662

Digitized by Google

Submarine warfare (*see also* Armament of merchant ships): Page
Cases of attacks and sinkings:
American ships 81, 93–94, 112, 115–116, 131, 139, 152, 174, 177, 180, 181–182, 183, 184, 185, 203, 205.
Belgian Relief Commission ships 636, 652–653, 661
Greek ship carrying Chinese laborers 429
Neutral and belligerent ships with Americans aboard 82, 88–90, 93, 96, 114–115, 122–123, 125–126, 129–130, 130–131, 132, 133–134, 135, 138, 141–142, 142, 143, 144–147, 149, 151, 155, 156–157, 159–160, 167, 169, 170–171, 171–172, 173, 175–176, 177, 178, 181, 182–183, 184–185, 185–186, 186–187, 188, 189–190, 194, 203–205, 205–206.
South American ships 252, 255, 263, 275, 303, 312, 319, 340, 351.
German-American relations, effect upon 82, 88, 106–108, 129
— Argentine relations, effect upon 263, 275–276, 306, 309, 319
— Brazilian relations, effect upon 252
— Chinese relations, effect upon 429
— Peruvian relations, effect upon 331, 340–341
German defense of submarine policy 193
Negotiations, Germany and—
Argentina 263, 275, 275–276, 306, 319
Peru 312, 324, 331, 340
Resistance and aggression by enemy merchant ships 544–545, 548–550
German note of Jan. 10 82–86, 96–97
Success of submarine campaign, reports on 121–122, 145–146, 176
Unrestricted conduct, resumption of:
Agitation for 90–91, 92
Bernstorff's suggestion to delay 32–33
Intention to resume, reports on 81–82, 88
Motives for resuming 36, 104
Note of Jan. 31 of Germany, inclosing memorandum establishing new naval war zone 97–102
Note of Jan. 31 of Austria-Hungary 104–105

Submarine warfare—Contd. Page
Unrestricted conduct, resumption of—Continued.
Notices of extension of war zone 184, 187
Protests of—
Argentina 227–228
Bolivia 230
Chile 227
China 407
Colombia 347
Greece 142
Haiti 279, 281
Peru 231
Spain 117–118
Switzerland 128–129
Uruguay 228–229

Sussex, case of 1916 cited 106–107, 109–110

Sweden:
Conference of neutrals at Stockholm 54–55, 56
Neutrality, maintenance 124
Representation in enemy countries and in countries with which relations have been severed, of—
Austria-Hungary 595, 619–620, 620–621
Belgium 601
Serbia 601
Turkey 602
United States 599, 605

Switzerland:
Minister in United States, participation in German overtures to United States for resumption of relations 125, 126, 136–137, 139–141
Attitude of Swiss Government 136–137
Neutrality, maintenance 127–128
Representation in enemy countries and in countries with which relations have been severed, of—
Austria-Hungary 620
France 618
Germany 612–613, 613–614
Italy 618
Roumania 618
Submarine warfare, protest against resumption of unrestricted conduct 128–129
Transmission of communications between governments:
German communications regarding Americans on the *Yarrowdale* 210, 212
German notices of extension of submarine blockade 183–184, 187
German overtures for resumption of relations and U. S. reply 126, 129

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Switzerland—Contd. Page
Transmission of communications between governments—Continued.
German proposal concerning Messrs. Bopp and Schack and U. S. reply 582–583

Tarnowski, Count Adam (Austro-Hungarian Ambassador designate to United States) 112–113
Reception, question of 143, 169, 177, 186
U. S. refusal to receive 188, 191
Return from United States 193–194, 594–598
Thode Fagesund, sunk with American aboard 173
Toro, Argentine vessel sunk 303
Trade restrictions, negotiations for removal of. *See* Brazil *and* Liberia.
Trading with the Enemy Act, United States 514, 515, 615–616
Treaties and conventions:
Amity and commerce, treaty of 1799 between United States and Prussia 589
Amity, commerce, and navigation, treaty of 1867 between Germany and Liberia 471, 486–489
Arbitration treaties, negotiations between Uruguay and Allied powers for conclusion of 333–335, 336–339, 350–351, 356–357, 358, 369
Convention for the purchase of Argentine wheat by Great Britain and France 395–396, 399–400
Protection of citizens and their property after severance of relations, paraphrase of treaty presented to United States by Germany 589–590
Trent, Civil War case cited 526
Trevarrack, German investigation of sinking with Americans aboard 96
Trevier, Belgian relief ship torpedoed outside war zone 661
Trippel, German investigation of sinking with American aboard 88
Tritonian, sunk with American aboard 157
Tuan Chi-jui (Premier of China). *See* China: Cabinet, Premier.
Tunisie, Belgian relief ship attacked by submarine 653
Turino, sunk with American aboard 122–123

Turkey: Page
German influence 15, 134
Greek deportation 15
Interests in charge of—
Spain in—
France 602
Greece 602
Roumania 602
United States 602, 621
Sweden in Great Britain and Dominions 602
Internment of U.S.S. *Scorpion* 601
Turkish *note verbale* 603–604
Peace, counter-reply to Allied powers' rejection of Central powers' invitation to discuss peace 58–60
Relations with United States:
Maintenance, attitude of—
United States 113, 191–192
Turkey 134, 148–149, 206
Severance by Turkey 598, 603
U. S. diplomatic and consular staffs, departure 598–606

United States:
Armament of merchant ships, attitude 545, 557
President's request for authority from Congress to arm 150
Notice of intent to arm 171
Austro-Hungarian diplomatic and consular staffs, departure 594–595
Belgian deportations, reports on 665–668
Belgian relief, attitude 630, 645, 647, 650–652, 656–657
Withdrawal of U. S. workers 655, 657
Transference of work to Netherland subjects 655
Black list of neutral ship, protest 505–506
Blockade of Central powers, efforts for exemptions 509–517
Blockade of Greece, attitude 55
Cablegrams, transmission by officials for German, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian officials 31*n*, 87, 112, 116, 137, 152
Citizens, prisoners on the *Moewe* and *Yarrowdale*, efforts on behalf of 95, 208–215, 218, 588
Codes, arrangements with Great Britain for deciphering 152–153, 155, 157–158
Conference of American States, attitude 240–241, 263, 279–281, 289, 355, 372–373, 388–389.
Conference of neutrals at Stockholm, attitude 56

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United States—Continued. Page
Cooperation of Latin-American countries with United States, attitude 224, 250, 250–251, 254, 259–260, 261, 267, 268, 269–270, 272, 273, 274, 276, 278–279, 281, 292–293, 295–296, 296, 300–301, 302–303, 305, 307, 330–331, 349, 350, 355, 358–363, 366, 370, 379–380, 385, 392
Cooperation of neutral states, suggestion to follow United States in severing relations with Germany 108
Responses. *See under* Neutral states.
Customs collectors, instructions and reports on armed merchant ships in U. S. ports 541–542, 543–544, 545–546, 548–549, 550, 551–552, 552–553.
Manifests of cargo, publication discontinued 566
Diplomatic and consular staffs:
Return from—
Austria-Hungary 596
Germany 585–591
Turkey 598–606
Withdrawal from Belgium 657–660
U. S. attitude 631, 645, 647, 651–652, 655–657
Enlistment in belligerent forces, attitude 536–538
Far East policy. *See* China *and* Siam.
Fleet, visits to South American countries 292, 296, 304, 309–310, 312, 314–315, 336, 344–345.
German consular officers at San Francisco, conviction for violating U. S. laws 579–580
Relieved of office 580
Revocation of exequaturs 580–581
German request 582–583
U. S. reply 583
Internment 584–585
German diplomatic and consular staffs, departure 591–594
German overtures to Mexico, receipt and publication of Zimmermann telegram 147–148, 151–152, 153, 155, 158
German ships in U. S. ports, treatment prior to declaration of war 221, 558–566, 588
Intercession with Great Britain for removal of restrictions on coffee from Brazil 296

United States—Continued. Page
Interests in charge of—
Spain in—
Austria-Hungary 618–619
Belgium 642
Germany 585, 610–612
Sweden in Turkey 599, 605
Liberian policy. *See* Liberia.
Mails, interference with, attitude 521–522, 522–523
Naval vessel in Turkish waters 113, 135, 148*n*, 207, 601, 603–604
Negotiations with—
Allied powers, for arbitration treaties with Uruguay 333–335, 336–339, 350–351, 356–357, 358, 369
Argentina, for wheat for Allied powers 306, 366–367, 386, 395–397, 398–399
U. S. assurances 398–399
Brazil, for ex-German ships 285, 320, 323, 325, 331–332, 345–346, 356, 391, 392.
China, for entrance into war with Germany. *See* China: Cooperation with Allied powers.
Cuba, for ex-German ships 270, 286–287, 299, 307–308, 308, 318–319, 348, 386–387.
Liberia, for entrance into war with Germany. *See* Liberia.
Siam, for ex-German ships 454
Uruguay, for ex-German ships 378–379, 384–385, 389, 399
North Sea, attitude towards British declaration of dangerous sea area 519–520
Pan-American solidarity, attitude 352–353
Passports. *See* Passports and consular certificates.
Peace:
Good offices and mediation. *See under* Peace.
Mexico's offer of mediation between United States and Germany, attitude 261–262
Mexico's proposal for terminating war, attitude 54, 67–68
Pope's further mediation, attitude 382
Pres. Wilson's address to Senate on bases of durable peace 24–29
Persian national integrity, attitude 21

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United States—Continued. Page
Precautions against supplying belligerent warships with information regarding sailings 566–569
President. *See* Wilson, Woodrow.
Prisoners of war and interned civilians, attitude towards continuance of Austro-Hungarian relief in Russia 623–624, 626
Public character of ships requisitioned by foreign governments, attitude 680–685, 685–686
Relations with—
Austria-Hungary 112–113, 136, 137, 143, 152, 169, 177, 178–180, 186, 188, 191.
Severance by Austria-Hungary 594–595
Bulgaria 116, 137–138, 172
Germany, severance by United States 106–108
Attitude towards German overtures 129
Turkey 113, 148–149, 191–192, 206–207
Severance by Turkey 598, 603
Representation of belligerent countries, transference to neutrals upon severance of relations with countries concerned 586, 601, 618, 621–628, 642
Reservists, attitude on removal from ships by enemy 526–527, 527–528, 528–529
Safe-conducts 329, 348–349, 391*n*, 607–609
Serbia, legation established in Washington 674–675
Submarine warfare, notes and communications to—
Austria-Hungary 131–133, 151
Germany 652–653
Trading with Enemy Act 514, 515, 615–616
War with Germany and Austria-Hungary:
Declaration of state of war with Germany:
President's address to Congress advising declaration 195–203
Joint resolution of Congress declaring war 195
Proclamation of Apr. 6, of a state of war 207–208
Notice to diplomatic representatives 244–245
Declaration of a state of war with Austria-Hungary 385*n*

Uruguay: Page
Arbitration treaties, negotiations with Allied powers for conclusion of 333–335, 336–339, 350–351, 356–357, 358, 369
Conference of American States, attitude towards 242, 334, 384
Cooperation with United States and other American states at war 296, 299–300
Opening of ports to U. S. Navy 300
Acceptance 302
German ships in Uruguayan ports:
Seizure 327
Negotiations for use 354, 357–358
France 350*n*
Great Britain 334–335, 350–351
United States 378–379, 384–385, 389, 399
Neutrality, maintenance 228–229, 254, 334
Neutrality decrees, withdrawal as affecting—
American states at war 301–302, 307, 317
Allied powers 346, 369–370
Pan-American solidarity, international policy 296, 301
Peace, attitude towards Pres. Wilson's suggestion of Dec. 18, 1916 220
Relations with Germany, severance 340, 341
Submarine warfare, protest against resumption of unrestricted conduct 228–229
U. S. Fleet, visits of 292, 296, 314–315, 336, 344–345
Message of Pres. Viera to Pres. Wilson 347–348
Reply 349

Vatican criticism of British peace terms 22
Vedamore, sunk with Americans aboard 130–131
Venezuela:
Conference of American States, attitude towards 283, 365
Neutrality, maintenance 239–240, 277
Viera, Dr. Feliçiano (President of Uruguay), message to Pres. Wilson 347–348
Vigilancia, American ship sunk 182

Wallace, with Americans aboard, attacked by submarine 138

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Page
War Trade Board---------- 616, 617
War zones, naval. *See* North Sea *and* Submarine warfare: Unrestricted conduct.
Welsh Prince, sunk with Americans aboard---------- 132, 167
Westwego, American steamer forced to deliver oil to submarine---------- 115–116
Wheat, British and French negotiations with Argentina for export- 306, 366–367, 399–400
Whitlock, Brand. *See* Belgium: U. S. Minister.
Wilfred, sunk with Americans aboard---------- 187
Wilson, Woodrow (President):
Address to—
Senate, Jan. 22, on bases of a durable peace------- 24–29
Congress, Feb. 3, on severance of relations with Germany---------- 109–112
Congress, Feb. 26, requesting authority to arm merchant vessels---- 149–150
Congress, Apr. 2, advising declaration of war against Germany--- 195–203
Message to President of Cuba, upon Cuban declaration of war---------- 250–251

Page
Wilson, Woodrow (President)—Continued.
Messages to President of Brazil, upon Brazil's—
Withdrawal of neutrality decrees---------- 296
Declaration of war against Germany---------- 355
Offer of mediation to Germany on basis of Senate address of Jan. 22---------- 31–32
Proposal to Allied powers of assurances to Austria-Hungary against dismemberment---------- 40–41
Reply to message from President of Uruguay-------- 349

Yarrowdale, German prize used to convey captured seamen to Germany. *See* Neutral seamen and passengers on armed merchant ships of belligerents.

Zimmermann, Dr. Artur (German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), telegram conveying overtures to Mexico-------- 147, 158, 160, 192

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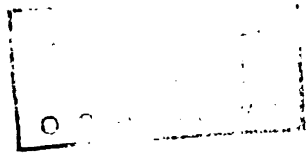

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